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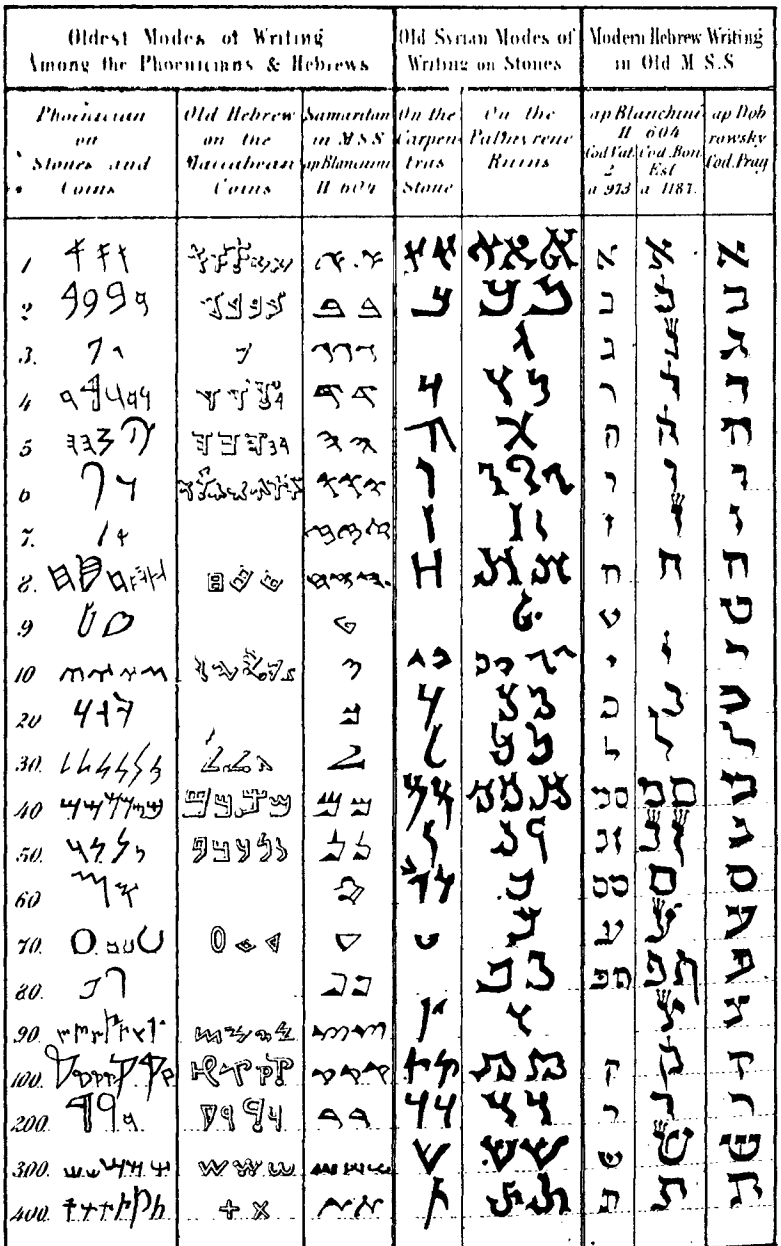

Schenck & M. Farlane, Edinburgh

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A

TREATISE

ON

BIBLICAL CRITICISM

EXHIBITING

A SYSTEMATIC VIEW OF THAT SCIENCE.

BY SAMUEL DAVIDSON, D.D.

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF HALLE, AND LL.D.

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TO THE

RIGHT REVEREND CONNOP THIRLWALL, D.D.

BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S.

My Lord,

I take the liberty of dedicating these volumes to you as a mark of my veneration for your character and respect for your varied attainments. A Christian bishop, you occupy a distinguished place among your right reverend and learned brethren, adorning the high station to which Providence has called you by a rare and sanctified scholarship fitted to excite the admiration of all who come within the sphere of your influence. In you the Episcopal Church is favoured with one who raises it to a proud pre-eminence in the eye of the literature of Europe. Though we be widely separated in ecclesiastical position, I do not entertain the less esteem for you; or think the less highly on that account of your intellectual ability and moral worth. Accept then the offering of one who desires to cherish

the spirit of an enlarged liberality capable of rising above the outward distinctions of sect to offer its cordial homage to the learning and talents which dignify renewed humanity. A work whose object is to promote divine truth cannot be more appropriately dedicated than to you. I am fully aware that none is more likely than yourself to detect its imperfections; but I know your candour in judging the performances of others who cannot hope to reach the height of learning to which you have attained; and believe that you will indulgently give me credit for an honest attempt to contribute to the purity of the records of Revelation.

That you may be long preserved to the Christian church, and to a country justly proud of your attainments, is the sincere prayer of your lordship's humble servant,

SAMUEL DAVIDSON.

PREFACE.

THIRTEEN years ago the writer published a volume entitled "Lectures on Biblical Criticism," which met with considerable favour, and has been for some time out of print. Many inquiries having been addressed to the author respecting it, he resolved to prepare a new edition as soon as his other avocations allowed leisure for the task. He had not been insensible to its various errors and imperfections. Many of these he had himself perceived; several were pointed out by others. Biblical literature had been advanced by more extensive researches and new discussions. But when he set himself in serious earnest to the work, he soon found that a new edition merely could neither do justice to the subject nor to his own reputation. A *new book* was needed. Every thing had to be re-written, and put into a new shape. The whole had to be recast both in sub-

stance and form. A *new work* accordingly has been attempted; the author availing himself of all the helps and sources which might serve to make it what it ought to be at the present day; and *a new title in part* has been given to it, corresponding to the enlarged field of inquiry.

In the course of reconstructing the materials, they swelled out in size under the author's hands, to require two volumes—the first confined to the Old Testament, the second to the New. It is [illegible] that the work will be found greatly superior to "the Lectures" in every respect. It [illegible] much more labour, research, and [illegible] the former. In every instance he [illegible]oured to go back to the sources for [illegible]; for which purpose private and public [illegible]raries have been consulted. The latest works of whose existence he was aware have been used. All available dissertations, wherever they appeared, have been attended to. Of course German works are most to the author's purpose, since they are more numerous and excellent in this department than English, French, or Dutch.

Many of the subjects which come under discussion in the department termed Biblical Criticism are necessarily difficult. The evidence on which conclusions are formed is of a kind that rejects certainty. Different opinions may be entertained

respecting the results to which testimony leads. Hence it will not surprise any, except the very ignorant, to be told, that various opinions formerly held by the author have been abandoned. *Repeated inquiries and reflection* have led him to change, modify, and retract former views. He is free to confess that he has never arrived at certainty on all subjects. But the reader has here the *latest* and *most mature* judgments of the author, for which alone he begs to be held accountable.

In its present form the work will probably be considered less elementary than its prototype. If this be so, let it be remembered that it is *more extended*, and, as the author thinks, more satisfactory and complete in every part. He has also tried to make his meaning so plain that none may have difficulty in apprehending it.

Some passages whose proper reading ought to have been discussed in the second volume are omitted, because an examination of them is given in another work. Mark xvi. 9-20; John v. 3, 4, and vii. 53—viii. 11, are examined in the first volume of the writer's Introduction to the New Testament, and it seemed superfluous to repeat what is there.

The author has to express his obligations to Dr. S. P. Tregelles for various hints, suggestions, and cautions, by means of which his book has been im-

proved. The ready advice of this most learned and Christian friend has never been wanting. It has been freely and generously given. He has also to thank the Rev. Wm. Cureton, F.R.S., and Canon of Westminster, for permission to see and make use of his unpublished Syriac gospels. Valuable assistance on some points has also been rendered by Dr. M. Steinschneider, the learned author of the *Catalogus Libr. Hebr. in Bibliotheca Bodleiana* and other works connected with the literature of the Jews. Nor can he forget to record the uniform kindness and counsel of his old and valued friend Dr. H. Hupfeld of Halle, whose opinion he was favoured with on several difficult particulars. To the Rev. Dr. Lee, formerly Professor of Hebrew in the University of Cambridge, and justly celebrated for his knowledge of Oriental languages, he is indebted for information on various points connected with the old Syriac version, and especially that edition of it which he edited—information communicated with prompt generosity.

It is hoped that the general index will prove a valuable help to the consultation of the work. It has been prepared with great care by the Rev. J. Jennings.

In concluding his laborious task, the writer may be allowed to indulge the feeling that he has done something to establish the text of Scripture in

its integrity and incorruptness. His object has been to uphold and preserve the sacred records; to shew that they have a rightful claim to the place they have so long occupied. He does not wish to defend any thing incapable of standing the test of an intelligent scrutiny, or to apologise for that which reason rejects as contrary to its dictates. He has had no party prejudices to pander to; no denominational or ecclesiastical preferences to foster. He has acted freely and independently in his inquiries, believing that the documents of revelation *should* and *will be* sifted in the present age of mental activity. If his labours shall in any wise assist the student of Scripture, he will have reason to believe that his time has not been misspent over this and other biblical works. Devoutly thanking that God who has given him health and strength to work in His vineyard, and has enabled him to complete the present volumes, he sends them forth with the sincere prayer, that they may help the cause of truth in the world, promote the progress of righteousness, and contribute to a better acquaintance with those divine writings which form the basis alike of social order and of personal happiness.

LANCASHIRE INDEPENDENT COLLEGE,
Manchester, November 1st, 1852.

CONTENTS.

PART I.—OLD TESTAMENT.

CHAPTER I.

Page

Introductory 1

CHAPTER II.

The Hebrew Language 6

CHAPTER III.

The Hebrew Characters 20

CHAPTER IV.

The Hebrew Vowels 37

CHAPTER V.

History of the Text of the Old Testament 53

CHAPTER VI.

History of the Text itself 61

CHAPTER VII.

History of the Text from the Close of the Canon till the Destruction of Jerusalem 109

CHAPTER VIII.

Page
History of the Text from the downfall of the Jewish State till the final establishment of the Masoretic Text 112

CHAPTER IX.

From the final settlement of the Masoretic Text and the Departure of the Learned Jews from the East, till part of the Bible first appeared in Print; or from A.D. 1040 till A.D. 1477 135

CHAPTER X.

History of the Printed Text 137

CHAPTER XI.

Ancient Versions—The Septuagint 162

CHAPTER XII.

Septuagint (continued) 200

CHAPTER XIII.

Greek Versions of Aquila, Theodotion, Symmachus, &c. 215

CHAPTER XIV.

Targums 224

CHAPTER XV.

Samaritan Version of the Pentateuch 240

CHAPTER XVI.

Peshito or old Syriac Version 243

CHAPTER XVII.

Arabic Versions 255

CHAPTER XVIII.

Page
Latin Versions 261

CHAPTER XIX.

Remarks on Ancient Versions and their Application to Criticism 284

CHAPTER XX.

Parallels or Repeated Passages 294

CHAPTER XXI.

Quotations from the Old Testament in the New 3

CHAPTER XXII.

Quotations from Rabbinical Writings 314

CHAPTER XXIII.

Hebrew MSS. 321

CHAPTER XXIV.

Hebrew MSS. described 346

CHAPTER XXV.

Hebrew MSS. in China and other Oriental parts 366

CHAPTER XXVI.

Critical Conjecture 374

CHAPTER XXVII.

Application of the various Sources of Criticism 381

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Examination of various Passages 388

PART II.—NEW TESTAMENT.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Page
Nature of the New Testament Language 447

CHAPTER XXX.

History of the Text 459

CHAPTER XXXI.

Causes of Various Readings 469

CHAPTER XXXII.

The New Testament Canon 476

CHAPTER XXXIII.

History of the Text till the middle of the Third Century . . . 485

CHAPTER XXXIV.

History of the Text after the middle of the Third Century . . . 513

CHAPTER XXXV.

Modes of Classifying the New Testament Documents, and their Critical Application 534

CHAPTER XXXVI.

History of the Printed Text 552

CHAPTER XXXVII.

History of the Printed Text (continued) 567

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Page

Ancient Versions—the Peshito 596

CHAPTER XXXIX.

The Philoxenian Version 631

CHAPTER XL.

Other Syriac Versions 641

CHAPTER XLI.

Æthiopic and Egyptian Versions 648

CHAPTER XLII.

Armenian Version 661

CHAPTER XLIII.

Georgian and other Versions 667

CHAPTER XLIV.

Gothic Version 676

CHAPTER XLV.

Slavonic Version 684

CHAPTER XLVI.

The Latin Version 687

CHAPTER XLVII.

MSS. of the Greek Testament 708

CHAPTER XLVIII.

Description of the Uncial MSS. 717

CHAPTER XLIX.

Page
Cursive MSS. 764

CHAPTER L.

Evangelistaria and Lectionaria 771

CHAPTER LI.

General Observations on MSS. 774

CHAPTER LII.

Quotations of the New Testament in Ancient Writers 781

CHAPTER LIII.

Extracts from the New Testament in Latin Writers 800

CHAPTER LIV.

Critical Conjecture 817

CHAPTER LV.

Critical Rules 820

CHAPTER LVI.

Critical Examination of Passages 832

PART I.

OLD TESTAMENT.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

THE science of Biblical Criticism is of comparatively recent origin. Formerly, its importance and comprehensive character were not perceived. It attracted more attention in later times. At present it is cultivated so extensively that it may be said to owe all its advancement to the preceding and present centuries. It arose, in part, out of necessity. In consequence of the controversies in which they were involved, men were obliged to appeal to the sacred fountain of truth itself. The Scriptures themselves were consulted as the highest authority in matters of doctrine and discipline.

But the records of religion were not in the purest state, and needed restoration. And in rightly repairing to the fountain-head of divine truth, men were too prone to alter or omit whatever they did not relish. They evinced an inclination to retain or mutilate a passage, as it seemed to corroborate their own opinions, or to favour their own sect. Such conduct, indeed, belongs to no age of Christianity exclusively. It was not unknown in the earlier period of the gospel dispensation; it has not been strange to modern times.

In every ancient book which has descended to our times through a number of centuries, various readings exist. It is utterly impossible for human caution and diligence to guard

against the slightest departure from an author's original words. Hence it becomes necessary to judge between different readings, to weigh the evidence by which they are respectively supported, and the claims they present to a favourable reception. The authentic reading must be determined by authorities; and these authorities are judged of by certain rules. This is true of the classical works of Greece and Rome. Manuscripts of them have been examined and compared by scholars whose object was to obtain as pure a text as existing materials afforded. Various editions have been published. The same is the case with the Bible. Providence has left its *words* to the same casualties as the writings of uninspired men; while the great doctrines and duties revealed have been preserved. God has not interposed by miracle to prevent the occurrence of minor variations in the transcription of copies. He has exercised no more than *a general superintendence* over the written expression of his will.

If then it be a laudable thing to restore the unvitiated text of a heathen author, such conduct should be considered far more laudable in regard to the Bible. The great Author from whom it proceeds, the consequent importance of its contents, and the design of its bestowment on man, conspire to place it immensely above the emanations of the highest unaided intellects. The first duty, therefore, is to direct attention to the true and proper reading of the original. The words first written ought to be sought out and discovered. We must judge, in the first place, whether an alteration has been made in a passage. The correctness or incorrectness of the text must be considered. If it have undergone change, the nature of the change should be examined, and the reading or readings restored into whose place others have intruded. *After this*, we may proceed with confidence to interpret the text. *Criticism* is followed by *interpretation.*

The expression *Biblical Criticism* is employed in two

senses. In the one, it embraces not only *the restoration of the text* to its original state, but *the principles of interpretation* also. According to the other, it is confined to the former alone. We shall employ it in its strict and proper sense, as comprehending the sum and substance of that knowledge which enables us to discover a wrong reading, to remove it from the text, and to obtain as nearly as possible the original words of the Bible.

It is quite obvious that the operation of criticism must precede that of interpretation. The former is introductory to the latter. It serves as the basis of it. Before trying to ascertain the meaning of an author's words, we should be careful to see that *we have* his words. The true reading must be known previously to the determination of the true sense; and the nearer one comes to the very words of an author, the nearer will he be to a correct interpretation of them.

It is necessary to attend to the distinct operations of these two departments—viz., *the criticism* and the *interpretation* of the Bible, since they have been frequently commingled, to the detriment of both. It is true, that the one is of little practical utility without the other. But that is no reason why they should be confounded. None can properly object to their *connection*, though he may to their *amalgamation*. It is proper that the one should be immediately followed by the other; but it is wrong to mix them. Wherever this is done, one need scarcely expect clear and sound exposition, or look for that careful interpretation which commends itself at once by its natural simplicity.

Our present business is not the *interpretation* of the Bible. Neither the general principles of it, nor the application of them to particular passages, come before us. Sacred criticism must be described and known first. The higher province of interpretation follows.

When the science of sacred criticism in its widest extent is calmly considered, its importance rises in the estimation of all

competent judges. Yet it has not been cultivated in Great Britain with the zeal and ardour it has awakened and sustained on the continent of Europe in modern times. The learning involved in its prosecution has not commonly appeared in this country. But tokens of better things are beginning to appear.

There are five sources from which criticism derives all its aid in ascertaining the changes that have been made in the original text of the Bible, and replacing authentic readings excluded by them.

I. Ancient versions of the Sacred Scriptures.
II. Parallels or repeated passages.
III. Quotations.
IV. MSS. or written copies.
V. Critical conjecture.

The materials thus furnished are generally ample and satisfactory. Criticism employs them all in procuring a text as near as possible to the original one.

It will be seen, that great skill is necessary in the use of these sources. It is not every one who can manage them with judgment and discrimination. Difficult cases frequently arise from conflicting testimonies; and the most patient investigation is required in the adjustment of them. General rules are easily mastered, but their application in many cases demands caution and maturity of judgment. Good critics, therefore, are not made at once. Training is requisite to the production of an accomplished scholar. A long course of instruction must precede high attainments in this as in other departments of knowledge. The manner in which men of acknowledged eminence have proceeded is a good example for others. Criticism is a dangerous weapon in the hands of the unskilful and

ignorant. Above all, a right spirit within is the best safeguard against error—*a spirit imbued with divine influence.*

The criticism of the Old and New Testaments might either be treated of together, or separately. But by separating them a clearer view of each is obtained. It is true that they have some things in common, and might therefore be described conjointly without great disadvantage. But they are also unlike. In the Old Testament we have a current Hebrew text from about the seventh century, and no Hebrew aids for ascending higher. In the New Testament we have a Greek text, formed by petty mending and meddling; but the Greek means of restoration take us up to the fourth century. Thus the state of both is very different. We shall therefore confine ourselves, in the present part, to the criticism of the Old Testament.

Before giving a history of the text, which is properly the first subject that claims attention, it will be desirable, if not necessary, to speak of the language in which the Old Testament books are written. The nature and characteristic features of the Hebrew tongue should be known prior to the history of the text itself.

CHAPTER II.

THE HEBREW LANGUAGE.

THE greatest part of the Old Testament is written in what is called *the Hebrew* language, because it was the language of *the Hebrews* or Israelites in the days of their independence. The people who employed it being called *Hebrews*, the application of *Hebrew* to the tongue they spoke was natural. And why were the people called *Hebrews?* Three answers have been furnished to the question.

1. Grotius, Walton and others, derive it from the verb עָבַר *to pass over*, the name having been given to Abraham by the Canaanites in consequence of his *having crossed* the Euphrates (Genesis xiv. 13), so that the word means *transitor*. This opinion was favoured by several early Christian writers, such as Origen and Jerome.

2. Others derive it from the preposition עֵבֶר equivalent to עֵבֶר הַנָּהָר *beyond the river* (Euphrates). From the preposition came the appellative עִבְרִי. In this way it means *transfluvialis*, a person who *dwells* on the other side of the river. Perhaps the Septuagint rendering of עִבְרִי in Genesis xiv. 13, viz. ὁ περάτης, favours this opinion; certainly Aquila's ὁ περαίτης agrees with it. Diodorus of Tarsus adopts it, when he explains, περάτην καλεῖ τὸν Ἀβράμ ὡσανεὶ πέραν οἰκοῦντα τοῦ Ἰορδάνου; and in like manner Chrysostom, when he writes ἐπειδὴ γὰρ πέραν τοῦ Εὐφράτου τὴν κατοίκησιν εἶχε, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ περάτης

ἐλέγετο.* This view was held by several of the Rabbins, as Bechai, Maimonides, Rashi; and by Luther, Münster, Forster, Gesenius, De Wette, Winer, &c.

3. Others derive the name from Eber, so that it is a *patronymic.* Eber was son of Salah. Thus בְּנֵי עֵבֶר (Genesis x. 21) or poetically עֵבֶר stands for *the Hebrews*, the descendants of Eber. This opinion is held by many, such as Buxtorf, Loescher, Hezel, S. Morinus, Dathe, Ewald, Hävernick, Fürst, &c.

The chief objection to the first is, that even if there were evidence that the name *Hebrew* was assigned to Abraham by the Canaanites, it could not have been at first a *distinctive* name, because many tribes must have recently passed westwards over the Euphrates.

The chief objections to the second are, that it does not suit the connection in Genesis xiv. 13, because there is a contrast between Abram *the Hebrew*, and Mamre *the Amorite*, which would be lost on the supposition that הָעִבְרִי is not a patronymic. A passage in Numbers xxiv. 24 is also adverse to it. "They shall afflict Asshur and shall afflict Eber, and he also shall perish for ever." Here the Assyrians are called *Asshur*, from their progenitor Asshur; and the Hebrews *Eber*, from Eber their progenitor. It is also objected, that עֵבֶר does not appear elsewhere without the addition of הַנָּהָר *the river*. But this is of no importance, for the name is equivalent to פְּלִשְׁתִּים, from פָּלַשׁ *to wander away*. We are also reminded, that in the language of the Bible the Israelites are called *the sons or children of Israel*, while it is unusual to speak of *the sons of the other side of the river*. Other arguments collected and urged by Hävernick are weak.†

Against the third it has been asked, why should Abraham,

* xxxv. Homil. in Genes.

† See his Handbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleit. in das alte Testament, pp. 143, 144, vol. i.

who was the sixth from Eber, take his name from this patriarch rather than from another ancestor? Why not rather from Shem, for example, who is styled by Moses *the father of all the children of Eber*. To this it is answered, that Eber was a notable person. We read in Genesis x. 25, that in the days of his son Peleg, the earth was divided. Eber accordingly was the last of the patriarchs descended from Shem until the dividing of the peoples, from whom dates the commencement of a particular race which was selected and preserved as a distinct people among the multitudinous branches into which the general mass of mankind was divided. When therefore Eber is regarded as standing between the patriarchs descended from Shem, and the particular family whence God's peculiar people lineally sprang, and to which, when the ancient inhabitants of the earth were dispersed far and wide, the sacred history is restricted, it is not surprising that he was thought to be a person of so much importance as to give a name to his whole posterity.

Without entering into a discussion of these views and objections, it may be sufficient to mention, that the Hebrew genealogists explain the name as a *patronymic*. In this way only could they say, *sons of Eber* (Genesis x. 21; Numbers xxiv. 24). Gesenius himself admits that the Hebrew genealogists adopt this explanation.* Whether they were right is another question with him. Supposing, as he does, that the history in Genesis is mythical, he differs from the genealogists whose accounts are incorporated with the first book of Moses. But it is more likely that they were right, than the later Jews who made the Septuagint version and gave περάτης.

The name *Hebrew*, applied to the language, does not occur in the Old Testament. It was in use among those who were not Israelites. In one passage the Hebrew is poetically termed *language of Canaan* (Isaiah xix. 18), from the country in

* See his Hebräische Grammatik, thirteenth edition, p. 6.

which it was spoken; where Canaan, the holy land, is opposed to Egypt, the profane. The more common name by which the Hebrew language is designated in the Old Testament is *Jewish*, יְהוּדִית, used adverbially, *i.e.*, to speak *in Jewish, Judaice;* 2 Kings xviii. 26, 28; Isaiah xxxvi. 11, 13. This is in accordance with the later usage which arose after the removal of the ten tribes; when the appellations Judah and Jew were extended to the whole nation, though strictly speaking they referred only to the kingdom of Judah.

The name *Hebrew* is first applied to the language in the Apocryphal writings composed in Greek. In the prologue of Sirach we find Ἑβραϊστί *in Hebrew.* The same adverb is employed in the New Testament, John v. 2; xix. 13, 17, 20; and the corresponding phrase Ἑβραΐς διάλεκτος, Acts xxi. 40; xxii. 2; xxvi. 14; but in a somewhat different sense, meaning what was then the vernacular language of Palestine (Aramaean), in distinction from the Greek. In Josephus, the phrase γλῶσσα τῶν Ἑβραίων means both the ancient Hebrew and the vernacular Aramaean of the day. The appellation *holy tongue* לְשׁוֹן קְדוֹשָׁא, *lingua sancta,* was first given to it in the Targums or Chaldee versions of the Old Testament, because it was the language of the sacred books, as distinguished from the Chaldee, the popular language, which was called לְשׁוֹן חֹל, *lingua profana, the profane language.* *

Thus we have seen that the appellation *Hebrew* language is based on the fact, that the nation speaking the dialect in question was distinguished by the name *Hebrew.* That was the first distinctive appellation the Israelites as a nation had. It was their *ethnographical* and *political* designation. But when the people were divided into twelve tribes, the early title gave place to that of *Israel.* They were then called *Israelites,* which is the *theocratic* name, or that closely connected with their religion. This use of the two appellations

* Gesenius's Geschichte der Heb. Sprache und Schrift, p. 9.

is strictly observed in the Pentateuch and the oldest historical books. After the deportation of the ten tribes, *Jews* came to be used for Israelites. But the ancient name *Hebrews* was revived not long before the Christian era, "when, however, it also served to distinguish the Jews of Palestine from the Hellenist Jews, and passed over, together with that of *Jews*, to the classical writers."*

The Hebrew is only a small branch of the great trunk-language which was originally spread over the extensive territory reaching from the Mediterranean Sea to the Tigris, and northward from the Armenian Mountains to the Southern Ocean. The countries called Hither Asia or *the East* in its limited sense, were covered by this parent language. This results from the fact of the people or nation, whose national idiom it was, being a branch of the race scattered over that extent of territory. Some difficulty has been felt in obtaining an appropriate name for this parent-language and the peoples who employed it. It has been called *Shemitic*, and the race Shemites, because we find in Genesis x. 21, &c., that most of the nations who spoke it were derived from Shem. This appellation has been generally adopted, though it is historically inexact. Others and better ones have been proposed by Hupfeld and Ewald, without obtaining general currency.

The Shemitic trunk-language was bordered on the east and north by another still more widely extended, which spread itself from India to the west of Europe, and is commonly called *Indo-Germanic*. Between the two there are certain broad features of distinction, by means of which they are divided off from one another.

The grammatical character of the Shemitic parent-language mainly consists in these peculiarities:—

(*a.*) In the consonant-system, a greater multiplicity of gut-

* Dr. Nicholson, in Kitto's Cyclopædia, vol. i. p. 823.

tural aspirations and other primitive sounds is to be found than in any other language; while the vowel-system proceeds from the same three primary sounds, *a*, *i*, *u*, as the Indo-Germanic family.

(*b.*) In its written form the vowel-notation did not keep pace with the development of the language. Little points and strokes were *subordinated* to the consonants, while other languages invented distinct letters for the vowels added to them in the progress of time.

(*c.*) An uniform root-formation by three letters or two syllables, developed itself out of the original monosyllabic state, by the addition of a third letter. This tendency to enlargement presents itself in the Indo-Germanic also; but there is this difference, that in the latter monosyllabic roots remain besides those that have been enlarged; while in the former they have almost disappeared.

(*d.*) There is an almost total want of compounds, except in proper names.

(*e.*) In the flexion of verbs, there is a poverty in time-forms or tenses, which are confined to two. On the other hand, there is greater copiousness in *verbals* or forms for expressing the modifications of the simple idea contained in the verb.

(*f.*) In the flexion of nouns, there are important defects, such as, only two genders, the place of the neuter being supplied by the feminine; no proper *forms of cases*, but either a syntactical joining of two words for the genitive, or prepositions for the other cases; no forms for the comparative and superlative, except in the Arabic.

(*g.*) In syntax, we find a deficiency and crudeness in the use of particles, and consequently in the structure of periods. This, however, is not a peculiarity of the language so much as a peculiarity of the education of the people, which was more *poetic* than *philosophical*.*

* See Hupfeld's Hebräische Grammatik, pp. 3, 4.

The Shemitic family consists of three leading divisions.

1. The Aramaean primitive-dialect prevailing in the north and north-east, was preserved in two late off-shoots or forms, viz., an eastern one, the Babylonian or Chaldean; and a western, the Syriac. The Sabian, Samaritan, and Palmyrene were still later and corrupt off-shoots of the Aramaean stem-dialect.

2. The Canaanitish, to which the Hebrew, the Phœnician and its daughter the Punic, belong.

3. The Arabic, of which the Ethiopic is an older branch.

Of these leading primitive dialects, the Hebrew is the oldest so far as its literature greatly surpasses that of the others in antiquity. Whether it be the oldest in point of fact is another question, which has been much debated. Judging by *internal marks*, the Arabic has the greatest claim to be the most ancient of the three, and Mr. Forster accordingly believes it to be the oldest. But no decision can be founded on internal evidence alone.

Aramaean literature begins with the extinction of the Hebrew as a living tongue, *i.e.*, about the time of Cyrus. The literature of the Arabic language is still later than the Aramaean, viz., not till after Christ, as it appears in Himyaritic inscriptions, the Ethiopic version of the Bible, and the dialect of the Koreishites, a north Arabian race, which was elevated by Mohammedanism into the universal written language of the Arabians.*

There is good reason for believing, that when Abraham first went into Canaan he found the language current among the different tribes of the country to be substantially the same with his own. This is collected from such considerations as—

That the names of persons and places belonging to the Canaanitish tribes admit of Hebrew etymologies.

* Hebrew Grammar of Gesenius, as edited by Roediger, translated by M. Stuart, p. 5.

The same is the case with Phœnician proper names and Phœnician words, as far as they have been deciphered. The remains both of the Phœnician, and its daughter the Punic, coincide with Hebrew.

Again, the Canaanites dwelt in Palestine for a considerable period, and yet no difference of language is mentioned in the Bible. But a difference of language is spoken of in relation to other peoples. The testimony of Augustine and Jerome is to the same effect.

Still farther, the Hebrew language itself appears to present certain phenomena which imply its development in Canaan. Thus *the west* is denoted by, יָם *the sea*, and there is no other word for west.*

Did Abraham, then, take that very dialect which we call the Hebrew language with him into Canaan? Or was it the common tongue which he adopted from the tribes there, and which was afterwards more fully developed among his descendants? S. Morin, Loescher and others, affirm that the Hebrew, as it is in the Pentateuch, was the very dialect which Abraham took with him into Canaan. The strongest of their arguments have been repeated and urged in a better form by Hävernick.† All these writers do so chiefly in order to prove that Hebrew was the primitive language of mankind. But the most recent researches of philosophical ethnographers and linguists have effectually pushed aside this idea. To say that Hebrew is *the primitive tongue* is saying nothing at the present day. Hebrew is merely a later formation of the original type which gradually branched out into all historical and existing languages. Wherever the primitive type remained most fixed,—in whatever form it developed itself least, as in the Egyptian probably, there we should look for *the oldest* language, as far as historical sources can now be

* Gesenius, Geschichte, u. s. w. p. 16, et seq.

† Einleitung, § 26, p. 145, et seq.

traced. We go up to *primitive Hamism;* we look for that in its *least developed* state, and there is the highest point in antiquity to which we can go. From thence to Adam is not a very long period; but doubtless the language spoken then admitted of development. How far it differed from the Egyptian is mere matter of conjecture.*

In their contracted compass of investigation, such writers as S. Morin, Loescher, Hävernick, &c., rely on the fact, that "as the most important proper names in the first part of Genesis (as Cain, Seth, and others) are evidently founded on Hebrew etymologies, the essential connection of these names with their etymological origins involves the historical credibility of the records themselves, and leaves no room for any other conclusion than that the Hebrew language is coeval with the earliest history of man."† On the other side are the phenomena of the Hebrew language itself, shewing that its roots were at first *biliteral*, and became in progress *triliteral.* Akin to this is the argument founded on יָם, already given; and the additional fact, that the near relatives of Abraham, residing in the country whence he had recently emigrated, spoke *Aramaean* (Gen. xxxi. 47). This is thought to shew that Aramaean was Abraham's vernacular dialect.

On the whole, it appears to us that Abraham *adopted* the current dialect of the Canaanitish tribes, which his posterity took into Egypt, and brought back to Canaan. But the change from the one to the other was not great. They were merely different dialects of the same parent-language.‡

Which then of the three, the Aramaean, the Canaanitish, the Arabic, is the oldest representative of the original Shemitic trunk-language? Probably the Aramaean. For the cradle of the Shemites was the mountainous district of Armenia;

* See Bunsen, Report of the British Association for 1847, p. 297.

† Dr. Nicholson, in Kitto's Cyclopædia, vol. i. p. 823.

‡ Gesenius, Geschichte der Heb. Sprache, u. s. w. p. 16, et seq.

and their earliest abode that great plain between the Euphrates and Tigris, at the foot of the mountains of Armenia; whence Abraham the progenitor of the Hebrews went forth.

A still older representative of the primitive language is the Egyptian.

In the Old Testament, we have writings belonging to very different times. Commencing with Moses, they come down to the Persian dominion, and later. Hence arises their manifold character, at least in part. There is great difficulty in ascertaining the different periods belonging to the various remains of the Hebrew literature. It is not easy to assign each book to its proper position and era in the national history. The time when it originated can scarcely be determined with certainty, from the peculiarities of its diction and style. This results from various causes. In most pieces of the Old Testament collection, a number of circumstances must be closely examined before a right apprehension of their age be reached. And then the language itself appears to have undergone few changes from Moses till about 600 years before Christ.* The simplicity of structure belonging to the Shemitic family, contributed to the inflexibility and permanence of their essential character. It is somewhat different in the case of the Indo-Germanic family. It should also be remembered, that the Hebrews were not much exposed, during that long period, to the influences which forcibly affect a language. They were not subjected for any length of time to people speaking other tongues. They lived in a state of comparative isolation from neighbouring nations, under their own free constitution. They were separated from surrounding peoples, and from all foreign languages. Hence their native language was not much altered either for the better or the worse. It was little improved; and it was little deteriorated.* Still, there are some peculiarities in the Pentateuch and other older books, which were after-

* See Ewald's Ausführliches Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Sprache, p. 21.

wards modified or dropped. There are diversities between the language as found in it, and the language some centuries after, which can be recognised.

These observations will serve to justify us in not dividing the history of the Hebrew language and literature very minutely. We must take large epochs. Hävernick, who follows the brief hints of Ewald, has increased the difficulty of the subject in disposing it under the three divisions of the Mosaic period, the period of David and Solomon, and the period of the captivity, till its extinction as a spoken language. Such divisions may be justified by the internal character of the language; but they expose the various features of it to undue prominence and diversity. It is better to abide by the older division into two periods. These are more distinguishable than three, and are quite sufficient for general purposes.

The remains of the Hebrews' sacred literature may therefore be divided most conveniently into two classes, corresponding with two periods in the history of the language. The first epoch embraces the books written before the Babylonish captivity; the second, those which were composed during and after that time. These are the *golden* and *silver* ages of the language. The *golden* age embraces, of historical writings, the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Ruth; of the prophets, Jonah, Hosea, Amos, Joel, Isaiah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Obadiah, Zephaniah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel; of the poetical writings, the earlier Psalms, Proverbs, Canticles, and Job.

It will be obvious to all that the apportionment of books to the two periods respectively, is a matter of some uncertainty. Some writings may be placed in the golden or in the silver age, according to the judgment, taste, or fancy of critics. And some are differently distributed because the separating line is not very definite. All that can be done is an approximation to certainty in the proposed classification.

It is somewhat remarkable, that in the earliest existing monuments, which are undoubtedly the Mosaic books, the language appears in a form that presupposes a series of successive changes, by means of which it had deviated considerably from its original state. It is *fully developed* in the Pentateuch. Hence arises the presumption, that the writing of the Hebrews was very ancient. It did not begin with Moses or his time. Alphabetical writing was of much earlier existence among them. In these oldest existing monuments, the Hebrew language is as firmly and definitely developed as if it had long been written. And it is inferred that it had been so. There were documents prior to Moses. It may be supposed that they contained records and genealogies of the nation's history. The writer of the Pentateuch drew from them. He consulted histories and genealogical tables preserved among the posterity of Abraham. All analogy is opposed to the idea that the Hebrew attained the regularity of structure and syntax which it presents in the Mosaic books, *at once*. It did not burst forth suddenly in this high state of refinement. A considerable time was required for its gradual unfolding, till it came to be spoken and written in that mature condition. It passed through the process of centuries, being slowly and successively developed amid the various influences to which it was exposed. Hence the Pentateuch, especially in some of the oldest poems or fragments of poems incorporated into it, exhibits some *archaisms*. Thus הוּא and נָהָר were then of the common gender. There are also harsh and stiff forms, which were subsequently softened. Such archaisms and stiffness are most apparent in Exodus xv. While, however, they corroborate the opinion that Hebrew literature did not commence with Moses, they are exceptions to the general character of the language, which is clear, simple, and elegant.

To *the silver* age belong Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, some of the Psalms, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, Chronicles.

The Aramaean element is the characteristic feature which distinguishes the language of this period. When the political independence of the nation sank, the theocratic spirit sank at the same time. In accordance with this degeneracy, the force and originality of the national ideas, as well as the prevalent purity of taste, became less. This deterioration is observable even in Jeremiah and Ezekiel, who, in point of language, stand on the borders of the two ages. It is still more noticeable in Daniel and the post-exile *prophets* Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, as well as the later *Psalms*. *History* too becomes annalistic, compilatory, mechanical, as in Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles, Esther.

The Hebrew language exhibits a twofold diction, that of poetry and prose. This distinction may be traced both in the earlier and later Hebrew. It does not appear that Hebrew poetry had *metres*. Long and short syllables, and the varieties thence arising, did not belong to it. Its characteristics are a certain rythm, consisting in measured parallel members; as well as peculiar words, forms and significations of words, and grammatical constructions. Most of these peculiarities occur in other dialects, particularly the Aramaean, as the usual modes of expression, so that they may be regarded partly as archaisms retained in poetry, and partly as transferred from Aramaean by the poets who knew it.

In regard to rythm and language, the prophets belonging to the golden age are almost poets, except that the sentences frequently run on longer, and the parallelism is less regular than in those who are properly poets. The later prophets approach nearer to the language of prose.*

Whether the Hebrew had *dialects*, can scarcely be determined, because of the scanty remains of it we possess. It is probable, however, that it exhibited such varieties. The dialect of the north may have inclined to Aramaean. There is

* See Roediger's Gesenius, Bagsters' translation, p. 8.

only one passage where it is expressly stated that the Ephraimites could not pronounce *Shibboleth*, but only *Sibboleth*. Here it is uncertain whether they were unable to utter correctly the sound *sh* merely in this word, and perhaps some others, or whether they could not utter it at all.

Dialectic differences are more obvious in the older writings, especially the poets. The song of Deborah exhibits such appearances. So does the Song of Solomon, and Hosea. Pieces which belong to the north of Palestine have an Aramaean colouring, shewing the influence to which those living northward were exposed. Even within the small limits of the kingdom of Judah, writers in the country like Amos and Micah, have a diction somewhat different from that more polished and cultivated one belonging to Isaiah and Joel.* This justifies us in supposing that the dialect of *the people* slightly differed from that of *books*. Of this there is an example in Exodus xvi. 15. When the children of Israel saw *manna*, they said מָן הוּא *what is this;* but the writer gives the word מָה as expressive of the interrogative *what*.

After the Babylonian exile, the Hebrew language did not continue to be long spoken. It fell away as the common language of the people. But it continued for some time as the dialect of the learned and of books.

* Ewald, Lehrbuch, u. s. w. p. 20.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE HEBREW CHARACTERS.

THE memorials of the Hebrews which have descended to us present a twofold mode of writing. The one character is found on the Asmonaean coins which were struck under Simon. The other character is that used in the oldest Hebrew MSS., commonly called the *square writing*, כְּתָב מְרֻבָּע on account of its angular form, to distinguish it from the more flowing text which the Jews termed כְּתָב עָגוּל *round writing*. It is also styled כְּתָב אַשּׁוּרִית, *Assyrian writing*, because it was thought that it consisted of the Assyrian or Aramaean letters, which Ezra is said to have brought from Assyria into Palestine after the captivity.

The Hebrew character which appears in all existing Hebrew MSS. and printed books, is not that which was always used. Another character was employed before the present. A change was made in the forms of the letters. They were wholly altered from their first condition. How is this known, it may be asked? It is so stated in the Talmuds of Babylon and Jerusalem, as well as in the writings of Origen and Jerome, who learned it doubtless from their Rabbinical teachers. From these sources we learn that the Hebrews used before the exile an ancient character termed *Samaritan*, which was exchanged by Ezra after the captivity, for the present character of *Assyrian* origin.

Thus the Babylonian Talmud says—"The law was given

to Israel in Hebrew writing, and in the holy tongue. And it was given to them again in the days of Ezra in Assyrian writing and the Aramaean language. The Israelites chose to themselves the Assyrian writing and the holy language, and left the Hebrew writing and Aramaean language to ignorant persons. But who are those idiots or ignorant persons? R. Chasda says, the Samaritans."*

And again—"Though the law was not given by his hand (Ezra's), yet writing (that is, the form of the letters) was changed by his hand, since its name is called Assyrian, because it came up with them from Assyria. †

In like manner Origen says, that in *the old writing* the letter tau had the form of a cross,‡ meaning by *the Samaritan writing*, of which this is predicated, the *Jewish coin-writing*, as was common among the Jews. In another place he states, that in certain MSS. the word יהוה was written with the old Hebrew character, adding, "they say that Ezra used other letters after the exile."§

To the same effect writes Jerome—"It is certain that Ezra the scribe and teacher of the law, after Jerusalem had been taken, and the temple renewed under Zerubbabel, *found* other letters, which we now use, since up to that time the characters of the Samaritans and Hebrews were the same."‖

It accords with this that the Samaritans call the present square character *the writing of Ezra.*

From these testimonies which, taken as a whole, are definite enough and unpolemical, it follows that the square character was introduced by Ezra, and that it was of Assyrian

* Gemar. Sanhedr. fol. 21.2 and 22.1. † Ibid. cap. 1.

‡ On Ezekiel ix. 4. § Hexapla, vol. ii. p. 94, ed. Bahrdt.

‖ "Certum est, Esram scribam legisque doctorem post captam Hierosolymam et instaurationem templi sub Zorobabel alias literas reperisse, quibus nunc utimur, cum ad illud usque tempus iidem Samaritanorum et Hebraeorum fuerint characteres." Prolog. Galeat. ad lib. Regum. Opp. vol. iv. p. 7.

origin; the former native character of the Jews being displaced by it.

But what was *the Hebrew writing* which, according to this Jewish tradition, existed and was current before Ezra? It was *the Jewish coin-writing*, which was substantially Phœnician, called also *Samaritan*, because the character used by the Samaritans is essentially identical.

In regard to the mutual relation of the Hebrew *coin-writing* and the *square character*, as respects their earlier or later use, different views have been held.

Thus the younger Buxtorf supposed that the square character was the old original alphabet, but that even before the exile, the Samaritan character had been in use *along with* it, the former being applied to holy things, the latter to common life. During the exile the priests and learned portion of the people cultivated especially the sacred character; while those who remained behind in Palestine, from whom the Samaritans proceeded, retained the common character. The former was brought out of the captivity by Ezra, and soon spread very extensively; the latter continued for the most part among the Samaritans, though it was employed occasionally by the Jews, ex. gr. on coins.* Such was the view adopted by Buxtorf and many others—a view which was a little changed by S. Morin† and Loescher‡ without improvement. But it has been rejected as untenable by all modern scholars. The most ancient Jewish testimonies never speak of two modes of writing being used *together*, but *after* one another.

A second view of the mutual relation of the two modes of writing is that of Gesenius, according to which the one took the place of the other. But the change was not made entirely in the time of Ezra. It was *mainly* made immediately after the exile,

* Dissertationes Philol. Theol. No. 4. (Basileae, 1662, 4to.)

† De lingua primaeva, p. 271.

‡ De causis linguae Hebraeae, pp. 207, 208.

but not *wholly*. It was a gradual thing. He admits that the tradition of Ezra is true in a limited sense; that it is very probable the new character came from Chaldea; but denies that Ezra transcribed a copy of the Scriptures out of one character into another. To account for the late use of the ancient letters on coins, he appeals, besides the slow process of such changes, to the use of the Kufic character on Mohammedan coins centuries after the Nishi was employed for writing, to the attachment to things old, and to a mercantile interest, which would lead to the adoption of a character closely allied to the Phœnician. In this way it is thought that a change of character actually took place through the influence of the captivity and of the Chaldean writing, but that it was gradual, requiring an entire period for its completion. When the Maccabean coins were stamped, the one had not wholly supplanted the other.*

In recent times this view was rejected by others, among whom Kopp is the most conspicuous. And from his knowledge of palæography, this scholar has been listened to by many. Discarding as fabulous the tradition on which the prevalent view was based, the distinguished palæographer propounded the theory, that the square character developed itself in the course of time out of the ancient character by gradual steps of transition; and that after it had gone through its organic change and attained a firm form, it was adopted by the Hebrews in the early centuries after Christ.† It is almost superfluous to say, that the view proposed by Kopp was substantially new. The conjectures of Kennicott, Bianconi, Bauer, Jahn, &c. &c., were both uncritical and unphilosophical. These scholars had no perception of the true nature of the question, as is evident to any one acquainted with their works.

The theory first developed and published by the Mannheim palæographer, attracted general attention, especially after it

* Geschichte der Heb. Sprache und Schrift, § 43, p. 156, et seq.

† Bilder und Schriften der Vorzeit, vol. ii.

was ably illustrated by Hupfeld.* Indeed, the explanations and partial modifications of the latter Hebraist first contributed to its general adoption. Unfolded with great skill and singular ability by Hupfeld, it was welcomed by most Hebraists as the true solution of a problem towards which many had been groping their way before. Let us therefore look at the new and popular view of Hebrew writing which has commended itself so much to the approbation of recent critics and grammarians.

The Shemitic alphabet, of which the Hebrew is merely a branch, was not invented by the Hebrews under or since Moses, but existed long prior to his time. Neither was it invented by the Phœnicians, though they had the merit of early transmitting it to the Greeks and other European nations. It was certainly invented and used by a *Shemitic* race, because it is adapted to the peculiarities of the Shemitic languages. Gesenius and Ewald think that it was constructed and used by a Shemitic people who were at one time connected with Egypt, imagining that the Egyptian picture-writing, to which the Hebrew alphabet is allied, is the oldest. The principle observed in the construction of both is the same, except in relation to the forms of the letters. Both have a *phonetic* basis. The Phœnicians, who were very early connected with the neighbouring Egyptians, are thought by Gesenius to have been the inventors. But this is somewhat uncertain. If the language of Egypt contain the undeveloped type of the Shemitic and Indo-Germanic families, as Bunsen supposes,† there will be no necessity for finding a people who, from acquaintance with the Egyptians, constructed an alphabet after the exemplar of their writing. The descendants of Noah in the central plains of Asia, may have invented it themselves,

* Studien und Kritiken for 1830, Zweytes Heft.

† See his masterly paper in the Report of the British Association for 1847, p. 254, et seq.

having some traditional knowledge, through Noah, of the primitive writing which was taken to Egypt by a colony from the birth-place of the human race, before mankind were divided into the three families designated by Noah's sons. It is therefore more probable, that the Shemitic alphabet was developed out of the primitive type independently of Egypt, in Babylonia, whence the Phœnicians got it, and were the instruments of communicating it to other nations.

The Shemitic primitive alphabet presents itself in a threefold stage of development, while it was contributing to the formation of the present Hebrew character.

1. In its oldest, though not its original state, it exists in Phœnician monuments, both stones and coins. It consists of twenty-two letters, written from right to left, and is characterised generally by stiff straight down-strokes, without regularity and beauty, and by closed heads round or pointed. It is likely that the Hebrews adopted this writing from the Canaanites (*i. e.* Phœnicians), among whom they lived; and employed it while their language was a living one. There is a tradition in the Talmud respecting such use of the Phœnician writing, as also in Origen and Jerome. We have also a twofold memorial of it—viz., *the inscriptions on Jewish coins*, struck under the Maccabean princes,* where it is evident that the

* These coins are enumerated and described by Bayer and Eckhel. They were struck under Simon Maccabeus 143 B. C., and afterwards down to Antigonus, B. C. 40. They are only in silver and copper. The silver ones are shekels and half shekels; the copper coins are about the size of our halfpence and farthings. The type of the silver ones is commonly on the obverse—the pot of manna; on the reverse, Aaron's rod budded. The copper are much more numerous than the silver, and have a great variety of types, such as the pot of manna, a vine leaf, bunch of grapes, palm-tree, citron-tree, fruits detached and in baskets. The dates given by Bayer are "first," "second," "third," "fourth year." For example, obverse, "shekel of silver, year one;" reverse, "Jerusalem the holy." Of Antigonus, the last of the Asmonaean family, Bayer gives a copper coin (p. 183) obverse, in Greek characters, "Antigonus the King;"

characters resemble the Phœnician, and *the Samaritan character*, in which the Pentateuch of the Samaritans is written. This latter character has been preserved unchanged among them till the present day, and differs from the Phœnician, as seen on the Maccabean coins, merely by a few freer and finer traces.

2. While the old character thus continued without much change among the Phœnicians and Samaritans, it had gradually altered among the Aramaeans, and assumed somewhat of a *cursive* form, by opening the heads or tops of the letters which were closed before, so that they presented themselves as two projecting points or ears; and by breaking the stiff down-strokes, which were either upright or but slightly bent, into horizontally inclined ones, to serve for union in writing. This character appears, in a twofold form, on Aramaean monuments. It is seen as *an older* and more simple one on the Carpentras stone, where it still inclines to the old writing, and is just beginning to deviate from it by opening the heads of the letters. It is also seen, as a *younger* character, in inscriptions found among the ruins of Palmyra, departing very considerably from the primitive alphabet by the open heads of letters, and by the horizontal strokes of union.

3. The ancient character also underwent a similar process among the Jews. The Maccabean coin-writing presents some appearances of such change, where the straight strokes of some letters are broken. It is probable that the influence of the later Aramaean character (Palmyrene) contributed most to this effect, until the present Hebrew writing was formed, which

reverse, in the coin character resembling the Samaritan, "Hyrcanus the high priest." There are also coins which bear distinct traces of having been originally struck by a Roman emperor, and afterwards restruck and appropriated by a Jewish conqueror. These must be assigned to the time when Barcochab, having raised the standard of war, urged his countrymen to shake off the Roman yoke. They were therefore *originally* issued by Trajan or Adrian. See Eckhel, vol. iii. pp. 471-474.

went considerably farther in its development than the Palmyrene, by completely polishing off the points that remained from the Phœnician heads, by enlarging the horizontal strokes, and by straightening the letters, separating them from one another, and causing the alphabet to lose *the cursive* character to which it had attained. In this developed form it has received the name כְּתָב מְרֻבָּע, *square writing*, on account of its angular form.*

According to this view, the old Hebrew writing was essentially Phœnician, having been preserved, after the Hebrews had laid it aside, among the Phœnicians, and still current among the Samaritans. The oldest monuments of Hebrew writing reaching no farther back than the middle of the second century before Christ, viz., the characters stamped on the Asmonaean coins, are substantially Phœnician or Samaritan. But the Aramaean character, which had gradually assumed a cursive form, was exerting a continued influence on this old Hebrew character ever since the return from Babylon. In the progress of time it was preferred above others. It spread itself over Syria and Northern Arabia. The Jews could scarcely resist its influence, because the Aramaean literature and language were entirely supplanting their ancient speech. This constantly growing energy succeeded in wholly superseding the old writing, or rather in renewing and refashioning it. And when once received, it was superstitiously preserved as holy and unalterable in all the sacred writings of the Jews.

In like manner, the Aramaean writing is regarded in this view as an intermediate condition of the old Hebrew writing used by the Jews before the exile (which was substantially Phœnician), and the modern square character. It marks the character in a transition state. It resembles in part the ancient Hebrew writing as found on the Asmonaean coins; and in part, the modern character of existing MSS. and printed

* Hupfeld, Hebräische Grammatik, p. 33, et seq.

books. The square character, therefore, is mainly of foreign origin. It passed from the Aramaeans or Syrians to the Hebrews, not by any instantaneous or sudden exchange of one character for another, but gradually and insensibly, amid the pressure of circumstances. Time, art, and culture contributed to its formation.

The view of Kopp and Hupfeld now given rests mainly on two principles, a *cursive* or *tachygraphical*, and a *calligraphical* one. Every derivative mode of writing must be formed on both; and the square Hebrew character is no exception. The first consists in a striving after facility of writing. It is the more important and influential of the two. It works in a twofold method. The pen draws merely a hasty sketch of each figure, abridging, rounding off, and flattening the parts of it; and it also forms union-traces to serve as transitions from one letter to another, in consequence of which the length and position of some parts are altered, so that the pen can the more readily pass from one to another. The effect of tachygraphy is easily recognised. A superficial delineation of letters without attention to their minute parts; a linking of them one to another; and a prolongation or bending of the final letters to admit a freer transition to such as follow, are the chief lineaments by which it is distinguished. The *calligraphical* principle proceeds in a contrary manner. It consists in striving after uniformity and symmetry. It aims to make the height and breadth of letters alike. It separates too, the letters which had been linked together in the common writing; and it inclines to ornament the letters artificially, and to beautify them according to the prevalent national taste. Hence the general features of calligraphy are easily recognised. It goes back to the forms which had existed before the cursive principle had modified them. It aims at regularity and symmetry. Letters which had been joined together it

divides, and attaches various ornamental flourishes to them, agreeably to current taste.*

By the aid of these two principles, *tachygraphy* and *calligraphy*, which are manifest in the formation of all derivative characters, the square Hebrew writing was derived from the old Phœnician *through* the intermediate Aramaean monuments on the stone of Carpentras, and the Palmyrene inscriptions. Thus we find in it the points of the letters *blunted and smoothed off*, the *horizontal union-strokes* enlarged, figures that had been divided *rounded and closed*, the position and length of many cross-lines altered, and *final letters* introduced, agreeably to tachygraphy. On the other hand, the *calligraphical* principle is seen in the extraordinary uniformity and symmetry of the letters, their separation from one another, and in the peculiar taste which adorns them with a stiff and angular form.

At what time the Hebrew writing thus altered passed from the Aramaeans or Syrians to the Jews, it is very difficult to discover. We have seen that in the Talmud, as also in the works of Origen and Jerome, the change is referred to Ezra, who, after the captivity, is said to have *changed* the old character for the square. Hence it is called *the Assyrian*, meaning the Chaldean *writing*, כְּתָב אַשּׁוּרִית. But this tradition is contradicted by many considerations. Apart from analogy, which teaches that such changes take place gradually, under the influence of successive circumstances, historical facts are against it. We know that the Aramaean character was in use long after the captivity. Even on the Maccabean coins, the old Phœnician alphabet is seen.

Kopp fixed upon the fourth century of the Christian era. The process, as he thinks, was then completed. The square character was finally and definitely formed at that period, having supplanted prior forms. It is probable that he was mainly led to take the fourth century, because the Palmyrene

* See Hupfeld, Stud. und Kritik. 1830. H. 2. p. 259, et seq.

monuments, which exhibit the Aramaean character in its nearest approach to the square one, belong to the first three centuries of the Christian era. Hence Kopp put the latter into the century next to them.

But there are serious difficulties in the way of this time which Kopp could hardly have perceived. These did not escape the keen eye of Hupfeld, who accordingly, with greater probability, speaks of the first or second century as the date of the square character. In this opinion he seems to have been influenced by the fact, that in Origen's day the alteration of character was so old and so far out of men's memories, as to be hid in the obscurity of fable. Hence it was commonly attributed to Ezra, but by most Talmudists to God. Hence also arises the ignorance displayed in the Talmud respecting the sense of the names עזרא and אשורית belonging to the old and new modes of writing respectively; for it should be mentioned that the meaning of the word אשורית especially is greatly disputed, though it is explained *Assyrian* in the Talmud. R. Judah surnamed the *holy* explains it *beata*, *beatificata*;* R. Jonah, *elegant* in its letters. Indeed the majority of the Rabbins incline to take it as an *appellative*. Both Michaelis and Hupfeld derive the word from אשר to *be firm* or *straight*; a meaning to which some Rabbins were inclined, particularly Abraham de Balmis. Others deriving it from ישר *to be straight*, *recta*, *proper*, assign the same sense. Thus the Talmudic explanation *Assyrian*, which Buxtorf and Gesenius follow, is liable to great doubt.† Hupfeld was also led to the same view in part, by the fact that traces of the present square character are found even in the Mishnah; and by the passage in Matthew v. 8, in which it is implied that *yod* is a little letter, which is not the case in old Hebrew. The last consideration appears

* Buxtorf, Dissertationes, p. 235.

† See Gesenius, Geschichte der Heb. Sprache und Schrift, p. 143; and Hupfeld, Studien und Kritiken, 1830, 2 Heft. pp. 293-297.

to be the most plausible of all against the late date assigned by Kopp; for it refers, as Hupfeld asserts, either to the Palmyrenic or the square character.*

The view taken by Kopp in the modified form that Hupfeld gave to it, was afterwards adopted in the main by Hävernick and Ewald. The former, however, shifts the time still farther back than Hupfeld, for he refers the change to a period prior to Christ, in consequence of the passage in Matth. v. 8. With this the Palmyrene inscriptions will certainly agree, for the age of an inscription is not necessarily the exact age of *the writing* it exhibits. The Palmyrene *writing* may therefore be dated before Christ, a century before the earliest known inscription.†

Ewald is more cautious than Hävernick, for he says that the change took place in the first century before and the first after Christ.‡

But the view proposed by Kopp, and approved with very slight modifications by Hupfeld, Hävernick, and Ewald, has not commanded universal assent. Gesenius himself, who witnessed its apparent triumph, threw out hints respecting it, implying considerable scepticism, in his great work on the Phœnician monuments. But death prevented him from speaking fully and definitely of its correctness or baselessness.

An opponent to it appeared in the person of Herbst,§ who has stated his doubts and objections with force and candour. Such adverse considerations are entitled to attention from their intrinsic character.

First. In the days of Julius Africanus, in the first half of the third century after Christ, the alteration of writing was

* Stud. und Kritiken for 1830, p. 279, et seq.

† Einleit. vol. i. p. 291.

‡ Ausführliches Lehrbuch der Hebr. Sprache, p. 100.

§ Historisch-kritische Einleitung in die heiligen Schriften des alten Testaments, part i. p. 61, et seq.

something that had gone so much out of memory that the Jews ascribed it to Ezra. Granting that Ezra had nothing to do with it, we are yet compelled to suppose that it was not made after the end of the first century. And when the disastrous time after the outbreak of the Jewish war is considered, it could not have happened then, so that we reach the middle of the first century as the *terminus ad quem* or utmost limit. The Maccabean coins lead to the *terminus a quo*, or commencing point. This, however, is not the time of Simon, but at the earliest, the time immediately preceding the dominion of the Romans, because the coins reach down so far. And because the last of the Asmonaean coins show nothing of an alteration in the writing, we must date the commencing point of *the impulse* which affected the current mode of writing somewhat later than the latest coin, probably about the time immediately subsequent to the birth of Christ. Hence there remains so small an interval for the alteration, that the idea of a gradual formation requiring centuries for its completion must be abandoned, and a *proper exchange* of the native for a foreign character should be assumed.

Secondly. At the time when the square character is said to have been introduced, the Jewish academies in the West, as well as the East, were most flourishing. A series of distinguished teachers and scholars presided over them. Now if *the old* passed *by degrees* into *the new* writing, the change took place before their eyes. They knew the steps of transition and intermediate links between both. Yet they have handed down nothing relative to it. All that they mention is two sorts of writing, strongly marked in their contrast to each other, one of which had been used *for centuries* by ignorant persons (the Samaritans); the other by the Jews.

Thirdly. If the square character was substituted for the old at so late a period, how can it be explained that those learned men, the presidents of the academies, whose doctrines

and opinions are mainly embodied in the Talmud, did not understand the expressions רעין and אשורית, and attempted in consequence the most remarkable explanations; since these technical expressions could only arise after the square character had received its full development.

Fourthly, It is very inconvenient for the new view that a passage in Irenaeus, even so early as the second century, speaks of the *ancient* and *primitive* Hebrew letters, and so of *a distinction* between the earlier and later writing.*

In consequence of these considerations, and others which are irrelevant, Herbst objects to the opinion that the square character was fully formed in the first or second century by a gradual development, under external influence and impulse. Perhaps it has not been sufficiently considered, that if the change of Hebrew characters was gradual, *various forms* must have been used at once. One had obtained currency before another was entirely laid aside.

But what reason is there for supposing the change to have been a *gradual* one? All analogy is in its favour. It is not likely that the Jewish people should have suddenly or at once exchanged their character, to which they had been long accustomed, and in which all their national writings existed, for a strange one. And if they even did so in Palestine, there is no reason why the Jews in Syria, Egypt, Cyrene, Asia Minor, Greece, should have done the very same thing. Every consideration is opposed to the fact that Ezra made the change. It did not take place so early. The later Jews were too prone to ascribe to *him* every thing remarkable and important, at the termination of their exile, which tended to improve and

* "Ipsae enim *antiquae* et *primae* literae *sacerdotales* nuncupatae decem quidem numero, scribuntur autem quoque per quindecim novissima litera copulata primae. Et ideo quaedam secundum subsequentiam scribunt, sicuti et nos: quaedam autem retrorsum a dextra parte in sinistram retorquentes literas."—Adv. Haeres. ii. 24.

exalt them as a people. But it is highly probable that an Aramaean influence began to be exerted upon *the mode of writing*, as it began to be on the *language itself*, during and after the exile. Of course the change of character was of very much slower growth than the alteration of the language, especially as the number of learned persons was comparatively few. The Aramaean or Syrian influence was greatly increased, when the Jews lived in close connection with the Aramaeans from the time Seleucus Nicator planted colonies of them in Antioch. About 143 years before Christ, when the Jews first coined money under Simon Maccabeus, the change had not been made.* Nor had it been made at least fully 40 years before Christ, for the coins of Antigonus, the last descendant of Simon Maccabeus, bear the same letters as were used under the first prince of the Asmonean family. The change had not been made from the one to the other. It is likely, however, that the old writing had been modified during the interval from Ezra to the Maccabean princes. It had slowly inclined to the square character; especially after the canon had been completed. But the Jews were very jealous of change. They were tenacious of ancient usages and forms. Hence the little progress that had been made in that period,—a progress, however, that must not be judged of by the few characters which occur on the Maccabean coins. The more ancient and time-hallowed character would be given in these memorials. It is very probable that the character had been modified more than the coins exhibit. The alteration proceeded gradually and insensibly till the coming of Christ, and during the first century after, when we suppose that it was consummated. That it was not *wholly* so, we conclude from the fact, that we know of a number of Greek and Roman coins issued by the Emperor Trajan, restruck and bearing Jewish types, with inscriptions in the same character

* See *Jüdische Munzen* in Ersch and Gruber's Encyklopaedie, § ii part 28, p. 27, et seq.

used on the coins of Simon Maccabeus and the other Asmonean princes.* One of these coins is in the British Museum, being a silver denarius of the Emperor Trajan, *restruck* by Simeon Barcochab. The inscription on it is in characters *precisely similar* to those on the Maccabean coins.† The coin in question furnishes an argument against the square character having then obtained *exclusive* currency. But it is no argument against *the existence and currency* of that character because the inscriptions on coins may be generally regarded as imitating the more antique. The square character may then have been used, *i.e.*, besides and along with the older one. And we are inclined to think that it was so used, and that it had obtained all but *exclusive* currency. The other was little employed. The new writing had almost effaced it. It had superseded the former. The great difficulty in supposing that the square Hebrew character was unknown in the first century, is the passage in Matt. v. 8. But if we suppose that the new had not *wholly* supplanted the old, in the time of Christ, and that even when Barcochab headed the formidable insurrection against the Romans under Adrian, *i.e.*, about 130 A.D., the Jews had not lost all knowledge of their former mode of writing, all difficulty is removed. It has been sug-

* See Bayer, de numis Hebraeo-Samaritanis, pp. 237, 238, and Supplement, 13-17; and Eckhel, Doctrina numorum veterum, vol. iii. pp. 471-477, where the various specimens are fully described.

† This silver denarius of the Emperor Trajan bore his bust on the obverse, inscribed "Trajans, Aug. Ger. Dac. P. M. Imp." On the reverse was the figure of Arabia, with a camel standing close to her on her right, over which Arabia stretches her arm, holding in it a branch, with the inscription continued from the obverse, "Cos. v. P. P.; S. P. Q. R. Optimo Princ." On the obverse the coin now bears a bunch of grapes, with the word in the Samaritan character "Simion." On the reverse are two trumpets; and in the same character, "Lacharuth Yerushalayim," 'Of the Liberation of Jerusalem." See a paper in the Numismatic Chronicle for October 1851, by Richard Sainthill, Esq., p. 95, who has obligingly furnished the writer with a cast of the coin in sulphur.

gested, also, that ἰωτα might refer to the Greek letter, and have been substituted in the translation for a Hebrew proverbial expression.

As to the Jewish Rabbins in the Talmud speaking of the one character as *the old*, and the other as *Assyrian*, *i.e.*, Chaldean, there is not much difficulty in reconciling their expressions with the fact that the change was *completed* at the close of the first century. They might speak very well of *the ancient* character before it had become obsolete. And they were so dependent on the traditions handed down, and so prone to fictitious legends, that little reliance can be placed on their declarations. Their statements must be received with caution and discrimination. The statements of Africanus, Irenaeus, Origen, and Jerome resolve themselves into Jewish tradition. They were derived from Jewish sources. On the whole, the change which took centuries for its consummation—the time being longer among a people like the Jews, than it would have been among other nations—was probably completed in the first half of the second of the Christian era. Both characters must therefore have been used in the century before Christ and the one after.

The coin of Barcochab seems to us fatal to the view of Gesenius, and to that of all who think that Ezra changed the one writing for the other.

Many writers have not attended to the fact that the Hebrew square did *not* come directly and immediately from what is termed the Samaritan; and that the coin-character of the Maccabees is not exactly the same as the proper Samaritan. The present square character comes from a more ancient type through Aramaean influence. It was modified and moulded chiefly by *the Palmyrene*, or that form of the Aramaean which is found on monuments belonging to Palmyra.

CHAPTER IV.

THE HEBREW VOWELS.

THE most ancient mode of writing consisted of consonants alone—a peculiarity which could only be tolerated in a language during its rudimental state. It was the more easy for Hebrew alphabetical writing to remain stationary in this incipient state, because the vowels, in Shemitic dialects, do not define the roots, but rather their modifications of meaning—the finer and more fluctuating shades of signification—rather than the signification itself. The fundamental idea of a word was distinctly intelligible without vowels; and the peculiar modification of its meaning could be discovered from the connection of the discourse. Hence one acquainted with the language could readily supply the appropriate vocalisation. Besides, in the oldest and most frequent forms of the language, the vowels are generally very short and fine, so that consonants are the predominating elements; and two vowels might not be allowed in close juxta-position, except under peculiar conditions. But though this mode of writing was not unsuited to a language still simple and poor in flexion, the principle could not be carried out in all its strictness. Cases occurred in which it was absolutely necessary, for distinctness' sake, to *express* the vowel sound, as in the rare examples of two vowels coming together. And in proportion as the language developed itself, it would aim at making the mode of writing more complete. As vowel

sounds are intimately united with consonants, an improving language must be more prone to express them. Hence the Hebrews became gradually more accustomed to write vowels where they seemed necessary to distinctness, especially since it was absolutely impossible to do without them altogether. In this manner the vowels began to be written, though rarely and irregularly. As soon as the language began to extend itself beyond its imperfect rudimental form, the vowels were expressed in certain positions, corresponding to the improved form the language itself assumed.

But no new letters were invented for this purpose. Consonants already existing were used as vowel signs. The alphabet was not enlarged with new characters. Old ones were employed as representatives of vowels. And such consonants were selected as exhibited sounds approaching nearest to the vowels, or with which the vowels most easily accorded.

Like all primitive tongues, the Hebrew had at first only the three leading vowel sounds a, i, u. Of these the last two were oftenest designated in writing by proper letters. י and ו were used as the vowel letters of î and û, because the sound of them as consonants is little more than a hardening of the vowels î and û. To express â, א as being the weakest guttural, and coming nearest to the vowels, was used. Yet the adoption of א for â was exceedingly rare, because a, as the nearest vowel, appears least to require expression in writing. So rare was this use of א for â, that the ground-vowel â can scarcely be said to have had א for its own proper vowel letter. Perhaps ה the next weakest guttural to א was sometimes, though rarely, employed to represent the same fundamental vowel sound. As the oldest Hebrew writing was a sort of *syllable-writing*, in which every letter was oftenest uttered with the very simple vowel tone a, the proper vowel â required a representative letter the seldomest. It was more frequently supplied

after the consonants than î and û, and had therefore less need of a separate representative.*

As י and ו were written for the vowels î and û, so were they used for the dipthongs *ai* and *au*, which dipthongal sounds were afterwards contracted into ê and ô. But these secondary and mixed vowel tones were not represented in the written language by signs of their own. The language remained as before, ignoring this enlargement of it in its spoken state. The *written* did not keep pace with the *spoken* condition. The latter developed itself before the former. The two did not progress equally. The added vowels ê and ô were either regarded as mere helping tones to the consonants, or as modifications of i and u. In the former case, they received for themselves no particular outward designations; in the latter, the signs of î and û, viz., י and ו were employed for them. Thus the entire series of vowels, a, e, i, o, u, with all the gradations of time they had in the living language, possessed no other representatives than *vau*, *yod*, *aleph*, and *he*.

These vowel letters represented only the *long* vowels. The short ones were not written. Nor were the letters just mentioned *always* inserted where long vowel sounds actually occurred. The rule was not to write â at all. It was quite a rare case to use א for it. ו most frequently represented û. It also represented the mixed sound ô. Again, י represented î, rarely ê, which is a dipthongal sound. At the end of a word ה was oftener employed for â than א. The aspirate ה was also written for ê and ô in certain cases. More rarely did א stand for the same vowels.

Now it must be apparent to all, that the representatives of the five vowels, with all their modifications of sounds, were too few. Many ambiguities were left. The short vowels were undesignated. The absence of vowels was not specified. Whether the letters י ו ה א were used as consonants or vowels

* Ewald, Lehrbuch der Hebr. Sprache, p. 104.

was uncertain; and especially was it uncertain for what particular vowels or sounds they stood in particular words and syllables. But these difficulties were materially lessened, if not obviated, by knowledge of the language, and perhaps by other means.

We have observed that the representatives of vowel sounds were too few; and that they were often omitted. They were inserted only in the more doubtful cases. They were especially omitted in the oldest books of the Bible. In roots they were mostly left out; while, as a general rule, they were put at the end of words. The *scriptio defectiva* appears generally in the earlier books of the Old Testament. But the imperfection was felt less than we are ready to suppose. A vernacular knowledge of the language compensated for it in a good degree. The want of proper designations for each vowel was easily supplied. Besides, the persons who read and wrote were comparatively few. But when after the exile literary activity was awakened, and the Jews turned their attention to reading and writing—their political relations being such as diverted their thoughts in that direction—the inconvenience of the old vowel designation was felt in proportion as a knowledge of the living tongue decreased. In these circumstances they endeavoured to retain their knowledge of the current pronunciation by a more frequent use of the vowel letters, *vau, yod, aleph, he,* which were accordingly termed *matres lectionis* (mothers or sources of [correct] reading). This orthography appears in the later books of the Old Testament composed about the time of the captivity. It is also seen in a greater degree in the Samaritan Pentateuch, and the later Talmudic and Rabbinic dialect. But the Hebrew language soon ceased to be a living one. It existed henceforward only as the language of books. Hence it became more difficult to retain the true pronunciation without other designations of tone. The use also of the sacred books in the synagogue required a definite explanation; and

as the ambiguity of the ancient Scriptures became more perplexing, the want of a more complete vocalisation became the more urgent. External circumstances conspired to make the deficiencies in the mode of writing doubly felt. The Jews were scattered abroad among strange peoples, and clung all the more closely to their ancient traditions, in proportion as successive centuries made it more difficult, even for the faithfulness of tradition itself, to retain the memory of particulars inviolate.

Under the impulse of such circumstances, an endeavour was made to supply the deficiencies of the ancient mode of writing, so that the reading of the Scriptures might be rendered easy, certain, definite, immutable. For this end, two methods presented themselves. One was, to represent all the vowel sounds or the absence of them, by delicate strokes and features in close connection with the consonants; so close, that the firmer and essential elements of words must be altered accordingly. In this way, the alphabet itself would be further developed, as was done in Sanscrit and Ethiopic. But the expedient in question could scarcely be adopted by people who had what was considered an established and sacred language. *They* would not go far in revolutionising it. Hence the Hebrews, who regarded the basis of their ancient mode of writing as inviolable, could not follow that process. They adopted therefore the only other available method, which was an endeavour to supply the nicer and more minute shades of pronunciation still wanting, by external signs, points, and strokes. This complement was superadded as an external thing—the basis of the writing, or the essential elements of words, remaining intact.*

The Arabians and Syrians proceeded in the same way as the Hebrews to obtain a vocalisation suited to their languages and sacred books. But the Arabians satisfied themselves

* Ewald, Lehrbuch der Hebr. Sprache, p. 113.

with three signs for the three principal vowels, a, i, u. The Syrians distinguished five vowels, a, e, i, o, u, and borrowed the five Greek figures of the corresponding A, E, H, O, T. In both, all the vowel signs are properly short. Yet by their relation to the older vowel letters ו י א arises the idea of long vowels, *i.e.*, such as are designated by a vowel letter, or a letter serving to prolong the sound, *contrasted* with short vowels, which were expressed merely by the newly invented vowel signs.*

But the Hebrew critics went further, for they made out five long and five short vowel signs. Nor was this all. They also made half-vowel signs of a twofold kind; and furtive auxiliary tones. Thus at length a full vocalisation was developed out of the simple and original vowel elements belonging to the language. The contrivance was useful in preserving the sounds of the language as once spoken, and in helping the reader to pronounce them the more easily.

The profound reverence of the Jews for the ancient letters of the sacred books, is prominently displayed in this attempt to distinguish and preserve the sounds of their favourite tongue in their most delicate shades and relations. It is seen in their conduct as compared with that of the Arabians and Syrians. While the latter were contented with less minuteness and precision in their vowel systems, the Hebrews developed their vocalisation much further and more minutely. They endeavoured to determine, by fixed signs and rules, not only the accurate pronunciation of every letter, syllable, and word by itself, but also the inexhaustible variety inherent in the pronunciation of every word in a sentence according to the sense and connexion of the passage, so that the voice of every reader, by rigid adherence to these directions, could not err in the least. It is also seen in their leaving the written text unchanged, even where they believed it wrong. The ancient

* See Hupfeld, Hebräische Grammatik, pp. 59, 60.

text or *C'thib* they preserved inviolate, while the vowels were adapted to the *K'ri*, or text to be read. But the Jewish grammarians did not venture to introduce the signs for reading into any but private MSS. Synagogue rolls preserved the ancient form, and received no points.*

Complicated as the developed vocalisation of the Hebrews was, it could not prevent possible varieties and distinctions. It was not, and could not be *perfect*. Absolute uniformity could not be secured by it, or by any other system, however laboured and artificial. The task of maintaining the developed system unimpaired in the minutest degree, was beyond human reach. Accordingly, a comparison of different MSS. will shew minor varieties. The greatest rigidness of the Jewish doctors could not prevent copyists from diverging a little from one another, and adopting in MSS. a variety of methods. And then the scribes sought to lighten their toilsome labour by occasionally omitting the vowel signs which appeared least necessary—a thing that could be effected the more easily in many cases, because the vocalisation system is but loosely connected with the letters themselves.†

In all known MSS. that have signs, with the exception of the very remarkable one described and collated by Pinner (B. No. 3), the system appears in its present state of development. And the age of none goes beyond the ninth century, except two or three of Pinner's collation. It is also pretty certain that the vocalisation, as it now is, was preceded by more simple systems. But it is not easy to tell the *inventors* of the vowel signs, who perfected them, or the exact time when they were first adopted. Hupfeld thinks that the vowel system was developed between the sixth and tenth centuries, in the time intervening between the Talmud and the first grammarians. It arose in the East.

A system essentially similar is found among the Syrians,

* Ewald, Lehrbuch der Hebr. Sprache, pp. 114, 115. † Ibid, p. 115.

which belongs, at least in its rudiments, to the early times of Christianity. We know, too, that the Syrians, especially those about the Euphrates and Tigris, had schools of grammatical learning very early. In the first centuries of Christianity, those schools were flourishing, and may even have existed before its appearance. After the destruction of Jerusalem, the Jews had their learned academies, principally among the Syrians. Hence it is very probable that the first impulse and commencement of the vowel system proceeded from the Syrians, just as the Arabians were similarly influenced. The points were not made in imitation of the Arabians, as Stephen Morin and Richard Simon supposed; perhaps not under the united influence of the Syrian and Arabian vowel-notations, as Hupfeld thinks; but solely after Syrian example. Yet as the Syrian and Arabian vowel systems flowed from one source there is no essential difference between Hupfeld and Ewald, the one asserting that traces of the Arabian influence may be discerned in the Hebrew vowel system; the other that it was borrowed from the Syrians alone. But each people developed the rudimental vowel system in its own way. Hence arose the differences in the vocalisations of the Syrians, Hebrews, and Arabians. The Hebrew system remained truer to its Syrian original than the Arabic. And we hold that the Masoretes in Palestine, especially at Tiberias, were the persons who developed and completed the present system, doubtless during successive centuries. Its country was Palestine, not Babylonia, as Luzzatto maintains. That it was unfolded by the Jews of Tiberias has been shewn by Hupfeld.* It was a gradual work, carried forward by the learned Jewish doctors till it was fully and finally fixed on a definite basis. Ewald says that it was completed about

* De rei grammaticae apud Judaeos initiis antiquissimisque scriptoribus, p. 9, et seq.

the ninth century;* but this is too early, for the first grammarians and commentators, at least the most important of them, down to the eleventh century, differ in relation to the vocalisation and the accentuation also. They are not uniform with regard to it. Indeed, old sources of information refer to the varying accent-marks, and therefore to vowel-signs in part, belonging to Tiberias, Babylon, and Palestine. Hence we suppose that there were some diversities with regard to the marks of accents and vowels among the Jews of different places—diversities which had not wholly disappeared in the tenth century. At the close of the eleventh century, we may conclude that the present system of vowels was entirely established. And if it can be referred to the Jews of any one locality as its authors, those of Tiberias have the best claim to it.† That it was of gradual growth, is proved by the testimony of Jewish grammarians themselves, who are accustomed to trace back all the vowels to three fundamental ones, viz., the three Arabic vowels â, ô, î. In the Jewish book Cosri, even the Arabic names appear, shewing the external origin of the system. "From this," says Ewald, "it is easy to determine the value of the punctuation. For later times it is a very useful aid and guide to the meaning of the old writing, whose precision cannot be sufficiently prized. It is true it is only the representation of a tradition; but that tradition is the best and oldest we know. We must set out from it, but not mistake on that account the traces of the nature and life of the ancient language at variance with the punctuation, ex. gr. those which are yet often preserved in the C'thib. For critical acumen is not the province of the punctuation, which treats all parts of the Old Testament as if they were completely alike in diction, subjects them all to the same standard

* Ewald, p. 116.

† See Steinscheider, art. *Jüdische Literatur*, in Ersch und Gruber's Encyklopaedie, Sect. ii. part 27, pp. 413, 414.

and constraint, and does not inquire whether Moses had exactly the same pronunciation as Ezra.*

It is worthy of remark that the vowel system of the Hebrews does not so much express the genuine pronunciation of the living Hebrew language in common life as that pronunciation adapted to the recitation and cantillation of the synagogue. But there was no essential dissimilarity between the pronunciation of common life and that represented by the vowel system; neither can the latter be considered a corrupt off-shoot from the former.

In the preceding observations we have considered the present vowel system only. But in 1845 a very remarkable manuscript was collated by Pinner at Odessa, in which the vowel points are quite unlike those we have been accustomed to. They are different in shape, and all *above* the consonants, accompanied with accents as peculiar in form and position. Of this MS. (marked B. 3)† the learned Hebraist gave a description and fac-simile.

In like manner Luzzatto of Padua‡ mentions some leaves containing writing with similar vowel points.

This vocalisation has been called Assyrian-Hebrew, and there is little doubt that it was used in Eastern Asia, probably in Persia or Tartary. In regard to its nature we must refer to an Essay by Ewald,§ where it is treated after his usual manner. According to this Hebraist both systems of vowel points, viz. the Western or that best known, and the Eastern or Assyrian, had a common ground, and sprang from like beginnings. Both were developed out of the same simpler and

* Ausführliches Lehrbuch, u. s. w. p. 118.

† Prospectus der der Odessaer Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Alterthümer gehörenden ältesten hebräischen und rabbinischen Manuscripte, Odessa, 1845. 4to.

‡ In J. G. Polak's *Oostersche Wandelingen* (הליכות קדם), pp. 23-30.

§ Jahrbücher der Biblischen wissenschaft, 1848, p. 160, et seq.

older elements by different schools of Masoretes in the East and West. As the Odessa MS. was completed in the year 916, he supposes that the mother-school which fixed the fundamental lines, and handed down the basis of the vowel signs, must be placed three or four centuries earlier. The time of its activity was the fifth century. But when the MS. in question was made, the Western or common vocalisation was beginning to supplant the Assyrian, for the transcriber knew it, and joined some signs of it with his own, and even used the Western continuously in some places. In Ewald's essay the differences and coincidences of both are noted, with the points in which each is preferable to the other. But the ingenious writer has constructed a theory on a very slender basis, and some of his positions are untenable, such as what he says about Kametz. We are informed by Dr. Steinschneider that in a little grammatical treatise he discovered in the Bodleian, written by Abraham Babli in the eleventh century at the latest, it is expressly stated that Kametz consists of a cross stroke and a point under it ֳ, as it appears in all ancient MSS.

On the whole, there is yet a good deal of uncertainty as to these singular vowels. Hupfeld* supposes that there is no historical connexion between them and our present system, and that they are younger than it; an opinion at variance with Ewald's. We incline however to the other view, and believe that the Assyrian vowels are not younger, but arose out of the same fundamental features as the Western, both having been developed independently and contemporaneously by Jews in different countries.

Of course the accents are as peculiar as the vowel points, from which indeed they cannot be separated, and are treated of by Ewald in the same essay. Their differences from those of the Tiberias-Jews are as remarkable as the differences of the vowel-notation.

* Private letter to the Author.

If we compare the pronunciation of words presented in the Masoretic tradition, with the mode in which the Seventy and other Greek translators express it, several marked deviations will appear. Still, however, an attentive survey of the Septuagint will show that the vocalisation in it *recognises* the ancient mode of representing the vowels to which we have alluded. It is important to mark such vocalisation, because it proves that the later enlarged system is *for the most part* an extension of what prevailed when the Greek version appeared. The deviations are *exceptions* to the prevalent phenomena. The Hellenist pronunciation embodied in Greek documents presents an Aramaean colouring, in proportion as it departs from the Masoretic. Thus the changing of à into e or i is avoided, which is an Aramaean peculiarity, as גִּבְעוֹן בִּלְעָם זֶרַח תֶּרַח מִרְיָם Θαρα, Ζαρε, Βαλααμ, Γαβαων, Μάριαμ. Again e is put for a, specially where it lies in the original formation, and remains in Aramaean, as אֶהֱלִיבָמָה קְנַז גַּת Γεθ Κενεζ Ολιβεμα. In the case of ח also, ε is often put rather than α, as זֶרַח קֹרַח, Κορε Ζαρε.

For the original ĭ, e is given as in Aramaean, ex. gr. כִּתִּים מִצְרַיִם גִּדְעוֹן גֵּיהִנֹּם, Χετταιοι Γεεννα Γεδεων Μεσραϊμ.

In like manner, for ŭ, ŏ is used, as עֻזִּיָּה אֲחֻזַּת, Οχοζαθ Οζια.*

Again, the contraction of the dipthongs ai and au into ê and ô is incomplete, as 'Αιλαμ (עֵילָם), Θαιμαν (תֵּימָן), Γαυλων (גּוֹלָן), Ναβαυ (נְבוֹ). So also the Seventy transform yod without a vowel sound in the beginning of a word into a pure vowel sound, יְדוּתוּן into Ιδουτουν, which is done in Aramaean.

Sheva vocal also appears in the character of a rapid and fleeting vowel sound, according to its original usage.

The assimilation of vowels is also more common and comprehensive than in the later system. The principle is adopted more extensively than Masoretic practice would seem to warrant. Examples are presented by the words Σοδομα, Σολομων, Γομοῤῥα.

* Ausführliches Lehrbuch, u. s. w. p. 116.

The inclination of the gutturals to the â sound, to which they are nearest, is not usual; and therefore patach furtive is expressed by ê.*

These deviations may be best accounted for by the fact, that an Aramaising pronunciation had extended itself in the Hellenistic period. Aramaean influences had penetrated into the language very early, and we need not be surprised at their later and more marked appearance. Whether the language had developed itself in some measure as to its pronunciation, and admitted of a living progression from the Hellenistic period till the Masoretes, so that the Masoretic pronunciation is not an exact representation of the oldest, but rather of a later one, is not an improbable supposition, though denied by Ewald.

In the Hexapla of Origen, there is the same pronunciation as in the Septuagint, though an approach to the later Masoretic system is more observable. Thus the ê sound, instead of the â, frequently occurs as an auxiliary vowel, as דְּמוּעָה δεμα, גֶּבוֹר γεββωρ. This sound forms an intermediate link between â and î.

The *Talmud* speaks of no written vowel signs or accents, as some have supposed. The particulars in it which have a bearing on the present subject, or have been supposed to relate to it, are these:—

1. אל תקרא בן אלא בן and יש אם למסרת, יש אם למקרא.

The first formula, "read not so, but so," relates solely to fanciful and playful changes of words in the text, so that witty applications may be made of them. It furnishes no proof that the Talmud recognises written vowel marks. The other formula is used, when two Talmudic doctors disputing, base their different opinions on the same word in the text, but according to a different reading of it; the one reading being called מקרא, the other מסרת. The former is the ecclesiastical or canonical reading; the latter the apocryphal one. The oppo-

* Hävernick's Einleit. vol. i. pp. 299, 300.

sition between the two recorded in the Talmud shews, that written vowel signs were then unknown. Both refer to the vocalisation, but in such a way as proves an unvowelled text, affording scope for interpretations deviating from the established pronunciation.

2. Another class of passages has been quoted in which certain vowel signs appear to be mentioned. These are:—

(*a.*) The Talmudic explanations of the Biblical passage, Nehem. viii. 8, where, as a means of understanding the sense of the law read in public, טעמים and פיסוקי ט׳ are adduced besides the verse-division פסוקים.

(*b*). פסוקי טעמים and טעמי תורה are also mentioned.

Such expressions have been thought to allude not merely to *divisions of the sense* and *accents*, but also to *vowel signs*. But טעמים does not mean *accents*, such as we now have in the text. It denotes sententia, a logical *sentence*, and פיסוקי ם׳ *incisa sententiarum, divisions of the sense*, or *short passages*.

Nor does סימן mean a *vowel sign*, as Tychsen supposed, but a characteristic mark to aid the memory in retaining something heard.

The Talmud does not contain even the incipient features of a written vowel-system. All the expressions which have been referred to such, need only to be rightly explained, and they will be found to involve the absence of vowel points and accents.*

In Jerome we have a witness for the state of the text in the fourth and fifth centuries, who was mainly occupied with that very subject. And *his* writings shew, that he was unacquainted with the present vowel signs, the accents, and the diacritic points of the letters. He never mentions them; for wherever he has occasion to describe words, his descriptions refer to the consonants alone. His usual expressions accordingly are, *scriptum* and *scribitur*, *lectum* and *legitur;* the

* See Hupfeld in the Studien und Kritiken for 1830, pp. 554-570.

former two referring to the letters, the latter two to their pronunciation; and the contrast implied indicating, that while the consonants were written, the vowels were supplied by traditional usage. This is confirmed by the fact of his remarking in various places, that the same word *(idem verbum*, or *sermo iisdem literis scriptus)* might be read *(legi)*, that is, pronounced, and consequently understood *(intelligi)* in various ways, according to the connexion *(pro qualitate loci*, or *locorum, pro consequentia, prout locus et ordo flagitaverint)*; or, according to the judgment of the reader *(pro arbitrio legentis, voluntate lectorum)*; and on the contrary, two words *(utrumque verbum)* as to signification, were written with the same letters. Words of this sort he calls *ambigua*. It is from such ambiguity *(ambiguitas sermonis)* that he derives the numerous deviations and mistakes of the ancient translators, particularly the Seventy, whom he blames only where their version does violence to *the letters*, or interchanges words whose letters have no similarity to one another. In giving his own version from the Hebrew, he appears sometimes undecided which is the right reading, and gives the deviations of former translators without making known his own judgment. Occasionally he indicates his opinion by *melius* or *magis*, as if one reading were more probable than another, because better suited to the connexion. Such cases, however, are the exceptions; for he is usually decided. And where he does give the grounds of his decision, he rests on these sources,

(*a.*) He is often guided by the connexion alone.

(*b.*) The authority of his predecessors, particularly Symmachus and Theodotion, perhaps the majority of them in opposition to the Septuagint, determines him.

(*c.*) Above all, the authority of the Jewish Rabbins by whom he was instructed, guided his translations. By this he was chiefly influenced, seldom departing from its voice. The circumstances indeed in which he was placed, and the mode

in which his knowledge of Hebrew was acquired, tended to establish him in the current opinions of the Palestinian Jews.

The word *accentus*, which he sometimes employs, has been erroneously taken in the sense of a *sign for regulating the reading*. But a comparison with the προσωδία of the Greeks, and *accentus* of the Latins will shew its true meaning. It refers to the *vocalisation*, and the *varying shades of ambiguous consonant sounds;* but not to written signs; for Jerome has *diversis sonis et accentibus proferuntur;* while the expression *pro varietate accentuum* is used in the same way, and of the same words as the phrase *juxta ambiguitatem sermonis si legatur*, &c.

There is another class of passages in which he speaks with express reference to the original text (*in Hebraeo scriptum est* or *habetur*, *in Hebraeo multo aliter legitur*, *juxta Hebraeicum vertimus*, *juxta Hebr. veritatem*, &c.), and rejects a reading adopted by former translators. Here he merely expresses his conviction that his own reading and interpretation are right. And there are places where he thus refers to the original, and with all his knowledge makes mistakes which could only have occurred in the absence of all written vowel marks.*

The writings of this father present a marked approximation to the Masoretic system. The earlier and simpler vocalisation appears in a more developed and definite form. Thus, the segolates are written by him as they now are, for example, *deber*, *reseph;* whereas, in the earlier vocalisation they appear with their ground forms, such as καρν for קֶרֶן. And wherever Jerome undertakes to give the exact vocalisation of the text in cases where former translations deviate from his own, he follows the pronunciation that accords with the Masoretic. Thus when he says that מים might either be read *miyam* or *mayim;* ארבה *arbe* and *arubah;* שערים *searim* and *seorim;* in such cases the interpretation he gives shews that the vocalisation

* See Hupfeld in the Studien und Kritiken for 1830, pp. 571-587.

it accords with coincides with that afterwards *written.** We know that he had learned Jews for his instructors, from whom he acquired his knowledge of the language, and whose views of the text he exhibits. They were therefore in possession of a pronunciation essentially agreeing with the present vowel system.

This father terms the letters אהוי"ע *vowels.* But it should be observed, that he frequently calls them *letters,* or *vowel letters, vocales literae.* He did not look upon them as *matres lectionis,* but as quiescents, whose consonantal part was of such a kind as to be readily absorbed in their accompanying vowel sounds.†

The controversies that once agitated the learned world respecting the Hebrew vowel points are now matters of history. We shall briefly refer to the leading views maintained respecting the vowel signs.

1. Some maintained that the present vowel points are coeval with the consonants, or at least with the time of Ezra and the great synagogue. The great advocates of this opinion were the Jews of the middle age, with the two Buxtorfs, the father in his Tiberias, and the son in his treatise entitled *De punctorum vocalium et accentuum in libris V. T. origine, antiquitate, et auctoritate.* On the same side were Martini, and the Reformers Luther, Calvin, Pellican, &c. Wasmuth, Loescher, Pfeiffer, Carpzov, and many others of note entertained this view. Buxtorf was opposed by Cappellus in his celebrated work, "Arcanum punctationis revelatum," Leyden, 1624. This work contains nearly all the arguments against the antiquity of the vowel points which can be urged; and all succeeding writers have borrowed from it.

2. The modern origin of the points was held by Elias

* Hävernick, Einleitung, vol. i. pp. 300, 3[illegible].

† See an article in Kitto's Journal of Sacred Literature, No. 6, p. 283, by Rev. F. Bosworth.

Levita, against whom the elder Buxtorf expressed the opposite opinion. Cappell, however, was the first to demonstrate it with irresistible arguments. This learned writer believed that they were a late invention of the Masoretes. At the same time he held that the letters א ו י were anciently used as vowels by the Hebrews.

3. Others endeavoured to take a middle path. Unwilling to believe in the great antiquity of the present vowel-system in all its compass, and rejecting the idea that the Hebrews had *vowel letters*, they admitted that the ancient Jews had yet a few *vowel signs*. They assumed the existence of an earlier and simpler vowel-system.

This was the opinion of Michaelis, who assumed three vowel points in imitation of the Arabic; of Trendelenburg, Eichhorn, and Bertholdt. Others of them thought that a *diacritic point* was employed after the manner of the older Syriac and Samaritan writing. The point in question was put above or below the letters to mark the five vowel sounds, a, e, i, o, u. Such was the view of Dupuy and Jahn. Bauer inclined to it; but Gesenius was undecided, when he wrote his *Geschichte der Hebräischen Sprache* and *Lehrgeb ude*. These vowel marks were regarded by Trendelenburg and Eichhorn as *very ancient;* but by others, like Gesenius, as *later*. But they all agreed in this, that written vowel signs were used before the composition of the Talmud and Jerome, in opposition to Cappell and Morin.* That there were no written vowel signs so early as the Talmud and Jerome, was demonstrated by Hupfeld with a clearness and cogency which later writers have always acknowledged. Henceforward, it is not likely that the Masoretic origin of the present vowel-system will be disputed, or the existence of an earlier and simpler *written* vocalisation asserted. The question has been fully and finally settled.

* See Gesenius' Geschichte der Heb. Sprache und Schrift, pp. 182, 183.

With regard to the system of *accents*, it is closely connected with the vowel points, so far as it exerts an influence in elevating the tone of a syllable. But they were originally introduced into the language to shew the relation of single words, as well as of the verses and members. They were introduced gradually by different persons and at different times.

CHAPTER V.

HISTORY OF THE TEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

THE history of the Old Testament text may be divided into two parts; first, the history of *the external form* of the text; secondly, the history of the text itself.

I. *History of the external form of the text.*

The Old Testament *books*, in their collected state, are divided into the *Law* (תּוֹרָה), the *Prophets* (נְבִיאִים), and (other) *writings* (כְּתוּבִים). This division is older than the New Testament, for it is there referred to under the terms, the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms (Luke xxiv. 44). It is also mentioned in the prologue of Jesus the son of Sirach. Without doubt, therefore, it is as ancient as the formation of the entire canon.

The Prophets are divided into נְבִיאִים רִאשׁוֹנִים and אַחֲרוֹנִים נְבִיאִים, *i.e.*, *former* and *later prophets*, containing Joshua, Judges, Samuel, the Kings; and the *prophets proper* respectively. The latter again are subdivided into גְּדוֹלִים *the greater*, embracing Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel; and קְטַנִּים *the lesser*, containing the remaining twelve.

The third division, called by the Greeks ἁγιόγραφα or *holy writings*, contains all the other canonical books besides those in the preceding parts.

Josephus gives the number of books in the three together as 22. This number is also mentioned by the fathers. But it does not seem to have obtained among the Jews themselves.

The order of the separate books is different among Jews

and Christians. Indeed the Jews themselves were not united in this respect. The Talmudists and Masoretes followed each a different order. The former arranged the prophets thus:—Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah, and the twelve minor prophets. The Hagiographa they placed in this manner:—Ruth, Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Lamentations, Daniel, Esther, Ezra, Chronicles. German MSS. generally adopted the Talmudical order. The Masoretic arrangement is that existing in our present Hebrew Bibles, which the Spanish MSS. commonly exhibited.

On the other hand, the Septuagint and the fathers follow a different order, which was also adopted by Luther and our English translators.

The text is divided into smaller and larger sections. Thus the Pentateuch has been distributed into 669 *Parshioth* פָּרָשִׁיוֹת or sections.

These divisions are called by the Jews *open* or *closed;* the former epithet indicating that they began a new line; the latter that they began on a line partly occupied with the termination of the last section. The initial letters פ and ס, which are abbreviations of פְּתוּחָה and סְתוּמָה respectively, stand at the commencement of them, shewing whether they are open or closed. It is most probable that the original purpose of *the open* sections was to mark the different topics which were successively treated in the text. They denoted the introduction of another subject. The *close* sections again seem to have pointed out the most natural and prominent paragraphs in the *open* ones, such as the change of speakers, the members of a genealogy, &c. If this be correct, it accounts for the fact that the *open* sections are much larger than the *close* ones. Such was the first attempt to divide the text agreeably to the sense.

The existence of these *parshioth* reaches beyond the Tal-

mud. Several of them are quoted in the Mishna; and in the Gemara, the difference of open and close *parshioth* is mentioned among the inviolable requirements of sacred orthography. As the practice of dividing the Pentateuch in this manner is attributed in the Gemara to Moses, it must be ancient—belonging probably to the earliest time when the sacred books were read in public.*

This division was not confined to the Pentateuch. It was also made in the Prophets and Hagiographa, for the Mishna speaks of *parshioth* in the former; and separate Psalms are called *Parshioth* in like manner.

Similar to these parshioth are the קְצִין or sections of the Samaritan Pentateuch; and the oldest *κεφάλαια*, *capitula*, *tituli*, *breves*, of Biblical versions frequently marked in the most ancient MSS. by empty spaces and large initial letters.

The *capitula* of Jerome, though sometimes coinciding with and derived from these Hebrew *parshioth*, are passages arbitrarily taken out of their connexion, and of very various extent. Sometimes they consist of as much as a modern chapter; sometimes of a verse; sometimes of half a verse. Hupfeld considers them as equivalent to *loci*, *passages*, or *topics of inquiry*. The *περικοπαί* and *ἀναγνώσματα* of Origen are like the *capitula* of Jerome. †

Different in origin and object are the larger sections or *parshioth*, which were made solely for the purpose of having the Pentateuch read through once a year. Hence there are fifty-four of them corresponding to the Sabbaths in a Jewish intercalary year. It is now ascertained that these were later in their origin than the preceding smaller sections; for they are not mentioned in the Talmud, but in the Masora for the first time. Hence too they are unknown to the synagogue rolls. When these Sabbath-sections coincide with the smaller and

* Hupfeld, Hebräische Grammatik, § 19. † Ibid, p. 94, et seq.

older sections, they are preceded by three letters; by פפפ in the case of *open*, and by סתם in the case of *close* ones. Besides the term *parshioth*, that of *sidroth* is applied to them.*

Corresponding to these *ecclesiastical* sections or *parshioth* of the Pentateuch, are the *Haphtaroth* (הַפְטָרוֹת) or *sections* of the Prophets, which were merely lessons selected for public reading, written on separate rolls from the Pentateuch sections. They are spoken of even in the Mishna. The arrangement of them in the Talmud differs from that now current, as that of the German does from the list of the Portuguese Jews. The origin of reading the prophets in the synagogue is generally attributed to the interdict of Antiochus Epiphanes forbidding the law. But this conjecture, put forth by Elias Levita, is unworthy of credit. Whoever consults 1 Maccabees i. 41, &c., and Josephus' Antiq. xii. 5, 4, will see the impossibility of the Jews having recourse to such a practice at that time. Far more probable is Vitringa's opinion, viz., that when the Jews had been delivered by their Maccabean leaders from severe persecutions, they tried to improve the character of the public religious services by joining portions from the prophets to the law. It is apparent that in the time of Christ, the prophets were read in the synagogue; but there were then no sections or *haphtaroth* (Acts xiii. 15; Luke iv. 16, &c.) It should be remarked, that the *haphtaroth* do not embrace the whole of the prophets, as the *parshioth* do the books of Moses, but merely selected portions.

Jacob Ben Chayim, editor of Bomberg's second Rabbinical Bible, divided the entire Old Testament into *sedarim* (סְדָרִים) which are numbered and appended to each book along with the *parshioth* and verses. He made 447 divisions of this kind. But these must not be confounded with the 54 *parshioth* or Sabbath-day lessons, which are called by the same title.

* Hupfeld, Hebräische Grammatik, p. 97, et seq.

The division of *chapters* now current is of Christian origin. But it is not easy to discover the person who made it. Some ascribe it to Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, who died in 1227, others to Cardinal Hugo Von St. Caro, who died in the same century.† Jahn tries to unite both opinions.* The composition of a concordance for the Latin Bible made some such division necessary. From the Vulgate, it was taken by the Jews, and transferred to the Hebrew Bible. Rabbi Isaac Nathan made use of it in elaborating a Hebrew concordance; and Daniel Bomberg first put it in the printed Hebrew text in his edition of 1525.

In the poetical books and pieces, the separate rythmical members were arranged, from the earliest ascertainable period, in lines called στίχοι, *versus*, stichs. The first clear indications of such division are seen in Latin and Greek versions, whose existing MSS., reaching up to the fourth and fifth centuries, sometimes contain these στίχοι; and in the works of the fathers, especially Jerome. To write in this manner was called στιχηρῶς or στιχηδὸν γράφειν; and the enumeration of such lines στιχομετρία, *stichometry*. This practice, current among the Greeks, Romans, and Arabians, must also have existed among the Hebrews; because it is constantly observed in the poetical pieces inserted in the historical books (Exod. xv., Deut. xxxii., Judges v., 2 Sam. xxii.); because in the oldest MSS. the poetical books, viz. Psalms, Proverbs, Job, are so written; and because the MSS. of the Septuagint and of the old Latin version are so arranged. It was also the uniform tradition among the fathers that the division in question in the poetical books proceeded from the original authors themselves; so that it is likely the original Hebrew text furnished ground for the opinion. In our existing Hebrew MSS.

* Einleitung in die göttlichen Bücher des alten Bundes, vol. i. p. 368, second edition.

† See note end of chapter.

all post-masoretic, it is not surprising that the division in question has disappeared.*

A similar division is termed κῶλα καὶ κόμματα, where there is a successive series of larger and smaller sentences, or verses and half verses. This division was introduced by Jerome into the prophetical books and Chronicles; though in the latter, he employs only the *colon* or stanza, not the *comma* or hemistich.

The Talmudic פְּסוּקִים *pesukim* (from פָּסַק to cut) correspond in etymology to the Greek and Latin κόμματα, *caesa*, that is, half verses or members of verses. This seems to have been the original signification of the term. Hence it was transferred to the entire rythmical period, like the Greek and Latin στίχος, versus. In the poetical books, it was employed in this sense, as appears from tract Kiddusch, fol. 30, 1.

Corresponding to *the rythmical* division in poetical books, to which we have been referring, is a *logical* division into periods in the prose books, likewise called פְּסוּק. This division is already mentioned in the Mishna as one observed in reading the law and the prophets. In the Gemara, it is assigned to Moses himself, shewing that it had been long customary. These *pesukim* coincide with our present verses, as appears from passages in the Talmud, in which the number of them in certain sections is given; and from the number of verses enumerated as belonging to entire books; which, in the case of the Pentateuch, may be most easily reconciled with the number of these pesukim.

In addition to the *pesukim*, other divisions occur in the Gemara, termed פִּיסּוּקִים, or more usually, פִּיסּוּקֵי טְעָמִים and טְעָמִים alone (sentences), which are applied to reading lessons in general, sometimes to short passages or half verses within the *pesukim*.†

* Hupfeld, Grammatik, § 20.

† Ibid. § 1.

The question has been raised, whether these divisions were distinguished in the text, or preserved by oral tradition. Hupfeld is of the latter opinion, because the Talmud never speaks of external marks, such as spaces or points; because the synagogue rolls uniformly ignore them; because the observance of such divisions is treated as an art to be learned in the schools; and because the ancient translators vary in divisions of this character.* It has been assumed as a thing not improbable, that the *pesukim* of the Talmud may have been separated by small spaces, after the analogy of the close *parshioth*. From a Targum on Canticles, it appears that the decalogue only was originally written in ten lines, שיטים = στίχοι.

It was not till after the time of the Talmud that the traditional division of periods received its external notation in the two points called *soph-pasuk* (:). This sign is found in all MSS. and editions, with the exception of synagogue rolls; having become the exclusive token of Masoretic verses or periods. It has been even introduced into the poetical books, where it has supplanted the ancient division into στίχοι or lines, except in the case of a few poetical pieces found in prose books. That it is of earlier origin than the present accentuation-system and vowel-points, is evident from its not belonging to the accents, but being distinguished from the corresponding *silluk* by a peculiar name; from its mention in the tract Sopherim, which was prior to the period of the accents; from its occurrence in unpointed MSS. and editions; and from the analogy of Greek, Latin, and Syriac MSS. of the sacred books, where the marks of intonation appeared long after interpunction.†

The first part of the Old Testament in which numbers were attached to the verses, was the Psalter edited by James le Fevre or Faber of Estaples, and printed by Henry Stephens in 1509. In 1528, Sanctes Pagninus of Lucca published at

* Hupfeld, Grammatik, p. 106, et seq. † Ibid, § 22.

Lyons his translation of the Bible into Latin from the Hebrew and Greek, quarto, throughout which there is a division into verses, marked with Arabic numerals in the margin. The system of Pagninus was adopted by Robert Stephens in the New Testament in 1551; and in the whole Bible in 1555, with little alteration except in the deutero-canonical books and the New Testament. After this time, the practice of numbering the verses became general.

† *Note*, page 60, line 3, &c. The statement here made is scarcely definite enough to prevent misconception, It is true that *the system* of Pagninus was adopted by Robert Stephens; but there is no connexion between *the verses* of Pagninus and those of Stephens. Stephens proceeded on a plan somewhat similar; but the verses he made were very different from those of Pagninus.

CHAPTER VI.

HAVING described the external form of the text, we proceed in the second place to the history of the text itself, which may be divided into four periods.

First, from the times the respective books were written till the close of the canon, about 200 B.C.

Secondly, from the close of the canon till the destruction of Jerusalem, and the downfall of the Jewish state, from about 200 B.C.—70 A.D.

Thirdly, from the downfall of the Jewish state, till the full and final establishment of the Masoretic text.—A.D. 70—1040.

Fourthly, from the final settlement of the Masoretic text, and the departure of the learned Jews from the east, till part of the Bible first appeared in print.—A.D. 1040—1477.

In the first period, the Old Testament books themselves are the exclusive source of information as to the state of the text, besides the Samaritan Pentateuch.

In the second, the Septuagint immediately presents itself as the chief document from which we may judge of the state of the original text. Here also belong Philo, Jonathan, and Onkelos.

In the third, we have Josephus, Aquila, Theodotion, Symmachus, the old Syriac or Peshito version, the fifth, sixth, and seventh Greek versions, the Mishna or text of the Talmud,

Origen, Jerome, the Gemaras or commentaries of the Talmud, the Masora, the oriental and occidental readings first printed in Bomberg's first edition of the Hebrew Bible, and the collection of Ben Asher and Ben Naphtali given in the editions of Bomberg and Buxtorf.

In the fourth, our knowledge of the text is derived from the Rabbins, Moses Maimonides, Jarchi, Abenezra, Kimchi, &c. &c.

From the preceding survey of materials for a history of the text, it will be seen that the third division is by far the richest in sources of information. The first and fourth are the most barren; the second less so.

It is now universally admitted that the text of the Old Testament has not come down to us without mistake. Its absolute perfection and integrity are no longer upheld. Indeed, it requires no discernment or sagacity to perceive this fact. It is patent to the observation of every one. The Old Testament has shared the fate of other ancient books. It has been exposed to the ordinary causes which deteriorate the text. It has suffered from the mistakes of transcribers. Nothing but a continued miracle could have saved it from this; and facts shew that the Deity has not interposed miraculously to prevent copyists from falling into the slightest error. Alterations of the original text, or, as they are called, *various readings*, may be assigned to two sources. They are owing to *accident*, or to *design*. Mistakes were made *unintentionally* or *purposely*.

(*a.*) Accidental mistakes.

These include by far the greater number of existing various readings. 1. Transcribers *saw* wrongly, and therefore they *confounded* letters similar in shape. Thus *Beth* and *Caph*, *Gimel* and *Nun*, *Daleth* and *Resh*, *He* and *Heheth*, are so like that they were exchanged. Copyists also *transposed* letters, words, and sentences. And lastly, from the same cause, they *omitted* letters, words, and sentences; especially when two

clauses or periods terminated in the same way. Examples may be seen in 2 Kings xvi. 6, Psalm cx. 3, where ר and ד are interchanged; in Ezekiel xlvii. 13, where נ and ו have been mistaken for one another; in 1 Sam. xi. 9, 2 Sam. v. 24, Psalm lxxviii. 69, where ב and כ are interchanged; in 2 Sam. xiii. 37, Proverbs xx. 21, ח and ה; in Genesis xxxvi. 23, Joshua vi. 9, Psalm lxxi. 20, ו and י; in 1 Sam. xiv. 32, ט and ש. Examples of *transposition* of letters are found in Ezra ii. 46, שַׁמְלַי; Nehem. vii. 48, שַׁלְמַי; 1 Kings x. 11, אַלְמֻגִּים; 2 Chron. ix. 10, אַלְגֻּמִּים; Hosea xiii. 14, אֵיָּהִי for אֵיֵּה (see 1 Corinth. xv. 55); transposition of words in 2 Sam. vi. 2, comp. 1 Chron. xiii. 6; Ezra ii. 70, comp. Nehemiah vii. 73. Transposition of sentences occurs in Psalm xcvi. 9-11, comp. 1 Chron. xvi. 30-32. Examples of *omission* in regard to letters may be seen in 2 Sam. xxiii. 11, 2 Sam. xxii. 41, comp. Psalm xviii. 41; in regard to words in 1 Chron. viii. 31; and omission of clauses or sentences, in 1 Chron. xi. 13, comp. 2 Sam. xxiii. 9, 10, 11. The technical name *ὁμοιοτέλευτον* has been given to such examples as the last two. When a person writing from an MS. met with the same word occurring after a short interval, he might easily fall into the mistake of omitting the intervening words.

2. Transcribers *heard* wrongly or imperfectly, and fell into mistakes. They wrote one letter instead of another, when letters were alike in sound. Hence we find א and י confounded in 1 Sam. xxii. 18, דּוֹאֵג *K'ri* דּוֹיֵג; and in 1 Sam. xvii. 34, where זְאֵב stands in several editions instead of שְׂאֵה. So also in 2 Chron. xxii. 5 הָרָמִים, whereas in 2 Kings viii. 28 it is אֲרָמִים, *He* and *Aleph* being interchanged. There are seventeen identifications of לֹא with לוֹ noted in the margin of the Bible, that seem to have arisen from this cause.

3. Transcribers made mistakes from memory. In some instances they relied on it too much, wrote freely, and were

mistaken about the exact words they set down. Hence they transposed words and sentences, or omitted them altogether, confounded synonymous terms, and altered according to known parallels. Thus in Leviticus xxv. 36, אֶל is confounded with בַּל; in 2 Kings i. 10, וַיְדַבֵּר with וַיֹּאמֶר; and יְהוָה with אֲדֹנָי. Following frequent and well-remembered parallels, some copyists put למען שמך instead of מעולם שמך in Isaiah lxiii. 16; and עשרים וחמש for ששים וחמש, in Isaiah vii. 8, stands in cod. 96.

4. Transcribers made mistakes in judgment. They misapprehended the text before them, and therefore divided words badly, misunderstood abbreviations, and blundered with regard to the letters called *custodes linearum*, as well as marginal notes.

One word was improperly separated into two, or two combined into one. An example occurs in Psalm xlviii. 15, where the text has על מות instead of עלמות; *unto death*, instead of *for ever*. The latter reading is found in many MSS. and editions, the Seventy, Vulgate, and Chaldee. On the contrary, in Psalm lv. 16, יְשִׁימוֹת, the textual reading denoting *desolations*, is directed by the *K'ri* to be divided into יְשֵׁי מָוֶת, *let death seize*. This is adopted by many MSS., editions, and old translators; though Hengstenberg adheres as usual to the common text.

Abbreviations were usually made by writing the first letter of a word, and appending a small stroke or two, to indicate the omission of some letters. Hence the omission was sometimes erroneously supplied; or the abbreviated word was considered complete in itself. Thus יְהוָה was shortened into י or יי. In Isaiah xlii. 19, Symmachus has translated כְּעֶבֶד יְהוָה by ὁ δοῦλός μου, showing that he read in his copy יי כעבד, a contraction for כְּעֶבֶד יְהוָה. So also in Jeremiah vi. 11, חֲמַת יְהוָה, *the fury of Jehovah*, is translated by the Seventy θυμόν μου, showing that it then stood יי חמת. In Psalm xxxi. 7,

שְׂנֵאתִי *I hate*, was understood by all the ancient translators, and is in cod. 170 יְהוָה שְׂנֵאתָ, *thou, Lord, hatest.*

It is well known that the Jews did not divide a word between two lines. When there was a vacant space at the end of a line too small to contain the next word, they added letters to fill it up and preserve the uniform appearance of the copy. These supernumerary letters were generally the initials of the following word, though it was written entire in the next line. Ignorant transcribers may have taken these superfluous letters, called *custodes linearum*, *keepers of the lines*, into the text. Thus it is thought by some that in Isaiah xxxv. 1, the common reading יָשִׂישׂוּ מִדְבָּר, *the wilderness, &c. shall be glad for them*, arose from ישׂשׂו ם מדבר, by joining the superfluous מ to the end of the verb. But this is uncertain. On the other hand, transcribers suspected the existence of these *line keepers* in places where they did not occur, and omitted part of the text, So in Exod. xxxi. 8, the word כֹּל, *all*, appears to have been omitted, because of the following כֵּלָיו. The omitted word is found in the oldest versions.

Marginal annotations were sometimes taken into the text. Probably Isaiah vii. 17, furnishes an example, for the clause, אֵת מֶלֶךְ אַשּׁוּר, *the King of Assyria*, is unsuitable.* But the clause, *within sixty-five years*, in Isaiah vii. 8, is not a gloss as some have supposed; for it may be shown that the number is appropriate.† Some have thought that the words נֵלְכָה הַשָּׂדֶה, *let us go into the field*, which are now in the Samaritan Pentateuch and several ancient versions, were originally transferred from the margin to the text; but they belong probably to the original text.

Liturgical annotations were also taken into the text, as הַלְלוּיָהּ.

* Gesenius's Commentar ueber den Jesaia, vol. i. p. 315.

† See Reinke, Beitraege zur Erklärung des alten Testaments, &c. § 13, p. 231, et seq.

(*b.*) *Intentional errors.*

These may be divided into two classes, viz. changes made in the text for the purpose of eliciting a different sense; and changes innocently introduced through uncritical officiousness. In the former case the intention was bad, for alterations were made by those who knew them to be *corruptions;* but in the latter, the design was good, for the alterations were intended to make the text more intelligible and better.

The Jews have been frequently charged with falsifying or corrupting the Old Testament. But the charge has not been substantiated. Their veneration for the sacred books was too great to allow them to make alterations, knowing them to be wrong. In their controversy with the Samaritans, they might have been led to change some places in the Pentateuch; and in one place (Deut. xxvii. 4), they are actually accused by the latter of falsifying the text; but the corruption belongs to the Samaritans themselves. The Hebrew text is right, the Samaritan reading wrong. The early Christians also brought the like accusation against them; but they were not competent witnesses or righteous accusers. When the Jews quoted from the Hebrew Bible passages differing from the Septuagint, the fathers found it easiest to say that the Jews had corrupted Scripture in such places. This was all the reply they could make, being themselves ignorant of the Hebrew original. It is therefore needless to adduce passages from the fathers to show that the Jews corrupted their Bible. It is particularly so to quote Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Tertullian, and Eusebius, as J. Morin, Vossius, and others have done. The testimonies of Origen and Jerome are of more consequence, because they knew Hebrew. It cannot be denied that the former has often accused the Jews of such corruption; and that the latter has *sometimes* done so. But both writers also state the contrary in their works. We must therefore reconcile each by assuming that in one case he spoke according to the prevailing opinion;

and, in the other, according to his real convictions. He accommodated himself to the prevalent view of contemporary Christians in bringing forward the charge of falsification, while at other times he acquitted them of it.* Jerome especially, who was more familiar with the Hebrew Scriptures than Origen, did not really think that they had falsified the text, and was glad to have their aid in qualifying himself for the task of translation. The quotation below from his commentary on Isaiah will show his opinion on this point.† In his Commentary on Gal. iii. 10, he appears indeed to blame the Jews with erasing the word כל in Deut. xxvii. 26, but such does not appear to have been his deliberate opinion. And if the Jews did not corrupt their Scriptures after the origin of Christianity, it is unlikely they did it before.

There are only two or three places in which the charge of intentional corruption has a plausible appearance, viz. Psalm xxii. 17; Psalm xvi. 10; Zech. xii. 10, which will be considered in another place.

With regard to the other class of alterations arising from a well-meaning desire on behalf of the text, we see no good reason to doubt that readings apparently easier or less objectionable were occasionally substituted for others, that supposed mistakes were rectified, places where something appeared to be wanting filled up, and passages made conformable to parallel

* See Simon, Histoire Critique du vieux Testament, chapitres xviii. xix. pp. 113-124.

† "Quod si aliquis dixerit Hebraeos libros postea a Judaeis esse falsatos, audiat Origenem, quid in octavo volumine Explanationum Esaiae huic respondeat quaestiunculae: quod nunquam Dominus et Apostoli, qui caetera crimina arguunt in Scribis et Pharisaeis, de hoc crimine quod erat maximum, reticuissent. Sin autem dixerint post adventum Domini Salvatoris et praedicationem Apostolorum libros Hebraeos fuisse falsatos, cachinnum tenere non potero, ut Salvator et Evangelistae et Apostoli ita testimonia protulerint, ut Judaei postea falsaturi erant."—Comment. in Jes. cap. vi.

ones. Herbst, however, attributes corrections of this sort to less careful scribes, who, from want of attention, wrote *K'ris* instead of *C'thibs*.

Examples are found in 1 Chron. ii. 48, where, for יָלַד several MSS. read יָלְדָה in the feminine; in Levit. xxvii. 7, where, instead of אֲבִיהֶם various MSS. have אֲבִיהֶן, with the feminine suffix; in Psalm xxxvi. 2, where for לִבִּי many MSS. and versions read לִבּוֹ; in Gen. ii. 2, where for the adjective הַשְּׁבִיעִי, the Samaritan, Septuagint, and Syriac, have הַשִּׁשִּׁי; in Judges xviii. 30, where for מֹשֶׁה was put מְנַשֶּׁה; and in most of the Samaritan variations from the Hebrew. In like manner, מְמִזֹּר in Deut. xxiii. 3, was separated into מום זר; and עֹז לָמוֹ in Psalm xxviii. 8, was changed in some MSS. into עֹז לְעַמּוֹ, the latter taken from Psalm xxix. 11.

Having enumerated the sources of *accidental* as well as *designed* alterations in the text of the Old Testament, we come to *the history of the Hebrew text.*

The first period is that preceding the close of the canon.

Of the state of the text during this time we know little. Indeed we have no means of discovering it except what is found in Scripture itself. Great caution ought therefore to be applied, lest in speculating on the subject arbitrary suppositions should be freely indulged. How the separate books were preserved in relation to the condition of their texts; how often they were transcribed, and how correctly, it is very difficult to discover. May we not reasonably believe that much care was bestowed on them; and that however grievously the Jews at times departed from their God, they retained some veneration for their sacred books. The Pentateuch was always most highly valued, and to it in particular great care was given.

But we cannot suppose that the Old Testament writings were perfectly free from alterations in the earliest times, prior to their complete collection into a whole. No work of antiquity has been long kept entirely immaculate. Errors of

greater or less consequence unavoidably creep into all writings. Nor have the sacred books of the Jews escaped the same fate with others. It is probable that they had been deteriorated even in the interval between their origin and the completion of the canon. But they had suffered, less so in the Pentateuch than in the other books, before that time. All analogy confirms this assumption. In favour of it, reference might be made to the differences in proper names, as in Numb. ii. 14, where Eliasaph is called the son of *Reuel;* whereas in i. 14, he is the son of *Deuel;* in Levit. xi., where in the list of unclean birds, one appears termed רָאָה; though in the parallel passage, Deut. xiv. 13, it is called רָאָה; in Joshua xxiv. 30, where Joshua's burying-place is תִּמְנַת סֶרַח, but in Judges ii. 9, תִּמְנַת חֶרֶס. Nor are differences in proper names confined to the Pentateuch and earlier books. Thus in Ezra ii. 2, are enumerated Jeshua, Nehemiah, Seraiah, Reelaiah, Mordecai, Bilshan, Mizpar, Bigvai, Rehum, Baanah. But in Nehem. vii. 7, there is an additional name *Nahamani;* and the list is as follows: Jeshua, Nehemiah, Azariah, Raamiah, Nahamani, Mordecai, Bilshan, Mispereth, Bigvai, Nehum, Baanah. Yet it is *possible* that most of these diversities may be of later origin than the close of the canon. They may not have existed in the text at an early period. All the examples given from the Pentateuch, Joshua, and Judges, may be of later origin. But it is less likely to be so in the case of Ezra and Nehemiah, because on comparing the second chapter of Ezra with the seventh of Nehemiah, where the names and number of the exiles that returned with Zerubbabel and Joshua are given, it will be found that the variations are numerous and considerable.

Allusion has also been made to the parallel sections in Psalm xiv. and liii; to Psalm xl. 14, &c. as compared with the Septuagint; to Psalm xviii. and 2 Sam. xxii.; to Psalm cviii. lvii. 8-12, and lx. 7-14; to Psalm cv. 1-15, and 1 Chron. xvi. 8-22;

to Psalm xcvi. and 1 Chron. xvi. 23-33; to Isaiah xxxvii. xxxviii. and 2 Kings xix. xx. to Jeremiah lii. and 2 Kings xxiv. to Isaiah xv. xvi. and Jeremiah xlviii., and the parallel sections in the books of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles.

Such are the parallels adduced by De Wette, after Eichhorn, Bauer, and others, for the purpose of showing that before the collection of the books included in the canon, their text had suffered much from the carelessness as well as the rashness of transcribers. But great caution should be used before advancing assertions of this nature. The passages collected need to be examined singly and minutely, as well as in pairs, before a conclusion be drawn from them as to their original form and relation.

On comparing Psalms xiv. and liii. it will be found that the variations are *designed*. One is the original text expressed in diction simple, plain, and common; the other in polished, elevated, emphatic, rare, uncommon diction. Both proceeded from the same author; and both, adapted to different purposes, were designed to be preserved together. Hence the one must not be corrected by the other, as if either were faulty. The same remarks apply to Psalm xviii. compared with 2 Sam. xxii. where both were written by David himself. And in the case of Psalm cviii. part of it is borrowed from lvii. 8-12, and part from lx. 7-14. David himself varies these other portions, and adapts them designedly to more general relations of Israel and Israel's enemies. The 40th Psalm, 14th verse, as compared with the Septuagint, is perfectly reconcileable with it in sense. There is no reason for supposing a corruption in the text. Again, with the exception of two or three words which are wholly unimportant, 1 Chron. xvi. 8-22 agrees exactly with Psalm cv. 1-15. Here is no corruption of transcribers; and what real difference can there be between the writer of the Chronicles taking a whole Psalm or part of it to insert it in the history where it belongs, and the same

writer making use of the same composition on two occasions? If the author of the Chronicles be a compiler rather than an independent author, as is apparent, is it not consistent with his usual procedure to avail himself of the 105th Psalm, or of any other? After giving the first fifteen verses of the 105th Psalm, the Chronicle writer gives the 96th Psalm nearly verbatim; to which he appends the commencement of the 106th, as also its termination (verses 34, 35, 36). In narrating the arrangement of the sacred music in the tabernacle, "there is given the essence of those Psalms which at all times were sung, accompanied by this music, in representation of the whole Psalter. The author of Chronicles naturally formed his composition out of these Psalms which were sung in his day most frequently, and with the greatest relish. In like manner it was natural that he should not bind himself strictly to the text of the borrowed passages, but should introduce slight *variations* wherever such seemed suitable. The defence lies in this, that he does not, like the author of the books of Samuel, in 2 Sam. xxii., pledge himself to give a faithful transcript of another man's labour, but has rather published expressly an abstract by himself; and we must therefore expect it *a priori* to be given with that freedom which is manifested in selecting from Psalm cv. only the beginning, and from our Psalm the beginning and the conclusion."*

With regard to the relation between Isaiah xxxvii. xxxviii. and 2 Kings xix. xx., there is every reason to believe that the former chapters were written by Isaiah himself, and that they are the original whence the writer of Kings has deviated in unimportant particulars, making the narrative more minute, circumstantial, and chronological in arrangement. We do not imagine that the text in Isaiah is the first draught, and the other a repetition by the hand of the same writer, as Professor

* See Hengstenberg, Commentary on the Psalms, English translation, vol. iii. p. 271.

Alexander conjectures.* The author of Kings adapted the text of Isaiah to his purpose, varying it according to his idea of propriety. That he deteriorated or corrupted it, is a gratuitous assumption. On comparing 2 Kings xxiv. with Jerem. lii. it will appear that the latter is the original, and proceeded from the prophet himself. The writer of Kings took it, and altered it a little. But he did not certainly *improve* it, if the present Masoretic text be what proceeded from his hands. Probably however later corruptions have been introduced into it, as a comparison with the Septuagint will help to shew. There can be no proof that the author of the Kings, in accommodating what had been previously written to his purpose, made the text really worse, or *vitiated* it. The author of Jeremiah xlviii. has evidently incorporated a considerable part of Isaiah xv. xvi. into his composition. That a later prophet could and did make use of the predictions of an earlier one is consonant with reason, and attested by fact. The variations and alterations introduced were necessary to the special purpose of the subsequent author, which never exactly coincided with the specific design of his predecessor. In the present instance, we cannot doubt that Isaiah himself wrote chapters xv. xvi. and that Jeremiah himself, not a very late and blundering writer as Hitzig imagines, penned the forty-eighth chapter inserted in his predictions.

The parallel sections in Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles, have suffered from transcribers, as they are now printed. This is certain. Corruptions have got into them which ought to be removed. Towards this object Reinke† has recently made a contribution which should be welcomed by the critic, even though it may not be successful. We receive it with gratitude, notwithstanding our hesitation to adopt the remedy so extensively as he applies it, or to believe that all the pas-

* Commentary on Isaiah, p. 538, ed. Glasgow.

† Beitraege zur Erklärung des alten Testaments, 1851.

sages he tries to restore to their original state are really corrupt. *After* such rectification, they must be judged of in the same manner as other parallels. The writers either drew from the same source, document, historical registers, or they made use of the compositions of their predecessors, freely adapting them to their purpose.

The principle by which we interpret all such repetitions is, not that they are negligent or blundering copies of the text, but reproductions of it more or less exact, made designedly, departing from the originals on purpose, that there might be an adaptation of words and matter to the special object in view. Nor were they meant to *supplant* the originals, or render them obsolete; but to stand alongside of them, and on an equal footing. In some cases, the particular design of a variation may not be very obvious, or the reason of substituting one word for another of the same sense indistinct; but an examination of the whole piece will always indicate, that the alterations generally were regulated by a certain principle. They did not proceed from mere arbitrary caprice; nor can they be ascribed to carelessness.

In judging of Ezra and Nehemiah the case is different. Here we cannot infer that the one account was reproduced and elaborated by the writer of the other. The discrepancies are too great to allow of this. Ezra's narrative must have passed through comparatively few hands before Nehemiah; so that the discrepancies could not have arisen from transcribers. The two registers present a striking disagreement, as any one may see from the mode in which the diversities are drawn out by Reinke* in full detail. They were probably derived from two different accounts of the families which returned from captivity. And if one of these lists was made at the departure from Babylonia, the other after the entrance into Palestine, discrepancies must naturally appear. The same family had not the same

* Beitraege zur Erklärung des alten Testaments, p. 213, et seq.

number of persons at different times. It is apparent from Nehem. vii. 5, that Nehemiah found an existing register of the families of the returned exiles. In it he had only to make the necessary alterations as to individuals, the families remaining the same. That Nehemiah actually reckoned the people follows from his words, " My God put it into mine heart," &c. In an *existing* register he found written the names that follow, which register he gives *after the necessary changes had been made in it.* The difference in names may be accounted for in part by one person having two names, or by one family having come into the place of another. Ezra took his account from a public document; Nehemiah found the same document, and adapted it by the necessary changes arising from the difference of times, to the existing circumstances of the families, so that he made a different list.*

These observations may account, in part, for the difference between Ezra and Nehemiah. But we are free to confess that they afford but a partial explanation. Additional circumstances must be called in to solve the problem satisfactorily. We cannot adopt Reinke's favourite remedy as the means of restoring harmony. If letters were used for numbers and occasionally mistaken for one another, *so many* mistakes of this sort *together* can hardly be assumed. We are persuaded that the cause lies much deeper than he supposes; and that no such application as his can prove available for the purpose of conciliating the two chapters of Ezra and Nehemiah respectively. His attempt however is a laudable one.† After every necessary deduction has been made, it is highly probable the text was not without mistakes before the close of the canon. To shew this, it is not sufficient to adduce a number of places where it is generally admitted that the text has suffered from transcribers or ignorant interpolators; for such deteriorations

* See Herbst's Einleitung, vol. i. pp. 89, 90 (note).

† Beitraege zur Erklärung, u. s. w. § 11, p. 213, et seq.

may have been made *subsequently* to the completion of the canon, as we have said already. It is more to the purpose to bring forward passages, which were in their present incorrect state before the Septuagint and the oldest versions appeared. If they were as they are now, even prior to the Septuagint, it is certain that they were so anterior to the close of the canon. And were we called upon to name any passages which had probably suffered at a very early period, we should refer at once to 1 Sam. vi. 19, where fifty thousand is an incredible number, far exceeding the inhabitants of a village like Beth-shemesh; to 1 Sam. xiii. 1, where we read that Saul was a year old when he began to reign;* and to 1 Chron. xxvi. 21; 2 Chron. xx. 1, 2.

But when we look at the extent of the Old Testament Scriptures, and the passages in which the text was very early tampered with, the corruptions are neither numerous nor important. Even when all the places whose corruption can be reasonably assigned to a time prior to the close of the canon are brought together, there is not much cause of complaint against transcribers and others. The treatment which the separate books experienced at the hands of the early Jews was favourable on the whole. They cannot be accused of reckless caprice and officious meddling.

The most important thing in this part of the history is the origin of that text which appears in the MSS. of the Samaritan Pentateuch. It is apparent that the Samaritan Pentateuch and the Hebrew are two forms of the same text. What then is the critical value of the former? Is it worthless? Or is it generally preferable to the Hebrew? These questions cannot be

* We cannot allow of Bunsen's interpretation of this passage, viz., that "Saul was a whole year king" after the restoration of the kingdom (xi. 14), by the public anointing and recognition in Gilgal. (See Egypt's place in Universal History, p. 187, note 124.) The Hebrew can only admit naturally the translation in the text. Comp. Reinke, pp. 131-133.

answered without a diligent and fundamental comparison of both, accompanied by a sound judgment and critical tact. Preconceived opinions must not be set up instead of critical decisions. There can be no doubt that most of the older critics overrated the value of the Samaritan on the one hand, or wholly rejected it on the other, without sufficient reasons. They pronounced dogmatically as partisans rather than fair-judging critics.

In the course of a very able investigation Gesenius was the first to prove incontestably, that little value belongs to the characteristic features of the Samaritan text. He shewed that small critical reliance can be placed on it. According to his results, it is unjustifiable to use it much or generally as a source of correcting the Jewish Pentateuch. By a copious and minute investigation of particulars, he demonstrated that it cannot be employed for the purpose of emendation in the manner recommended by many. In consequence of this masterly essay, few are now disposed to attach much value to its readings, or to employ them as aids in the settlement of an uncorrupted text. Its credit in the critical world has been greatly lowered; its position as an authority depreciated far below the rank which several eminent scholars once gave it.*

The characteristic or various readings it exhibits have been divided into different classes, with numerous examples under each. The following is a summary of the results obtained by Gesenius:—

I. The first class comprehends such readings as have been conformed by Samaritan scribes to a grammatical standard mostly inaccurate.

Thus in the case of *orthography*, the quiescent letters or *matres lectionis* are inserted wherever the least difficulty might possibly arise, as מאורות for מְאֹרֹת, Gen. i. 14, 16.

In the case of *pronouns*, the unusual forms of them are

* De Pentateuchi Samaritani origine, indole, et auctoritate, Halae, 1815, 4to.

constantly corrected, as אנחנו for נחנו, Gen. xlii. 11; Exod. xvi. 7, 8, &c.

As to *verbs*, the shorter or apocapated form of the future is changed into the common one. Thus for וַתַּגֶּד is put ותגיד, Gen. xxiv. 28; for וַיָּמָת is put ויכוות, Gen. v. 8.

In regard to *nouns*, the paragogic letters *yod* and *vau* appended to the noun in regimen, are omitted. Thus we find שכן instead of שְׁכֻנִי, Deut. xxxiii. 16; חית for חַיְתוֹ, Gen. i. 24.

Genders are also corrected, nouns common being made masculine or feminine, as in the case of לחם, Gen. xlix. 20; שׁער, Deut. xv. 7, &c. Wherever נער is used of a girl, it is written נערה, as in Gen. xxiv. 16, &c.

With respect to *the syntax of verbs*, the infinitive absolute is altered into a finite verb, as in Gen. viii. 3 where for the Hebrew וַיָּשֻׁבוּ הָלוֹךְ וָשׁוֹב, the Samaritan substitutes ו׳ הלכו ושבו. And where the Hebrew has a plural noun with a singular verb, the verb is almost always changed to the plural, as in Gen. iv. 10, where צֹעֲקִים is altered into צעק.

Other grammatical emendations, not included under these heads, are enumerated by Gesenius.

II. The second class consists of interpretations or glosses received into the text. These are numerous; and not a few of them are also in the text of the Seventy. Examples occur in Gen. xx. 3, where for the Hebrew עַל־הָאִשָּׁה the Samaritan reads על אורת האשה; in Gen. xxiv. 55, where for the Hebrew יָמִים אוֹ עָשׂוֹר the Samaritan reads ימים או חדש, a *year or* a *month;* in Gen. xxv. 8, where the Hebrew text has וַיָּגָוַע, the Samaritan supplying ימים *days;* in Gen. xlix. 3, 4, where for the Hebrew פַּחַז כַּמַּיִם *the effervescence as of water* (to thee), the Samaritan has the finite verb פחזת. See also Gen. xlix. 26, Numb. xxiv. 17, &c. &c.

III. The third class consists of those readings where the text labours under some difficulty real or imaginary. Here plainer expressions are substituted. An example occurs in

Gen. ix. 5, where for the Hebrew מִיַּד הָאָדָם מִיַּד אִישׁ אָחִיו *from the hand of a man, from the hand of a man his brother*, the Samaritan inserts a copulative to אחיו, thus ואחיו, *from the hand of a man and his brother*. Another example appears in Gen. xli. 16, which stands in the Hebrew בִּלְעָדַי אֱלֹהִים יַעֲנֶה אֶת־שְׁלוֹם פַּרְעֹה, *not I* (without me) *God will answer respecting the peace of Pharaoh*. Here the Samaritan inserts a negative particle after אֱלֹהִים, thus אֱלֹהִים לֹא יַעֲנֶה, *without God Pharaoh will not receive an answer of peace*. The Septuagint, Syriac, and Abusaid, agree with the Samaritan. See also Gen. xlix. 10, Numb. xxii. 5, Deut. xxii. 10.

IV. The fourth class consists of those readings where the Samaritan copy is corrected or supplied from parallel passages. Here proper names belong which are written differently in the Hebrew text, whereas they are all in the same form in the Samaritan. Thus the father-in-law of Moses is called יתרו Jethro, in every case. In Gen. xi. 8, to the Hebrew text is added, *and the tower*, taken from the fourth verse. In xi. 11, &c., after *begat sons and daughters*, it is added, *and he died*, from v. 5, &c. The same epitaph is placed at the end of each patriarch.

V. The fifth class consists of those larger additions which are interpolated from parallels, in order that whatever was said or done by Moses, as recorded in a prior place, should be repeated again in so many words; and that whatever is said to have been commanded by God, should be repeated in as many words where it is recorded to have been done by Moses. In this manner the book of Exodus is much enlarged by interpolations from itself or from Deuteronomy. Gesenius thinks that these insertions were made between the time of the Alexandrian version and Origen, because Origen mentions a passage of the kind.

Here two examples must suffice:—

Hebrew.

And the Lord said unto Moses, Pharaoh's heart is hardened, he refuseth to let the people go. Get thee unto Pharaoh in the morning; lo, he goeth out unto the water; and thou shalt stand by the river's brink against he come; and the rod which was turned to a serpent shalt thou take in thine hand. And thou shalt say unto him, the Lord God of the Hebrews hath sent me unto thee, saying, let my people go, that they may serve me in the wilderness: and, behold, hitherto thou wouldest not hear. Thus saith the Lord, In this thou shalt know that I am the Lord: behold, I will smite with the rod that is in mine hand upon the waters which are in the river, and they shall be turned to blood. And the fish that is in the river shall die, and the river shall stink; and the Egyptians shall lothe to drink of the water of the river.

And the Lord spake unto Moses, Say unto Aaron, Take thy rod, and stretch out thine hand upon the waters of Egypt, &c.—*Exod.* vii. 14-19.

Samaritan.

And the Lord said to Moses, Pharaoh's heart is hardened, he refuseth to let the people go. Get thee unto Pharaoh in the morning: lo, he goeth out unto the water, and thou shalt stand by the river's brink opposite to him; and the rod which was turned to a serpent shalt thou take in thine hand. And thou shalt say unto him, the Lord God of the Hebrews hath sent me to thee saying, let my people go, that they may serve me in the wilderness, and behold thou hast not obeyed hitherto. Thus saith the Lord, In this thou shalt know that I am the Lord: behold, I smite with the rod that is in mine hand the waters which are in the river, and they shall be turned to blood. And the fish that is in the river shall die, and the river shall stink; and the Egyptians shall lothe to drink of the waters of the river.

[And Moses and Aaron went to Pharaoh and said unto him: the Lord God of the Hebrews hath sent us to thee, saying, Let my people go, that they may serve me in the wilderness, and behold thou hast not obeyed hitherto. Thus saith the Lord, In this thou shalt know that I am the Lord: behold, I smite with the rod that is in mine hand the waters which are in the river, and they shall be turned to blood. And the fish that is in the river shall die, and the river shall stink; and the Egyptians shall lothe to drink of the water of the river.]

And the Lord spake unto Moses, Say unto Aaron, take thy rod, and stretch out thine hand upon the waters of Egypt, &c.—*Exod.* vii. 14-19.

Here the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth verses are repeated in the Samaritan, so that it might be apparent that Moses and Aaron fulfilled their mission literally.

Hebrew.

Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his man-servant, nor his maid-servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that is thy neighbour's. And all the people saw the thunderings, and the lightnings, and the noise of the trumpet, and the mountain smoking: and when, &c.—*Exod.* xx. 17, &c.

Samaritan.

Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, his field, his man-servant and his maid-servant, his ox and his ass, nor any thing that is thy neighbour's. [And when the Lord thy God shall bring thee into the land of the Canaanites to which thou goest to possess it, thou shalt set thee up two great stones, and plaister them with plaister: And thou shalt write upon these stones all the words of this law. And after thou be gone over Jordan, thou shalt set up these stones which I command thee this day in Mount Gerizim, and thou shalt build there an altar to the Lord thy God, an altar of stone; thou shalt not lift up any iron tool upon them. Thou shalt build that altar to the Lord thy God of whole stones; and shalt offer upon it whole burnt-offerings unto the Lord thy God; and thou shalt offer peace-offerings, and shalt eat there and rejoice before the Lord thy God, on that mountain beyond Jordan, after the way of the setting of the sun, in the land of the Canaanite, dwelling in the plain over against Gilgal, near the oak of Mamre towards Sichem.] And all the people heard the thunderings and the lightnings, &c. &c.—*Exod.* xx. 17-18.

Here the inserted words are taken from the parallel in Deut. xxvii. 2-8, with a few slight changes in addition to that of Ebal into Gerizim.

VI. The sixth class comprehends passages corrected for

the purpose of removing what was offensive in point of sentiment, or what conveyed an improbable meaning in the view of the Samaritan critics.

Thus in the *Antediluvian* genealogy, none is represented by the Samaritan Pentateuch as having begotten his first son *after* he was one hundred and fifty years of age. Accordingly while the first five patriarchs are left untouched, from Jared Methuselah and Lamech a hundred years are subtracted at the time they are said to have their first son. Enoch is excepted.

In the *Postdiluvian* genealogy none is allowed to have begotten a son till after he was fifty years old. Here a hundred years are taken from Arphaxad and others, and fifty are added to Nahor, before they became fathers. Sixty years are taken from Eber.

The Alexandrine translator has also altered systematically the genealogy of the patriarchs, but differently from the Samaritan. Thus in the *Antediluvian* genealogy, wherever the Hebrew text makes one of the patriarchs beget a son before he was one hundred and fifty years old, a hundred years are added. Hence Adam is said to have been a hundred and thirty when he begat a son. In the Septuagint it is two hundred and thirty. But the hundred years added to the former part of the life are subtracted from the latter part, so that the entire age remains the same in the Hebrew and Septuagint.

In the *Postdiluvian* genealogy, the Septuagint provides that the patriarchs from Arphaxad to Terah should not beget a son till they were a hundred years old. This is in the Vatican copy; but the Alexandrine departs from it occasionally.

The following tables from Jahn* and others, will shew the differences of the Hebrew, Hebrew-Samaritan, and Septuagint:—

* Hebrew Bible, vol. i. p. 12.

	Before the Birth of a Son.			After the Birth of a Son.			Length of Life.		
	Heb.	Samr.	Sept.	Heb.	Samr.	Sept.	Heb.	Samr.	Sept.
Adam	130	130	230	800	800	700	930	930	930
Seth	105	105	205	807	807	707	912	912	912
Enos	90	90	190	815	815	715	905	905	905
Cainan ...	70	70	170	840	840	740	910	910	910
Mahalaleel	65	65	165	830	830	730	895	895	895
Jared	162	62	162	800	785	800	962	847	962
Enoch.....	65	65	165	300	300	200	365	365	365
Methusaleh	187	67	167 v. 187 A.	782	653	802 v. 782 A.	969	720	969
Lamech ...	182	53	188	595	600	565	777	653	753
Noah	500	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total ...	1556	1207	2172						
A.M.the Del	1656	1307	2272*						

In like manner the documents vary in the postdiluvian genealogy.

	Before Birth of the First Son.				Remainder of Life.			Whole Life.		
	Heb.	Samr.	Sept.	Joseph	Heb.	Samr.	Sept.	Heb.	Samr.	Sept.
Shem	100	100	100	112	500	500	500	600	600	600
Arphaxad	35	135	135	135	403	303	400	438	438	535
Cainan ...	...	...	130	...	...	...	(430) 330	...	...	(565) 460
Salah	30	130	130	130	403	303	330	433	433	460
Eber	34	134	134	134	430	270	270 (370)	464	404	404
Peleg	30	130	130	130	209	109	209	239	239	(504) 339
Reu.....	32	132	132	130	207	107	207	239	239	339
Serug	30	130	130	132	200	100	200	230	230	330
Nahor.....	29	79	179	120	119	69	125	148	148	304 (204)
Terah	70	70	(79) 70	70	(135)	(75)	(129) (135)	205	145	205

* See Bunsen, Egypt's place in Universal History, vol. i. pp. 182, 183.

Some remarks on this genealogical table will be found in Reinke's Beiträge zur Erklärung des alten Testaments, to which the reader is referred.*

Under this class falls the passage in Exod. xii. 40, where it is in the Hebrew: "Now the sojourning of the children of Israel who dwelt in Egypt was four hundred and thirty years." But the Samaritan has "Now the sojourning of the children of Israel which they made in the land of Egypt, and in the land of Canaan, was four hundred and thirty years." The same reading is in the Septuagint and Josephus. The Hebrews abode in Egypt no more than 215 years; but from the call of Abraham to the Exodus was 430 years. The correction was evidently made by the Samaritans to remove a chronological difficulty. Perhaps the passage presents no real difficulty as it stands in our Hebrew copies. It is not stated that the sojourning of the children of Israel *in Egypt* was 430 years, as many suppose, but it is simply stated that their sojourning was 430 years. The clause, "who dwelt in Egypt," is *incidental*, not *essential* to the sentence. Had the words been—"The sojourning of the children of Israel who dwelt in Egypt was 430 years *in that country*," there would have been a serious chronological difficulty, but as they are, there is nothing imperfect or obscure. The sojourning of Israel in various places, beginning with Abraham's call and ending with the deparature of his descendants from Egypt, occupied 430 years, the space here specified. The relative pronoun אֲשֶׁר we refer with our English version to the *sons of Israel*, not to the noun *sojourning*, as the Septuagint does. Luther, De Wette, and Gesenius, by making the pronoun agree with the noun *sojourning*, rather than the proper name, have greatly embarrassed the meaning. On the supposition that the time 430 years is meant to be the time spent in Egypt itself, other places, especially Gal. iii. 17, as also

* Page 76, et seq.

Exod. vi. 16-20, vii. 7, comp. Deut. xxxiv. 7, Numb. xiv. 34, present very great difficulties in the way. Many of those who so understand it take the number 430 to be conventional and unhistorical, as Bunsen does. Others, as Ewald, take it to be strictly chronological—the accounts of the lives of the Hebrew progenitors prior to the settlement in Egypt being traditional, and historically inexact.* But we prefer the interpretation already given, although it is pressed with the difficulty that "the children of Egypt should have quitted Egypt as a nation of more than two millions of souls, at the end of 400 or even 200 years after their settlement."† We should say something in relation to this very perplexing circumstance, were it to our present purpose. The number 215, intervening between Abram's migration out of Mesopotamia into Canaan, and that of Jacob into Egypt, need not be authentic, and is not likely to be so, as Ewald supposes.

Another passage which belongs here is Gen. ii. 2, where the seventh day is changed into the *sixth* day.

In Gen. xxix. 3, 8, *all the flocks* are changed into *all the shepherds*. See also Exod. xxiv. 10.

VII. The seventh class consists of those words and forms of words in which the pure Hebrew idiom of the Pentateuch is adapted to the idiom of the Samaritan.

This is exemplified in the very frequent interchange of gutturals, in the change of the א ה ו י letters, or the addition and reduplication of them, and in the combination of two entire words without alteration. In like manner the pronouns are accommodated to the Samaritan idiom. In inflecting the preterite, future, and participle of the verb, Samaritanisms are also found. Nouns of one form or species are likewise changed for another. One example of each particular will be sufficient.

In Gen. viii. 4, we find הררט for אֲרָרָט; in Gen. xxiii. 18, בעי for בָּאֵי; Gen. xviii. 15, לה for לֹא; in Gen. xlii. 38,

* Geschichte des Volkes Israel, vol. i. p. 454, et seq.

† Bunsen, Egypt's place in Universal History, vol. i. p. 178.

יאגן for יָגֹן; Gen. xii. 16, הייטיב for הֵיטִיב; in Gen. xxxii. 10, we find אלארצך *into thy land.* The pronoun אתי *thou* (feminine) occurs in Gen. xii. 13, &c. In Gen. xviii. 15, צחקתי for צָחַקְתְּ. In Exod. xxiii. 31, we have שאתי for שַׁתִּי. Nouns of the form קָטֶל are very often written קטיל, as אביל for אָבֵל, Gen. xxxvii. 35.

VIII. The eighth class embraces passages which have been conformed to the theology, hermeneutics, and worship of the Samaritans.

Thus, to avoid polytheism, the four passages in the Pentateuch where Elohim is construed with a plural are altered, so as to have it in the singular. Gen. xx. 13; xxxi. 53; xxxv. 7. Exod. xxii. 9.

Again, whatever savours of anthropomorphism or appears unsuitable to the divine majesty is either removed or softened. Examples may be seen in Exod. xv. 3, where for אִישׁ מִלְחָמָה *a man of war*, is written גִּבּוֹר מִלְחָמָה, *hero of war;* in Deut. xxix. 19, where for the Hebrew אַף־יְהוָה יֶעְשַׁן, *the anger of the Lord shall smoke*, is written אף־יהוה יחר, *the anger of the Lord shall kindle.* See also Deut. xxxii. 8; Gen. xix. 12.

Wherever God himself is brought immediately into view as speaking and dealing with men, *the angel of God* is substituted. In Numb. xxv. 4, 5, the fourth verse is corrected from the fifth, lest the justice of God and the dignity of Moses should be infringed; and instead of "take all the heads of the people and hang them up before the Lord against the sun," we have, "order the men to be slain that were joined to Baalpeor."

Their reverence for the patriarchs and Moses led them to alter Gen. xlix. 7, and Deut. xxxiii. 12, in this way; instead of *cursed is their anger*, the Samaritan reads *excellent is their anger;* and instead of *the beloved of the Lord shall dwell*, the Samaritan has, *the hand, the hand of the Lord makes him to dwell.* In like manner, the Samaritans put *voces honestiores* in some cases where there was a fancied immodesty. Thus in Deut. xxv. 11, instead of the Hebrew מְמָבְשָׁיו is put בבשרו.

Here also Gesenius puts the notable passage in Deut. xxvii. 4, where the Samaritans changed *Ebal* into *Gerizim*, to favour their own temple. Some indeed have attempted to shew, that the Jews changed Gerizim into Ebal; but they have not succeeded to the satisfaction of critics generally. The most strenuous defenders of the Samaritans are Whiston and Kennicott; but Vershchuir* in particular, completely overthrew their reasoning.

Are there then, it may be asked, no readings in the Samaritan preferable to those in the Hebrew Pentateuch? Is it in every case inferior? Is there no original reading in it, which the Hebrew text does not now present?

Gesenius specifies four examples of this sort. The first is, Gen. iv. 8, "And Cain talked with Abel his brother, and it came to pass when they were in the field," &c. So it is rendered in our English version; but the literal translation is, "And Cain *said to* Abel his brother, ... and when they were in the field," &c. The Samaritan and Septuagint supply "let us go into the field," with which agree the Vulgate and Syriac interpreters. It is true that the verb may be rendered as it is in our version, *spoke to, talked with;* but the usage of it in the earlier Hebrew is unfavourable to this sense. The style of Genesis is adverse to it. There is a parallel in 1 Sam. xx. 11, which favours the insertion of the words supplied. We are therefore inclined to think that the Samaritan reading is in this case the authentic one.

The second passage is in Gen. xxii. 13, "And Abraham lifted up his eyes and looked, and behold behind him a ram caught in a thicket by his horns." The Samaritan has "*a* ram," instead of the word *behind*, i.e. אחד instead of אחר. In the same manner read the Septuagint, Syriac, and all the versions except Jerome's. Probably this reading is better than the Hebrew one.

The third passage is in Gen. xlix. 14, where, instead of

* Dissertationes Philolog. exeget. No. iii.

the expression *a strong ass*, literally *an ass of bone*, גרם, the Samaritan has גָּרִים, *bony*. It is doubtful whether this should be reckoned superior to the Hebrew reading.

The fourth passage is Gen. xiv. 14, where the Hebrew is וַיָּרֶק, translated "*he armed*" his trained servants. But the verb is elsewhere applied to the drawing forth of the sword; and it is harsh to apply it to the person *who makes others* draw the sword, *i.e.*, arms them for the fight. Some render it, instead of *armed*, *led forth* to battle, as Gesenius himself does in his Lexicon. But this sense is unsupported by usage. The Samaritan has וירק *lustravit*, "he reviewed," with which the Septuagint and Vulgate seem to agree. Perhaps the Samaritan is here preferable to the Hebrew.

On the whole, this Samaritan copy cannot be put in comparison with the Hebrew one. Its deviations from the latter have in general the appearance of design. Their object may be traced. The motives to which they owe their origin can be discovered. They cannot therefore be allowed to modify or set aside the readings of the Jewish copy, except in a very few instances. The difference between the two recensions, if they may be so called, chiefly consists in additions to the Samaritan text. And we know that insertions evince design, much more than omissions. When therefore we meet with forms and phrases in the Samaritan which the Hebrew does not exhibit, it is, *a priori*, more likely that they should have been inserted in the one than purposely omitted in the other.

In placing the Hebrew above the Samaritan in most cases, it is not necessary to proceed on the supposition of the *absolute integrity* of the Masoretic text. That idea indeed is now justly exploded. We know that differences exist among the Masoretic copies. A comparison of them must be made. Nor are they sufficient of themselves to show in all instances the authentic text. Other means must be used in ascertaining it. But we cannot prefer the reading of the Samaritan to the

Hebrew, when the two disagree, except in a very few cases. Internal evidence, and a preponderance of ancient versions, may sometimes lead to the adoption of a Samaritan reading varying from the Hebrew; but it were hazardous to admit it into the text in opposition to the majority of Hebrew MSS. on the *sole authority* of the Samaritans. An authentic text can hardly be selected partly from the one and partly from the other; it should be derived *mostly* from the one, *seldom* from the other, with the assistance of all available materials of criticism. We do not strip the recension of all value; but we attach little weight to it in comparison with the Hebrew.

In accordance with this view is the general character of the two peoples. The wickedness of Israel was greater than that of Judah. The former were more addicted to idolatry. Having less reverence for Jehovah, it is natural to infer that they respected his word less. They rejected books as sacred as those they retained. They scrupled not, as we see, to make alterations in the text—from which the Jews of Jerusalem would have shrunk. They did not refrain from systematic changes, which the Jews generally avoided.

But it may be said perhaps, that the Samaritan deserves the preference, because the Septuagint commonly agrees with it where it differs from the Hebrew. And as our Lord and his apostles quoted oftenest from the Seventy, their testimony may be put into the scale against the Hebrew in favour of the Samaritan. Since they usually preferred the Alexandrine translation, with which the Samaritan agrees in opposition to the Hebrew, does not that circumstance shew the superiority of the recension with which the Septuagint coincides?

The consideration now stated may appear plausible at first sight. But its plausibility is dissipated by examination. Though the Septuagint may generally agree with the Samaritan Pentateuch, it also differs from it. We must therefore inquire into the harmony existing between the New Testament

quotations from the Pentateuch and the Septuagint; and next into the coincidence of the Samaritan with this translation in the particular passages cited by the New Testament writers. It is only when the citations of the Greek Testament agree with the text of the Seventy and Samaritan together, in opposition to the Hebrew, that an argument can be drawn to the disparagement of the Jewish copy. For this purpose, an examination was instituted of all the quotations from the Pentateuch that appear in the Greek Testament, and the result was as follows:—In nineteen passages there is no difference between the quotation in the Greek Testament and the original of it in the Hebrew, Samaritan, and Septuagint. All agree in presenting the same expressions. There is no perceptible difference in the passages as they stand in the four documents just mentioned. In three instances alone was it ascertained, that the Greek Testament agreed with the Samaritan and Septuagint, in opposition to the Hebrew. But nothing can be built on them in favour of any hypothesis, because the difference is extremely slight. For example, Matt. iv. 4, is taken from Deut. viii. 3. Here, in the Samaritan, Septuagint, and Greek Testament, is a distinct term denoting *word;* but in the original Hebrew there is no separate noun for *word.* Yet it is easy to perceive that they all amount to the same thing, for the noun *word* is *included in* the Hebrew. Another example occurs in the epistle to the Romans iv. 3, taken from Gen. xv. 6. In the Samaritan, Septuagint, and Greek Testament, the text reads, "it was counted to him for righteousness;" but the Hebrew has, "he [God] counted it to him [Abraham] for righteousness." Here, too, there is no real difference. The verb to *count* or *impute* taken actively or passively does not alter the meaning of the proposition. Again, Gen. ii. 24, is quoted in the New Testament as, "they twain shall be one flesh." Here the Greek δύο appears, which is not in the Hebrew. The same adjective is in the Septuagint,

and also in the Samaritan, where the rendering literally is, "there shall be of the two one flesh." Thus the three documents agree in inserting the numeral *two* contrary to the Hebrew text. Hence many assume that the word originally belonged to that text. But there is ground for doubt about this. The sense is not at all affected by the difference. It is all the same whether the one reading or the other be adopted. Our Saviour and his apostles, who were by no means so solicitous respecting *words* as some modern theologians are, judged it a matter of indifference, in a case like the present, to adhere to the *ipsissima verba* of the Hebrew, or to use an additional term for the sake of greater emphasis. They adopted the latter course in the present instance, without the slightest disparagement of the Hebrew, because it yields the very same sense.

These are the only examples of the New Testament, Samaritan, and Septuagint agreeing where they differ from the Hebrew Pentateuch; and the variation is so slight that it scarcely deserves the name. The difference in question being almost nothing, no argument for the superiority of the Samaritan to the Hebrew Pentateuch can be derived from the three instances. Let it be recollected also, that the New Testament sometimes agrees with the Septuagint where the Hebrew and Samaritan differ from both; so that there is no ground for placing the Samaritan above the Hebrew. Thus in 2 Corinth. xiii. 1, quoted from Deut. xix. 15, the Septuagint and Greek Testament coincide; while they differ from the Hebrew and Samaritan, both which harmonise. The same thing is exemplified in other passages which need not be quoted. It is sufficient to have seen, from the fullest induction, that though there are many places of the Greek Testament where slight discrepancies exist between the Hebrew and the Septuagint, when at the same time the latter coincides with the Greek Testament, yet the Samaritan Pentateuch agrees oftener with the Hebrew than the Septuagint. Hence nothing can be in-

ferred in favour of the Samaritan against the Hebrew from the general coincidence between the Samaritan and Septuagint, and the well-known fact that the latter is more frequently quoted than the Hebrew original in the Greek Testament.

In respect to the *antiquity* of the document whose peculiarities have just been considered, the present place may be as convenient for speaking of it as any other; though, strictly speaking, the topic does not belong to a history of the text.

Various opinions have been entertained of the antiquity of the Samaritan Pentateuch. When, and from whom the Samaritans first got the five books of Moses, is a question attended with much difficulty.

1. Some suppose that the Pentateuch existed before the separation of the ten tribes from the two.

2. Others, again, assign a much later origin to the volume. They think that the Samaritans first received it under Alexander the Great, through Manasseh. In this manner its origin is made to be contemporary with the building of the Samaritan temple.

In favour of the early date it has been argued, that the hatred which arose between Judah and Israel immediately after the division of the united kingdom, did not allow of the latter receiving such a book from the former,—that the canon of the Samaritans contained no other books than the Pentateuch,—that the request of the Samaritans to assist in rebuilding the temple implies their possessing the Pentateuch, —and that the difference of character between the Hebrew and Samaritan copies can be best explained in this way, the latter being confessedly older.*

Gesenius, as a leading advocate of the other view, set himself to overthrow all these arguments, not without success. Indeed they cannot stand the test of a rigid scrutiny. But it is to be regretted that he and many other adherents of the

* Gesenius de Pentateuchi Samaritani origine, &c. p. 3, et seq.

later origin went on the assumption of the Hebrew Pentateuch's *late date;* and even employed that as an argument against the early existence of the Samaritan copy. The arguments on which they chiefly rely are, the fact of Manasseh the Jewish priest going over to the Samaritans,—the ecclesiastical state of the kingdom of the ten tribes as well as of the Samaritans, till the building of the temple on Gerizim, which does not well admit of the existence of a written law like the Pentateuch,—and the historical analogies which are all in favour of the same view.*

That the Pentateuch did exist from the commencement in the kingdom of Israel must be *assumed* at present, as the proof of it would lead away from the subject before us. That it was in the kingdom of the ten tribes and obtained legal authority, must be taken as certain; although many acute and ingenious things derived from the state of Israel under different kings, and from the permitted usages even of the pious among them, have been advanced against the fact in question. Notwithstanding the remarkable silence regarding it observed by the sacred writers during Israel's continuance as a kingdom,—the silence of the Levitical priests, when Jeroboam established a form of worship at variance with the Pentateuch,—their absence of appeal to the law,—there are many circumstances which speak strongly in favour of the Pentateuch's prior existence. A plausible case has been made out against its existence thus early; but on a close inspection the plausibility will disappear. If then the Pentateuch was among the Israelites as soon as they formed a separate kingdom from Judah, the only question remaining for us to settle is, *how* or *when* did it come to the people called Samaritans? Much depends on *the point of time* where the application of the distinctive title *Samaritans* commences. This cannot be settled precisely. But it is usual to date the origin of it after a mixed

* Gesenius de Pentateuchi Samaritani origine, &c. p. 6, et seq.

people arose composed of the heathen colonists sent by Shalmaneser into the land of Israel and the remainder of the ten tribes not carried away by him. This was after the end of the kingdom of Israel. The prevailing element was *heathen* not *Israelite*. As to the view of the Samaritans advanced by Hengstenberg,* whom Hävernick and Robinson follow, viz.—that they were *wholly* of *heathen* origin—Esarhaddon having carried away *all* the population of Israel, including the poorest and the lowest, we cannot adopt it. Facts and analogy are on the other side. Especially does it appear to us that the records of Josiah's reign are opposed to it. Kalkar† has reasoned excellently against it, to whom we must refer for an exhibition of its weakness. So too has Juynboll.‡

Is it probable then, that when the tribes were carried away into Assyria, copies were left in the hands of the remnant, which passed of course into the possession of the mixed population afterwards called the Samaritans? If so, the Pentateuch was always among the Samaritans. Though we cannot believe that a perusal of the sacred records in Kings and Chronicles shews the remnant to have consisted of the very dregs of the Israelite population, or that they were much poorer and more degraded than those carried away into Assyria, yet it is doubtful whether copies of the law were so common in Israel as to make it probable that some were left. They must have been very rare, even before the deportation of the majority of the people into a foreign country. If any persons knew of them, the priests alone were the parties. The subsequent discovery of a copy of the law in the kingdom of Judah under Josiah, and the amazement it caused, are adverse to the supposition of copies in Israel *after* Shalmaneser

* Beiträge zur Einleit. ins alte Testament, vol. i. p. 177; ii. p. 3, et seq.

† In Pelt's Mitarbeiten for 1840, Drittes Heft, p. 24, &c.

‡ Commentarii in historiam gentis Samaritanae, pp. 12, 13.

had carried away the principal men, perhaps before his conquest.

Very soon after the formation of the mixed race called *Samaritans*, an Israelitish priest was sent by the Assyrian king to teach the superstitious people how they should fear the Lord. Le Clerc and others conjectured that *he* took a copy of the law with him, which became thenceforward the Samaritan Pentateuch. It is related of him, that "he came and dwelt in Bethel, and taught them how they should fear the Lord."* Here it is not asserted that he took a copy of the Pentateuch with him out of which he might teach them. But he may have done so. Yet it seems more probable to us that he did not. *Oral teaching* was much better fitted for the superstitious people than instruction out of a written book. It was wholly unnecessary on the part of the priest to introduce a copy of the Pentateuch among the ignorant population. He could teach them more effectually by word of mouth. Believing that he would adopt the best and simplest method for them, it is unlikely that he took the written law with him, and so gave origin to the Samaritan copy of the Pentateuch.

A few years after, Josiah carried reform not only throughout Judah but Israel, for we are informed that he broke down the altar and the high place and the images in Samaria, in the cities of Manasseh, Ephraim, Simeon, and Naphtali. The consequence of this was, that Israel (the Samaritans) served the Lord, and even sent money for the repair of the temple at Jerusalem. In pursuance of his salutary measures, after the king had read in the ears of his assembled people the words of *the book of the covenant*, he kept a solemn passover at which Israelites (*i.e.* Samaritans) were present.† Surely the Samaritans must have heard of the law at this time. The reforms of Joshua were connected with the remarkable discovery

* 2 Kings xvii. 28.

† 2 Kings xxiii. 15-20; 2 Chron. xxxiv. 33; xxxiv. 9.

of a copy; he had read it publicly before the assembled people, and bound them to the observance of its precepts; so that the Israelites who were then or immediately after at Jerusalem, could not but have *heard of* it, if they did not *hear it.* Hence it is probable that they got a copy of the law in the reign of Josiah—stimulated as they were to the better observance of Jehovah's worship by the unusual and solemn transactions at Jerusalem.

The history itself of the Israelitish kingdom is sufficient to shew that the animosity existing between Judah and Israel has been much exaggerated. It was by no means of the character frequently represented. The remnant of the Israelites, mixed though they were with the Assyrian colonists, never abandoned the worship of the true God, and kept up a partial friendly connexion with Judah even in sacred things. They knew and felt that Jerusalem, with its temple, was the appointed place of national worship; and their desire to partake of that worship there was not extinguished. Whatever animosity may have been excited at times between them, it was not a continuous thing. Its cessation on different occasions was evinced by a friendly approximation and union in public worship. This was the case preëminently in the time of Josiah, as it had been before under Hezekiah. Surely then the season of peaceful intercourse was favourable for the introduction of the written Pentateuch among the Samaritans. The time of salutary reforms in religion under Josiah, seems particularly adapted to the reception of the volume among the people whose history is before us. *

Much has been said about the Samaritans having no book of the law, because they had no priest before Manasseh. If they had neither an established worship nor priests, how could they, it is asked, have had the Pentateuch? It is agreeable to analogy to suppose that in the progress of time the state of

* Herbst, Einleit. vol. i. p. 99.

opinion among them was improved. They thought of former days, were sorry, wished to return to the God of their fathers, and to render their worship conformable to His will. Hence they would remove the non-levitical priests if they had such, and be without priests entirely. And should they have even procured *levitical* priests, *they* could not legally sacrifice in Samaria. Hence the Samaritans could satisfy their religious longings in no other way than by taking part in the Jewish worship at Jerusalem, which they did accordingly. This will account for their request made to the returned exiles to have a share in rebuilding the temple. But their request was refused, and they were left in their former state. They were without priests and without an established worship. Why then did they not erect an altar and choose priests from among themselves? Was it because they had *not* the book of the law? It was rather because *they had* it, and because by it they were forbidden to take a priest from among themselves. When Manasseh passed over to them, all was right. They obtained a regular Levitical priest, and worshipped in a new temple on Gerizim.*

According to the view now given, it does not follow from the arrival of Manasseh among them, that they got a copy of the law for the first time from his hands. They seem to have had it already.

As no argument coming from the advocates of the very late introduction of the law among the Samaritans against our present view, appears to us valid, neither is any urged by the adherents of its existence among the ten tribes and the remnant *at all times*, of weight in opposition to it. It is of no avail to affirm that the Pentateuch is *the only canonical book* of the Samaritans, and that no other part of the Old Testament had been written at the time they received it, else their canon would have had it also. As if they could not and would not

* Herbst. Einleit. vol. i. pp. 101, 102.

reject books containing matter objectionable to them. There was too much anti-Israelitish in the postmosaic writings to warrant their reception. We know what Steudel* and Stuart† advance against this, viz., that the Samaritans might very well receive the books of Joshua and Judges, which do not favour the preëminence of Jerusalem and the worship established there, but are quite unobjectionable. As if "the advantage the Samaritans would have gained by the reception of these two books, would have been counterbalanced by a far greater disadvantage. Had the Samaritans added the books of Joshua and Judges to their canon, it would have too plainly shewn that their protest against the remaining books proceeded merely from the feeling of self-interest. But the case would be different if they retained alone the work of the great lawgiver (to which even the Jews assigned the preëminence above all their later books), and rejected the rest as not invested with sufficient divine legitimation. . . . . Let it also be urged in addition, that the Samaritans could not feel satisfied if those writings contained nothing which spoke directly against them. Their patriotic legends took their rise probably not just at the time of the separation of the two kingdoms; they began as early as Joshua. Now, by the reception of the two books just mentioned, they would have narrowed the scope for their falsehoods. They could then no longer have maintained anything else for which they could not have brought proof from that quarter."‡

It is unnecessary at the present day to do more than allude to the opinion of Ussher respecting the origin of the Samaritan Pentateuch, as it never obtained currency. This celebrated

* Einige Zweifel gegen die Annahme, es könne aus dem Samarit. Pentateuch kein Beweis, u. s. w. in Bengel's Archiv. iii. 626, et seq.

† American Biblical Repository for 1832, p. 707.

‡ Hengstenberg, Dissertations on the genuineness of the Pentateuch, translated by Ryland, vol. i. pp. 103, 104.

scholar thought, that a Samaritan impostor called Dositheus, made it out of the Hebrew and the Septuagint, by adding to, taking from, and changing the text at pleasure.* The hypothesis in question is too absurd to be entertained for a moment. Walton easily refuted it.† The Samaritan Pentateuch was mentioned by Eusebius, Cyril of Alexandria, Procopius of Gaza, Diodore, Jerome, the Greek scholiast, and others. After it had lain buried in the darkness of silence for upwards of a thousand years, so that its very existence was questioned, a copy was brought from the east by the traveller Della Valle, at the instigation of De Sancy, French ambassador at Constantinople. The latter sent it to the library of the Oratoire in Paris, and John Morin published it entire in the Paris Polyglott, having previously given some account of it in the preface to an edition of the Septuagint published at Paris in 1628. Not long after, Ussher procured six copies from the east, five of which it is thought are still in England; but the sixth, which he sent to De Dieu, has disappeared. Fabricius de Peiresc also procured three copies from the east, which he sent to Morrin, for he had been solicited by the latter to procure the Samaritan Bible from the east, though he had already failed to receive the copy purchased in Egypt, in consequence of the ship in which it was having been plundered by pirates. Having been printed in the fifth volume of the Paris Polyglott, it was inserted by Walton in the London Polyglott, after the text had been collated with three of Ussher's MSS. The only separate edition is that of Blayney, published at Oxford in 1790 but in the Hebrew character.

A close resemblance between the Samaritan Pentateuch and the Septuagint has always been noticed. It agrees in more than 2000 readings with the Alexandrine version, where it

* Epistola ad Ludovicum Cappellum, in Dublin edition of complete works, vol. vii. p. 604, et seq.

† Prolegomena in Biblia Polyglotta, ed. Dathe, p. 531, et seq.

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differs from the Masoretic text. To account for such agreement, it has been conjectured by Bertholdt, Steudel, and others, that both flowed from a recension of the text handed down from earlier times. But there are circumstances adverse to this supposition. The Alexandrine-Jewish style of thinking was freer and more speculative than the Palestinian and Babylonian. And although it did not take liberties with the original text, partly because the Alexandrine Jews were mostly unacquainted with Hebrew, and partly because they looked up to their Palestinian brethren in regard to the original, and largely depended on their views, yet it found scope for its propensity in translations and marginal remarks. Now it is unquestionable, that the Alexandrine version manifests throughout the Jewish-Alexandrine style of thinking. There is a tendency in it to expand and make easier the readings of the Masoretic text, while it leans to the marginal conjectures of the Masoretic copies called *K'ri*. In like manner, the Samaritan Pentateuch has many *K'ris* in the text; and indulges in explanatory readings. With a want of critical skill the Samaritan scribes admitted freely into the text what the Alexandrine Jews had not ventured to receive, but had merely inserted in translations, or in the margin of the original. They took mere conjectural emendations, and deteriorated the text by their means. Incapable of producing what was original themselves, they received what was presented to them.

From a general survey of the Samaritan text we learn,—

First, that it exhibits readings not found in the Jewish text, but arbitrarily adopted for the purpose of rendering it complete and more perspicuous, of bringing expressions in the original into harmony with their religious ideas, or of adapting the orthography and construction of the Hebrew text to the Samaritan idiom.

It exhibits, *secondly*, readings which are mere accidental mistakes; and

Thirdly, it contains such as were neither designed nor accidental, but found in the copies from which the text at first flowed.

What the number of the latter is, it would be hazardous to affirm. They alone are available in shewing what the state of the Hebrew text was before the close of the canon. But whatever be their number, whether it be more than half of the entire variations, as Herbst affirms,* or much less, as is more probable, the readings in question, ancient though they be, want the marks of originality. With a few exceptions, they are not authentic.

Before proceeding farther with the history, we must now mark the time when the canon was completed, as the first division of the history terminates with that important event.

It is impossible to ascertain precisely the time when the canon was completed. Authentic history does not clearly indicate this important epoch in sacred literature. But by taking into account a variety of circumstances, we can arrive with much probability at a period *within* which the collection of the Old Testament writings was completed. It is a reasonable idea, that when Ezra and Nehemiah attempted with praiseworthy zeal to restore the religion and worship of their fathers, they did not neglect the sacred books composed before and during their time. The accounts contained in Ezra and Nehemiah, and the traditions of the Jews themselves, favour the opinion that the remains of the national literature were then collected as fully as possible, and put into as good a state as circumstances allowed. Nor is the historical basis of the view that Ezra bore a leading part in collecting and revising the sacred books, shaken by the fabulous circumstances associated with it in the writings of the early fathers, in passages of the Talmud, and in later Jewish authors. But though Ezra and Nehemiah paid special attention to the sacred books, collecting and revising them with care, it does not follow that the

* Einleitung, vol. i. p. 108.

canon was *closed* at that time. The collection was begun and carried forward up to their day, but all the books were not in it. The canon of the whole Hebrew Bible was not closed so early. Hengstenberg* indeed, and after him Hävernick,† contend that the canon was begun and completed under Ezra, Nehemiah, and the great synagogue; but that view is by no means universal. It is based on the Talmud and Josephus, chiefly the latter, whose testimonies have been minutely examined for the purpose of shewing that the canon was closed at the time mentioned. But there are difficulties in the way of its reception which they have not fairly met, even though it be allowed them that Malachi lived in the reign of Artaxerxes, contemporary with Nehemiah. Thus the Jewish tradition in *Baba Bathra*‡ says, that the men of the great synagogue *wrote out* (כָּתְבוּ) the twelve minor prophets. Now Bertholdt and Hävernick assign to the word *wrote* the sense of *bringing into the canon, adscription*, for which the latter refers to the preceding context. But the context clearly contradicts that sense, for it speaks of Joshua *writing* eight verses in the *law*. Does that mean, *to bring those eight verses into the sacred canon?* Besides, the explanation of Rashi proceeds on the assumption of the verb signifying *copied out*. Buxtorf translates the word accurately by *descripserunt*. The tradition too, as it occurs in its oldest form in *Pirke Aboth*,§ says nothing about collecting the Old Testament books into one volume. It speaks merely of the authors of separate books.‖

But a passage in Josephus is more relied on, though the language is somewhat ambiguous in one part. Since Hengstenberg and Hävernick referred to it in connection with the present subject, it has also received great attention from Prof. Stuart. We cannot see however that he has thrown better

* Beiträge zur Einleit. ins alte Testament, vol. i. p. 237, et seq.
† Einleitung, vol. I. p. 139, et seq. ‡ Fol. 14, c. 2, fol. 15, c. 1.
§ Cap. 1. ‖ See Buxtorf's Tiberias, p. 88, et seq. ed. 1665.

light on it than his predecessors. What the Jewish historian states, is, according to Mr. Stuart, "that the sacred books were completed in the reign of Artaxerxes."* Hence the conclusion is deduced, that as Artaxerxes Longimanus died 424 B.C., no part of the Hebrew canon can be later than that, if the testimony of Josephus is well grounded.

We cannot but think that the interpretations assigned to the very difficult words of Josephus by Hengstenberg, Hävernick, Stuart, &c., are somewhat precarious. We doubt whether they do not extract more from the passage than what the historian himself fairly intended.

If Josephus, as is affirmed, asserts that the sacred books were completed in the reign of Artaxerxes, and if this were the general settled opinion of the whole Jewish nation, how comes it that another view prevailed among the later Jews respecting the close of the canon? Either Jewish tradition is contradictory, or Josephus is giving his own judgment. How does it happen that Simon the Just, the last of the great synagogue, is reported in Jewish tradition to have closed the sacred canon? It is not found in any of the early Jewish traditions that the canon closed with Ezra, Nehemiah, Malachi apart from the simultaneous mention of the great synagogue. The Talmud does not assign it to Malachi the last of the prophets, or to the reign of Artaxerxes. The men of the great synagogue are always mentioned when the canon closed. The language is indefinite, not specific. It will not fairly bear the interpretation that the canon was finally closed till the men of the great synagogue had all died.

Still farther, it would appear from Nehem. xii. 22 and 10, 1 Chron. iii. 19-24, Esther ix. 19, that some books are later than the time allowed by Josephus. We know the assumptions which have been made to reduce these writings

* Critical History and Defence of the Old Testament Canon, p. 226, American edition.

to the time of Ezra and Nehemiah; what interpretations have been assigned to Esther ix. 19 for the same purpose; but they are forced and unnatural. It would be out of place to do more at present than briefly indicate our opinion. Lengthened discussion must be avoided.

The important work begun by Ezra and Nehemiah was continued after them by the most competent authority, till the entire collection was declared complete, about 200 B.C. Those eminent reformers provided for the continuance of the work after them, till it should be finished. The later Jews affirm that this was done by Simon the Just, who died 292 B.C. according to the chronology of Eusebius, but 202 B.C. according to the best Jewish account, which is more correct;* and the prologue of Jesus the son of Sirach shews that a much later period cannot well be assigned. "The notices on this subject," says Jahn, "are so recent that they cannot be relied on as historical evidence; but as such traditions are generally founded on some truth, it is very probable that Simon did complete the collection and revision of the sacred books, and even add some things respecting events of more recent occurrence."† Hence we discard the opinion that the canon was completed in the days of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Malachi; though it has found such able advocates as Hengstenberg, Hävernick, and Stuart in recent times. The fact which has never yet been disproved, that books were received into the Jewish canon after Malachi and Artaxerxes, weakens Josephus' testimony. Arbitrary hypotheses, it is true, may assign some books to an earlier period, for the purpose of including them within the *prophetic succession*, but they betray their weakness. Even Herbst‡ refuses assent to the view of Hengstenberg; his editor disagreeing.

* See Zunz, Die gottesdienstlichen Vortraege, p. 36.

† History of the Hebrew Commonwealth, translated by Stowe, p. 91, English edition.

‡ Einleitung, vol. i. § 13, p. 44, et seq.

It has been affirmed by Kennicott* and others, that the books of the Old Testament were probably left perfect by Ezra, Nehemiah, and subsequent *prophets*. They were completely repaired after the injuries suffered during the captivity, and purged from such errors as might have been introduced by transcribers. But no valid argument can be given for this notion. It is favoured by Jewish fables regarding Ezra; but that is all the countenance it receives from history or reason. Whatever we may think of Ezra as a preacher and author, his inspiration and consequent infallibility in correcting and revising the sacred books written before and during his day, rest on another basis. That basis we cannot see. It is unreal and imaginary. So too with Nehemiah or Malachi. Nor can Simon be thought to have produced a perfect, correct, and genuine copy of the whole Hebrew Bible. All who had to do with the settlement of the canon, from Ezra and Nehemiah to the latest, endeavoured to make the text as correct as possible. Autographs and the best copies within reach were employed for this purpose. They wished to have as pure a revision as could be effected. They proceeded therefore in much the same way as a critical editor does. But they were not infallible. We are inclined therefore to think that the text of the books collected by Ezra and Nehemiah was not *perfect*. Neither was the text *perfectly* free from error at any subsequent time. The canon was not wholly free from error when it was closed. It has not been so at any time. Doubtless it was *substantially* correct. But *all the words* were not the same as those written by the authors of the respective books. A miracle were required for such a result; and a miracle was not wrought, as far as we can judge. The canonical books were in a tolerably good state about 200 years before Christ, but they might have been in a much better. When the canon

* Dissertation the Second on the state of the printed Hebrew Text, p. 307.

was closed, their text was generally free from material corruption; but it might have been much freer. This is all that can be affirmed with probability. Inclined as we are to go farther and say that an absolutely correct, genuine copy was furnished under the immediate direction and superintendence of heaven by the inspired Ezra, or by him along with Nehemiah, or by others after them, we dare not make the assertion in the absence of all evidence, against analogy and the strongest presumption.

CHAPTER VII.

HISTORY OF THE TEXT, FROM THE CLOSE OF THE CANON TILL THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM.

THE state of the Hebrew text at the time when the Alexandrine version was made cannot be definitely or accurately determined, because of the condition in which the version now exists. It is obvious to all who are in any degree acquainted with the history of that translation, that it is at present very corrupt. We only possess copies of the text of the κοινή in its deteriorated state, or copies of the Hexaplar text which was never fitted to present a true picture of the original Septuagint. Under existing circumstances, all that can be done is to take a certain text of the Seventy as approaching nearest to the original one, and from it to judge of the Hebrew text when it was first translated into Greek. Perhaps we shall not be far wrong if we take for this purpose the text which appears in the four leading editions of the Septuagint.

Here then, with all the variations of the Septuagint from the Hebrew that must be attributed to transcribers, there are many which can only be taken as *original*. The version before us had at first many deviations from the present Hebrew Masoretic text. Such various readings must be traced to two sources, either to the caprice, carelessness, or ignorance of the translators, or to the Hebrew copies from which the version was made. It is only the latter class that we have to do with

in a history of the text, because they alone are fitted to give a representation of its state. Such are omissions, additions, and variations which appear in other ancient versions made independently of the Septuagint, and not interpolated from it. Such too are the readings, which, though peculiar to the Septuagint, proceed from no assignable motive. When it is impossible to discover how or in what way they assist the text, we assign them to the Hebrew copies then existing.

In the case of Jeremiah, the deviations from the present Masoretic text are larger and more considerable than those in any other book. We find there numerous additions, omissions, and transpositions of entire chapters, as well as verses. These are very perplexing. It is doubtful whether they belong to the translator, or to the document before him. If, as we incline to think, they belong in part to the translator, and in part to the recension he followed, it is impossible at the present day to separate the respective portions, and assign them to their proper sources. It is also doubtful how the case stands in the first part of Daniel; where it would be equally presumptuous at once to attribute the numerous deviations either to the translator himself, or to the Hebrew text he followed. In the case of 1 and 2 Samuel, there are also numerous departures from the Masoretic text; but none of equal extent or magnitude with those occurring in Jeremiah. Here we should have little hesitation in saying, that they chiefly belong to the translator, who had before him a text not widely different from the Masoretic one, and far superior to it, as Thenius thinks. It was *substantially* the same as the Masoretic. But until the true original text of the Septuagint itself be restored, or at least far more nearly restored than we have it at present—till its interpolations and corruptions be removed—we cannot with much advantage or safety judge of *the Hebrew text* which the translators followed. That the latter did differ in many places from the present Hebrew can-

not be doubted for a moment. That some of these departures too are important, can hardly be questioned. Yet it must not be thought, that *the greater number* of variations between the Septuagint and Masoretic Hebrew, as they now appear, owe their origin to Hebrew MSS. used by the translators. They are of later origin. Thus much concerning the state of the text from B.C. 280, till about 100 B.C.

From the completion of the Septuagint version till the destruction of Jerusalem and the downfall of the Jewish state, we know nothing of the Hebrew text. There is no existing memorial belonging to that time which enables us to judge of its condition.

Nothing can be learned of the state of the Hebrew text from Philo, since he used the Septuagint alone. He did not know the original text, and had no idea of its being widely different from the Greek version. In his time the study of Hebrew at Alexandria had been laid aside.*

The text from which the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan were made did not differ much from the present Masoretic text. The deviations are not important or numerous.

* See Frankel, Vorstudien zu der Septuaginta, p. 45, et seq.

CHAPTER VIII.

HISTORY OF THE TEXT, FROM THE DOWNFALL OF THE JEWISH STATE TILL THE FINAL ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MASORETIC TEXT.

AFTER the destruction of the Jewish power, we have the Greek versions of Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, the old Syriac, Josephus. Of all these it may be said, that while they deviate more or less from the present Hebrew, they are much nearer to it than the Septuagint. Aquila and the other Greek translators, though departing from the Masoretic text, do not by any means disagree with it to the extent of the Seventy. Josephus appears to have generally used the Septuagint, even where it departed from the text now called Masoretic. Though he employed the latter, yet it was in such a way that it is impossible to discover from his Antiquities in what condition it was.

The text lying at the basis of the Peshito or old Syriac version, is *substantially* the Masoretic one. Yet there are many departures from it. Not a few readings better than the present Hebrew text exhibits are sanctioned by the Syriac. In many cases it approaches the text of the Septuagint. The Greek version had an influence upon it.

Is it true then, that the text lying at the basis of the two oldest documents, viz., the Samaritan Pentateuch and Septuagint version, is more corrupt than that from which the versions made soon after Christ were derived? The question

must be answered in the affirmative. The younger text is much nearer the original form of it than the older one represented by the two documents. What then is the cause of this? Was a revision undertaken by the learned Jews after the destruction of Jerusalem? Did they conceive the idea of comparing MSS., revising the entire text, and purifying it from such corruptions as appeared in the Samaritan and the Septuagint? We know that there were schools of learning in which not only a knowledge of the law, but grammar and criticism were prosecuted, in Jabne, Ziphoria, Lydda, Caesarea, Tiberias, and somewhat later in Babylonia. Did such a revision proceed from some or all of them? The idea cannot be entertained for various reasons; chiefly because obvious and glaring errors, such as the Masoretic text exhibits, would not have been left. Certain phenomena would have disappeared beneath their critical hands, else they must have shewn an arbitrary caprice and carelessness in regard to their holy writings, which their known history belies. They could never have left the books of Chronicles in their present state, nor the books of Samuel and Kings, nor even the Pentateuch. The purer state of the copies, from which the early versions subsequent to Christ's appearance were made, was mainly owing to the country they belonged to. They were Palestinian copies. They had been in the hands of priests and learned men for the most part —of persons who venerated their national literature, and guarded the text with scrupulous care from innovation. The use made of a part of their sacred books in the temple-service also contributed to keep them free from errors. Such Palestinian copies are the source of the Masoretic text; and from them flowed the versions of Aquila and the other Greek translators, those of Onkelos and Jonathan, and the Syriac version besides. As to the MSS. lying at the basis of the Seventy and Samaritan Pentateuch, they were in the hands of Jews who did not reside in Palestine. Their possessors and tran-

scribers belonged, for the most part, to Alexandria, or had been affected by the Alexandrine theology. In the progress of time there arose from these copies a text such as that which forms the basis of the two documents in question—a text with additions and explanatory glosses, betraying less care in regard to the letter of the sacred writings. The freer influences amid which the persons in whose hands those MSS. were lived and moved, led to innovations upon the text, which the stricter Palestinian Jews would never have thought of.

The Jewish state had been broken up. The once favoured people of God were deprived of their freedom. Their temple was destroyed. But they had still their sacred national writings—the only inheritance saved from the general wreck of their fortunes. Thenceforward it became the leading object of their learned men to attend to the Scriptures. The greater the difficulties which stood in their way, the more desirous were they to study the letter. Every word, letter, and sentence was holy in their eye. Every prevailing tendency of mind among them was favourable to the integrity of the text. Whether they were superstitiously observant of the letter, as though the rigid observance of it satisfied the demands of the divine law; or whether they considered the mere text as an envelope, containing beneath it mystery and recondite truth, the effect was the same in regard to the careful preservation of the records. Rabbins and Cabbalists were equally alive to the importance of having the usual number of verses, words, and letters; examined all deviations from it, so that extraneous matter might be removed; and laid down prescriptions for maintaining the integrity of the text. In this manner, the learned as well as the unlearned mind of the people united in the same desire and contributed to the same work.

In the Hebrew column of Origen's Hexapla, we find a text allied to the Masoretic. This was in the third century. In the fourth Jerome employed Jewish teachers belonging to

Palestine and MSS. of the same country, in his Latin version, from the Hebrew original. On this account the text is very nearly conformable to the recension we now possess.

From the second century and onward an increasing number of writers busied themselves with oral explanations of the *Torah* or law of Moses, and the systematic collection of them afterwards called *Mishna*, δευτέρωσις, from שָׁנָה.

Fearing that the oral law which they held so sacred should be lost or impaired, the Jews during the second century thought of committing it to writing. It is supposed that Rabbi Judah († 191), surnamed *the holy*, made the permanent record of it. He is said to have lived under Antoninus Pius. It is disputed, however, whether he *actually wrote out* the Mishna *for the first time* and *fully*. There is no doubt that he was the compiler and *editor* of it, so to speak; that is, he continued the process of sifting and arranging the materials of the Halacha, from all oral and written sources, after the method of Rabbi Meir, and the example of Rabbi Simeon his father. He *completed* the work at the time. But the Mishna of Rabbi Judah is not exactly that which has come down to us; since his disciples had to do with it.*

A twofold commentary or series of commentaries was subsequently appended to it—one called the Babylonian *Gemara; Aram.* גמר to *learn;* the other the Jerusalem *Gemara.* The former was begun by Rabbi Asche († 427), and was completed by Rabbi Jose, president of the Academy at Syra, who died A.D. 475. These portions, committed to writing after the Mishna, constitute *notes* on that text; and make up, together with it, the *Babylonian Talmud*, תלמוד from למד. The Gemara of the Jerusalem Talmud proceeded from the Academy at Tiberias, and embodied the notes of the Palestinian Jews. It is said to have been written chiefly towards the close of the

* See Steinschneider, in Ersch and Gruber's Encyklopaedie, § ii. part 27, p. 366.

fourth century, about 370-380 A.D. It is often incorrectly attributed to Rabbi Jochanan, who died in 279. This Gemara, with the same Mishna as before, makes up *the Jerusalem Talmud.*

The Talmud bears various evidence of critical attention to the text of the canonical books. In it are contained precepts relating to biblical calligraphy. Transcribers were to observe certain rules in copying the Old Testament, especially the Law.

It also mentions comparison of MSS.; and a preference is given to that reading which the majority present.

The numbering of verses, words, and letters, seems to have been an early practice. Separate books and sections were thus counted. The sum total was marked at the end; and the middle letter and verse faithfully given. However laborious and trifling such a task was, it had a good effect on the purity of the text.

But the most important feature of the Talmud is certain kinds or classes of critical corrections, which also appear in the Masora, and in the commentaries of later Jewish authors. These are—

1. עִטּוּר סוֹפְרִים, *Ittur sopherim, ablatio scribarum*, concerning the removal of the prefix *vau*, erroneously prefixed to words in five passages, viz., Gen. xviii. 5; xxiv. 55; Numb. xxxi. 2; Psalm lxviii. 26; xxxvi. 7.

2. *Puncta extraordinaria.*—Fifteen words have one or more such points, as אֲשֶׁר, Numb. xxi. 30; לוֹ֫א, Psalm xxvii. 13; בְּקוּמָהּ, Gen. xix. 33. The Talmud mentions but six of these words; the Masora fifteen—ten in the Law, four in the Prophets, and one in the Hagiographa, viz. in Gen. xvi. 5, xviii. 9, xix. 33, xxxiii. 4, xxxvii. 12; Numb. iii. 39, ix. 10; xxi. 30; xxix. 15, 29; 2 Sam. xix. 19; Isaiah xliv. 9; Ezek. xlvi. 22; Psalm xxvii. 13.* It is probable that such

* See Buxtorf's Tiberias, cap. xvii. p. 162, ed. 1665; and Cappelli Critica Sacra, vol. i. p. 455, et seq.

points over words and letters were intended to mark their suspicious or spurious character. Gesenius found that they had the same import in Samaritan MSS.

3. קְרִי וְלֹא כְתִיב, *K'ri v'lo c'thib*, words which did not stand in the text, and yet should be written there. The Talmud enumerates seven places of this kind, viz. Ruth ii. 3, iii. 5, 17; 2 Sam. viii. 3, xvi. 23; Jerem. xxxi. 38, l. 29. Elias Levita mentions eight; and in the preface of the same work (*Masoreth Hammasoreth*) ten. Here *the Masora* puts the vowels in the text, and the consonants in the margin; the circle in the empty space merely referring to the margin.

4. כְּתִיב וְלֹא קְרִי, *c'thib v'lo K'ri*, words which did stand in the text, but yet should not be read. The Talmud mentions five words of this kind, viz., אִם in four places, Ruth iii. 12; 2 Sam. xiii. 33, xv. 21; Jerem. xxxix. 12. נא in 2 Kings v. 18. את in Jerem. xxxviii. 16. ירד in Jerem. li. 3; and חמש in Ezek. xlviii. 16.* These also are exegetical glosses. The Masorah does not punctuate the words.

5. The Talmud likewise mentions different readings which the Masoretes call קְרִי וּכְתִיב, *K'ri ūc'thib*, for example, at Job xiii. 15; Haggai i. 8. Here two readings of the one passage were known to the Talmudists, and they were in doubt about the preferable one.

The nature of these corrections has been variously judged of. Eichhorn and Bertholdt regard them as the *results of critical revisions* or *a critical revision* of the Hebrew text. Herbst objects to this opinion, because it is unlikely that the collation of MSS. instituted by the Talmudists could have discovered no more real or supposed mistakes; and that the readings regarded as authentic should not have been taken into the text.† But these considerations are of little weight. The Talmudists must not be judged of by modern notions. Let us reflect on their superstitious venera-

* See Cappell, Crit. Sac. vol. i. p. 186, et seq.

† Einleitung, vol. i. p. 115.

tion for whatever they found already written in their MSS.; their reluctance to erase either a word or a letter; and we need not be surprised at the small amount of correction which they noted and recommended. But indeed it is a false view of the subject, if it be thought that the Talmudists undertook a *formal* or an *extensive* collation of MSS. They did not engage in a great critical work, for the purpose among other things of obtaining a pure text. Here Bertholdt is in error. Before the Talmud, critics had noted various readings. And at the time of the Talmud, more were doubtless observed. In consequence of these various readings, the Talmudists marked such as struck their attention, with the view of introducing better readings into the text. They thought they saw in various places what was the authentic reading, where it had been expelled or obscured. That they did not make more corrections, must have been owing to various causes, such as, the substantial agreement of the MSS. they had, their fear of innovation or alteration in what was written, and their attention to *exegetical* more than to *critical* studies. Still, we doubt not that the corrections enumerated are the traces of revision. They are the results of *some* critical skill applied to the text. They show that learned men, even before the Talmud, had looked at the text in various parts with care; and came to the conclusion that it was not absolutely faultless. If these observations be correct, it follows, that Herbst is wrong in thinking that they are indications of a hidden sense, rather than the evidences of critical revision. It is vain to quote Jerome when he writes respecting the extraordinary point over בְּקוּמָהּ, in Genesis xix. 33, "Appungunt desuper quasi incredibile et quod rerum natura non capiat, coire quenpiam nescientem," and the words of the Tract. Nasir, "Quare est punctatum supra literam ו in וּבְקוּמָהּ de primogenita? Ad indicandum quod, cum decumberet, non cognoverit, et dum surgeret, noverit."* Such explanation must be attributed to misconception.

* Fol. 23, c. 1.

Unusual letters are also mentioned in the Talmud, *literae majusculae*, *minusculae*, *suspensae*, *inversae*, i.e, letters larger or smaller than the text, or above the line, or inverted. See Psalm lxxx. 16; Gen. ii. 4; Psalm lxxx. 14; Numb. x. 35; Some *literae majusculae* point out the middle letter of a book, as גחן, Levit. xi. 42. Hence De Wette supposes that these letters may have originally had a critical significance. This however is doubtful.* It seems improbable that old variations or critical remarks should lie in these forms. Gesenius affirms† that he could not discover this in them. Perhaps some of them originated in the mistakes of transcribers, others in the fertile fancy of the cabbalistic writers attributing a mysterious meaning to them. But a *concealed sense* was *afterwards* sought in all.

Euphemistic K'ris, *i.e.*, *voces honestiores* for textual words looked upon as unseemly or immodest, are also mentioned in the Talmud, ex. gr. in Deut. xxviii. 30.

After the completion of the Talmud, the learned Jews, especially those at Tiberias where there was a celebrated academy, cultivated Hebrew literature with renewed zeal. They studied the text of the Bible critically, in *all* its peculiarities—a thing which had not been done before. MSS. were compared, points only touched before were investigated, miscellaneous observations were arranged, and what had been *loosely* connected as one whole, was systematised. The letters themselves were no longer the exclusive subject of examination, but the vowels and accents also. In short, these scholars enlarged the observations of their predecessors the Talmudists, carried forward what they had begun, and made many additions to existing materials of criticism. Their remarks were numerous, being *grammatical*, *exegetical*, and *philological*. They were first transmitted by oral tradition, and afterwards written down. Hence the name *Masorah*, מָסוֹרָה, *tradition*,

* Einleitung, sixth edition, pp. 135, 136. † Lehrgebäude, p. 11.

was applied to the collection, and *Masoretes*, בַּעֲלֵי מָסוֹרָה to the persons engaged in it. The greater part of it concerns *the text*, prescribing means by which it may be kept free from change and corruption.

Some of the older Jews, such as Elias Levita, Kimchi, &c. refer the Masorah to Moses as its author. But the common opinion of the Jews, and of such Christian writers as Buxtorf, Bartolocci, Leusden, Pfeiffer, Loescher, Carpzov, Wolf, &c. traces the commencement of it to Ezra and the great synagogue. Both views have been justly exploded. Part of it is older than the Talmud. After the composition of the latter work, the remarks increased from century to century, till at the commencement of the sixth century, the scattered observations were collected and put together by the Jews at Tiberias. Such was *the beginning* of what is now called *the written Masorah.* From time to time new remarks were appended, or new examples added to the old, so that the Masoretes were properly a succession of learned men from the commencement of the sixth down to perhaps the eleventh century. We say *perhaps*, for both the beginning and end of the work can only be fixed arbitrarily, agreeably to the opinion of Elias Levita, who says, "Auctores Masorae innumeros fuisse, sibique una generatione post aliam successisse annis compluribus, neque cognitum nobis esse tempus principii vel finis ipsorum."* Aaron Ben Asher and Jacob Ben Naphtali may be considered as closing the series. With them the Masorah may be said to terminate.

From the successive formation of the Masorah, it will appear that some parts of it are much more recent than others. But they cannot now be separated. The *old* Masorah of the sixth century, and the *new* Masorah *after* the sixth, cannot be clearly distinguished, however desirable the thing might be.

The various remarks of which the collection consists, were at first written in separate books or leaves without suitable

* Praefat. 3 in *Massoreth Hammasoreth.*

order or arrangement. This immense mass of observations was contained in separate MSS. which are now very rare. Jacob Ben Chayim, however, had several of them when he superintended Bomberg's Rabbinical Bible. Buxtorf says, that in his time, there was one in the Palatine library at Rome; and Bruns had another. But it was found laborious and inconvenient to make use of the entire work. Resembling a huge chaos, it deterred even bold-hearted readers, or perplexed such as *had* the patience to turn it over in the perusal of the Bible. Accordingly extracts were made, embracing the most necessary portions, which were transferred to the margin of the Old Testament MSS. The mode however in which they were made was most inconvenient. The remarks were not distributed each one in the place to which it belonged, but those of one kind were put together in one place of the Bible, leaving it to the memory of the reader to recollect each single observation at the passage to which it referred. And as the work was not completed at once, but was carried forward by degrees; later writers enlarging the remarks of their predecessors by additional ones, often put them into a different place, without regard to the antecedent annotators. When they did not write in a separate book, but in the margin of Biblical MSS., the later and earlier notes, though belonging to the same passage or point, were sometimes widely separated. This compendium or epitome is called *Masorah parva.* It is couched in abbreviated, obscure, technical words, which it is very difficult to decipher. The position of it is usually at the side of the text, as in Buxtorf's Bible, between the Hebrew text and Chaldee paraphrase.

After the compendium had been made, they began to put the Masorah itself in the margin of the Biblical MSS. Perhaps the chief cause of this was the great obscurity of *the little Masorah,* filled as it is with countless abbreviations. But in placing the whole work in the margin of MSS., great careless-

ness was evinced. The remarks were not always placed over against the verse to which they belonged. And then they omitted portions, which the margin, as was often the case, could not hold. They wrote what filled the margin, transferring the remainder to the end of the book, but not always. Or, on the other hand, if the Masorah did not fill the margin of a page, they repeated as much of the preceding part as filled up the gap, or inserted patches from other places. It was also customary, for the sake of ornament, to make it up into all kinds of figures. Oxen, fishes, birds, men, flowers, &c. were fashioned out of it. And when the copyist had too much or too little of the Masorah for his complete figure, he did not hesitate to abridge, add, or repeat, in order that he might have just what sufficed. Hence we can account for the disorderly, confused, erroneous state in which the Masorah was before Jacob Ben Chayim undertook to reduce it to something like order. The *Masorah magna*, comprehending the entire critical apparatus, is commonly placed above and below the Hebrew text, as in Buxtorf's Rabbinical Bible. Hence it is sometimes called textual, *textualis*. What is called the final Masorah, *Masora finalis*, and sometimes *maxima*, is properly a part of the great Masorah, from which it should not have been separated. It is placed at the end of the Old Testament books, and forms a sort of concordance, disposing the words on which the Masoretes made remarks, in alphabetical order. It supplies things which could not conveniently find a place in the *Masora magna*. But the two should not have been separated—the mutual references of the one to the other being most inconvenient in use.

I. To the class of *corrections*, which is by far the most important part of the Masorah, belong those observations called by the word *K'ri* קְרִי, *read*. These indicate that something in the text or כְּתִיב, *written*, is wrong or anomalous and must

be corrected in the way specified. The textual reading or *c'thib* is so intimately connected with the marginal reading or *K'ri*, that the vowels of the former must be read with the consonants of the latter.

K'ris may be divided into various kinds, such as *critical, grammatical, orthographical, exegetical, euphemistical.*

The *critical* refer to *transposition of consonants*, as in 1 Kings vii. 45, *c'thib* האהל, *K'ri* האלה; 2 Sam. xv. 28, *c'thib* בעברות, *K'ri* בערבות; to *interchange of consonants*, as in 1 Kings xii. 33, *c'thib* מלבד, *K'ri* מלבו; Ezekiel xxv. 7, *c'thib* לבג, *K'ri* לבז; *to the restoration or removal of consonants*, as in Amos viii. 8, *c'thib* נשקה, *K'ri* נשקעה; 2 Kings ix. 15, *c'thib* לניד, *K'ri* להניד; Joshua viii. 12, *c'thib* לעיר, *K'ri* לעי; *to a different division of words*, as in Psalm lv. 16, *c'thib* ישימות, *K'ri* ישי מות; Job xxxviii. 12, *c'thib* ידעת השחר, *K'ri* ידעת השחר; 2 Chron. xxxiv. 6, *c'thib* בחר בתיהם, *K'ri* בחרבתיהם.

Grammatical K'ris are such as *c'thib* הוא, *K'ri* היא, which occurs very frequently in the Pentateuch; Gen. xxiv. 14, 16, 28, 55, 57, &c. *c'thib* נער, *K'ri* נערה. Jerem. xlii. 6, *c'thib* אנו, *K'ri* אנחנו.

Orthographical K'ris are such as 2 Chron. viii. 18, *c'thib* איניות, *K'ri* אניות; Ezek. xxvii. 15, *c'thib* והובנים, *K'ri* והבנים.

Exegetical K'ris are found in Psalm c. 3, cxxxix. 16; Isaiah ix. 2, *c'thib* לא, *K'ri* לו.

Akin to these are glosses, such as Prov. xx. 20, *c'thib* באישון חשך, *K'ri* באשון חשך.

Euphemistical K'ris are exemplified in Deut. xxviii. 30, *c'thib* ישגלנה *K'ri* ישכבנה.

The most frequent example of a *K'ri* is the word יהוה, which was forbidden to be uttered by any except the high priest, and by him but once a year in the Holy of Holies. On all other occasions, it was to be read אֲדֹנָי *Lord*, whose points it has, except where it is immediately preceded or followed by the word אֲדֹנָי itself.

There is no Hebrew MS. or edition which presents a complete list of all existing *K'ris.* Both the number and position of the *K'ris* and *c'thibs* vary. One MS. has more, another fewer of them. Thus Elias Levita reckons them 848. According to Cappellus there are in the second edition, printed at Venice by Bomberg, 1171; in the Plantin Bible 793; in the Antwerp 983. In one MS. the marginal reading is in the text, the *c'thib* in the margin; in another the reverse is the case. Not unfrequently too, the vowels of the *c'thib* refer to a *K'ri* which has disappeared from the margin.

The divided opinions of former scholars as to *the source* of these marginal corrections have ceased to attract much notice. It is commonly admitted at the present day, that the party who maintained they were derived from tradition and the comparison of MSS., as well as the party who ascribed them to the judgment of the Masoretes themselves, were equally at fault in their conclusions. The real source was neither the one nor the other *exclusively.* The *K'ris* resulted from tradition and comparison of MSS., *in addition to* the mind and judgment of the Masoretes themselves. In every case they were considered preferable to the textual readings by the Masoretes; and the later Jews have followed them. But Christian critics should not, and do not usually, adopt the *K'ris* or the *c'thibs* absolutely. They condemn neither the one nor the other entirely. It is safest to follow them according to the evidence in each individual passage. The *K'ris* should not be taken as the true readings *in all cases. Much less* should the *c'thibs.*

In the Masorah is also mentioned תִּיקּוּן סוֹפְרִים, *Tikkun Sopherim, correctio scribarum,* passages whence interpolated orthographical mistakes were removed. These passages are sometimes given as sixteen, sometimes eighteen. They are Gen. xviii. 22; Numb. xi. 15; xii. 12; 1 Sam. iii. 13; 2 Sam. xvi. 12, xx. 1; Job vii. 20, xxxii. 3; Psalm cvi. 20; Hosea

iv. 7; Jerem. ii. 11; Lament. iii. 20; Ezek. viii. 17; Habak. i. 12; Zech. ii. 12; Malachi i. 13. The other two are uncertain. Vogel gives five other examples.*

עִטּוּר סוֹפְרִים *Ittur Sopherim*, *ablatio scribarum*, the same as in the Talmud.

The passages are the same in the Masorah.

The *K'ri v'lo c'thib* already spoken of in the Talmud are mentioned in the Masorah, and in greater number, viz. thirteen; Judges xx. 13; Ruth iii. 5, 17; 2 Sam. viii. 3, xvi. 23, xviii. 20; 2 Kings xix. 31, 37; Jerem. xxxi. 38, l. 29; Joshua xxii. 34; 2 Kings xx. 13; Isaiah liii. 4, lv. 11; Psalm xcvi. 3. They differ however in different editions.

On the other hand, the *c'thib v'lo K'ri* are the same in the Masorah as in the Talmud.

Words furnished with the *extraordinary points* are fifteen. They are also mentioned in the Talmud, but not so many of them.

The *unusual letters* also mentioned in the Talmud are spoken of in the Masorah.

Of these, the first (*Tikkun Sopherim*) consists of corrections already made, rather than corrections to be made. But the *K'ri v'lo c'thib* and the *c'thib v'lo K'ri* are *exegetical* rather than *critical*. They are *glosses* shewing what *might* or *might not* be read, not various *readings*. They resemble therefore the *euphemistic* K'ris, which are *paraphrastic* explanations or equivalents of certain terms.

The Masoretes also attempted *conjectural* remarks in the case of difficult words. These are called סְבִירִין, *i.e.*, *thoughts*, *suppositions*, *conjectures*. Thus in Gen. xix. 23, on the words הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ יָצָא עַל הָאָרֶץ, it is observed, ג׳ סְבִירִין יֵצֵאה *i.e.*, in three places it is supposed that it should be read יֵצֵאָה. The three are here, Jerem. xlviii. 45, Dan. viii. 9. In Exod. iv. 19, the words לֵךְ שֹׁב מִצְרָיִם are accompanied with this

* Ad Cappelli Crit. Sac. vol. i. pp. 454, 455.

remark, ה׳ סְבִירִין מִצְרַיְמָה, *i. e.*, it is thought that ה *local* should belong to the word מצרים. Such conjectures were suggested by grammatical grounds, because the analogy of the language was not strictly observed, where they were put forward.

It is scarcely correct to speak of *the Masoretic recension.* The phrase at least suggests a false idea. The Masoretes did not give a certain form to the text itself. They made the received text the basis of their critical remarks, giving in many instances their sentiments respecting parts of it. If the text were altered in every case where they recommend—if it were made conformable to their ideas of what it should be—it might then be proper to speak of the Masoretic recension. Had the remodelling recommended by the learned Jews been carried into execution, we might speak with accuracy of a *recension.* But though they *revised* the text, they did not make a *recension* of it. They left the text undisturbed, placing their emendation in the margin, when they came to a word which they thought erroneously written.

II. The other class of observations comprised in the Masorah refers to the existing state of the text. It contains remarks *on the text as it is*, not *corrections* of it. Instead of giving what *should be* in the text, the attention is directed to what *is* in it. Of course this is a less useful part of the Masorah than the former; and has less to do with our present subject.

To this class of observations belong various notices of grammatical, orthographical, and exegetical difficulties, as well as singularities. Thus they remark—

1. On certain peculiarities of particular verses, ex. gr. "there are two verses in the *Torah* which begin with ם; there are eleven verses in which the first and last letter is נ; there are forty verses in which לא is read three times," &c. &c.

2. They remark on the structure of words. In very many places they observe that such a verb is connected with such a noun; such a preposition is construed so and so, &c.; ex. gr. there are eight verses in which the noun חַטָּאָה is construed with the verb עָשָׂה; שָׁמַע is connected with לְקוֹל seventeen times; עָלָה is joined with אֶל הָאֱלֹהִים three times. The verb נִשְׁבַּע joined with בֵּאלֹהִים signifying *to swear by God*, occurs four times, 1 Sam. xxx. 15; Gen. xxi. 23; Joshua ii. 12; 1 Sam. xxiv. 21.

3. Remarks on the signification of words. Thus it is observed on the verb וַיִּגַּל, Gen. xxix. 10, that there are two verbs with a twofold signification. The one means "*and he rolled*," from the root גָּלַל. The other is וַיִּגַּל כְּבוֹדִי, "and my glory will rejoice," Psalm xvi. 9. Again, on the word עלה, Gen. vi. 11, it is remarked, that it occurs six times in the sense of *leaf*.

4. Grammatical remarks on the vowels, diacritic points, and accents. Thus at Gen. ix. 15, on לְמַבּוּל, it occurs nowhere else with sheva. At בִּיּוֹם, Gen. i. 22, they remark, that three are dageshed. At Gen. xvi. 13, on רָאִי it is observed, that there is no other example of Resh with Chateph Kametz. At Gen. i. 5, on לָאוֹר it is remarked, that there are seven with Kametz.

5. Orthographical observations commonly refer to words written *fully* or *defectively*.

6. Enumerations of the verses, words, and letters in every book of the Bible; with the word or letter which is in the middle of each book. Thus it is remarked on Jeremiah, that the book consists of 1365 verses; and that ויאמר חנניה, xxviii. 11, is in the middle.

If now we look for what the Talmud and Masorah possess in common, we shall find that both mention the *Ittur Sopherim*, the *K'ri v'lo c'thib*, *the c'thib v'lo K'ri*, the *extraordinary points*, *the unusual letters*, *the numbering* of *the middle* letters, words, and verses in various books. Even various readings are mentioned

in two places of the Talmud, equivalent to *K'ris* in the Masorah, though not so called; while *euphemistic* K'ris appear, but not of course by such title.

The value of the Masorah has been depreciated or overrated according to the prejudices and opinions of critics. The ancient Jews called it "the hedge of the law," the preserver of the purity of the text; and seemed desirous to express the signification of the name by the position and form they gave to it, while they surrounded the text with it in all the curious shapes it is found to present.

This has always been the prevailing view of the Jews. Nor is it contradicted by the author of the book *Cosri*, as some have asserted. On the contrary, he affirms in answer to the question, "whether it were vain and superfluous, or a necessary and useful occupation," that it was a useful and necessary employment assisted by divine wisdom. It would be difficult to say who those wise men were, whom Ephodaeus, mentioned in Muscatus's commentary on Cosri, represents as traducing, despising, and vituperating the Masoretes. The same writer seems to have confounded Abenezra's own opinion with the opinion of others which he was giving, for all the probabilities are against Abenezra's speaking disparagingly of the Masoretes.* Besides, it should be considered that the unfavourable opinions entertained by Jews whose words are still on record, relate to the work as it was, not to it as it has suffered from time, carelessness, and injury. Both Elias Levita and Jacob Ben Chayim complain of the copies *they had*, into which errors and confusion had been introduced.

It must be allowed, that a great part of the Masorah is useless and trifling. A few portions are valuable. In it we meet with very ancient readings belonging perhaps to MSS. as old as the beginning of the Christian era. It assists us in judging of modern MSS. Indeed it is almost the only ancient

* See Wolfii Bibliotheca Hebraca, vol. ii. pp. 529, 530.

test which enables us to do so. Yet it did not purge the text from former mistakes; neither did it preserve it from subsequent corruption. It *contributed* to both; but it did not accomplish either. After all reasonable deductions and qualifications, we are disposed to regard the Masorah as a valuable and useful work—one that tended in no small measure to the genuineness and integrity of the Biblical text. Without it, the Old Testament Scriptures would have been in a much less satisfactory condition. We are grateful to these laborious Jews for the industry they employed upon the text; and only wish that they had proceeded in another method, and omitted trifling puerilities. The intrinsic merit of their work will always fail to be *fully* realised in consequence of the confusion pervading it. The mass has been thrown together so awkwardly; it has been printed so incorrectly, and deciphered so imperfectly that readers are deterred from it. The difficulty and perplexity inherent in it must ever prove formidable obstacles in the way of its perusal.

At the end of the second edition of Bomberg's Rabbinical Bible, Jacob Ben Chayim printed a collection of oriental and western readings, or in other words Babylonian and Palestinian. Little or nothing is known of the author or authors of this collection. Nor is the time when it was made well ascertained. Eichhorn supposes that the two flourishing academies at Babylon and Tiberias sent to each other as correct a transcript as possible of the text commonly received among the Jews they represented, and that this list contains the differences observed between them.* Such collation is usually assigned to the eighth century. With greater probability does the collection belong to the seventh century. It consists of from 216 to 220 readings, and is given by Walton in the sixth volume of the London Polyglott. These readings refer to the consonants alone, except

* Einleitung, vol. i. § 131, p. 368.

two relating to Mappik. Hence they are thought to be older than the introduction of the vowel system. They must be older than many of the Masoretic remarks. They relate to different points, chiefly to the *K'ri* and *c'thib*. Thus it is affirmed that the Orientals and Occidentals agree in a *c'thib*, but the former have a *K'ri*, the latter none; ex. gr., it is remarked by Norzi on Joshua viii. 13, that לעיר is both an eastern and western reading, the former without a *K'ri*, the latter with ק' לעי. Again, the western text has a *C'thib* without a *K'ri*; on the contrary, the eastern has a different *c'thib*, and the western *c'thib* as a *K'ri*. Thus at Joshua viii. 12, בית אל is in the western text without a *K'ri*; but the eastern has בית אור with the *K'ri* בית אל. Still farther, both texts have a *K'ri*, but that of the Oriental is the *c'thib* of the Occidental, and *vice versa*. Thus in Joshua xxiv. 8, the western *c'thib* אביאה, *K'ri* אביא; the eastern *c'thib* אביא, *K'ri* אביאה.

It is remarkable that none of these readings refers to the Pentateuch. Probably that part of the Bible had been more carefully copied than the rest.

In our common editions, the Oriental reading is generally printed. How this came to be is difficult to discover. Eichhorn conjectures, either that the Oriental text was preferred by the western Jews themselves, or that our editions of the Bible have accidentally flowed from MSS. which followed an eastern revision.*

If the collection be an authentic, unadulterated one, it shows the existence of a Babylonian as well as of a Palestinian Masorah. The intercourse between the Jews in the west and those in the east had stimulated the latter to learned studies, awakening a kindred spirit. But the fruits of the eastern researches that have reached us are too small to give a correct or comprehensive picture of the Babylonian Masoretes. The

* Einleitung, vol. i. § 131, p. 369.

list is insignificant, and the points to which it refers of small moment, such as the orthography and form of a word.

There is another list of various readings in the Rabbinical Bibles of Bomberg and Buxtorf, and still better, in the sixth volume of the London Polyglott. It owes its origin to the labours of Aharon Ben Asher and Jacob Ben Naphtali, the former a Palestinian, the latter a Babylonian Jew; both belonging to the eleventh century. It is supposed that the one presided over the academy at Tiberias, the other over that of Babylon. These readings refer exclusively to the vowels and accents, with the single exception of Canticles viii. 6, where Ben Naphtali remarks on the word שלהבתיה that it ought to be divided into שַׁלְהֶבֶת יָהּ, *the fire of Jehovah.* It has been inferred from the nature of this collection, that the vowel system and accentuation of the Old Testament were completed before it was made. The vocalisation of the present day was established, and the unpointed MSS. had gone out of use. The western Jews usually favour the readings of Ben Asher; the eastern those of Ben Naphtali.

In this manner was the Hebrew text in the course of various successive centuries brought into a certain normal state called the *Masoretic* text. It was fixed about the eleventh century. Few alterations of importance were made in it afterwards. So great was the estimation in which it was held by the Jews, that it was reckoned the only correct one; and transcribed both for public and private use. The ancient copies were allowed to perish, and the Masoretic ones furnished with their vowels and accents came into general use. We regret the fate to which the old MSS. were consigned through neglect; but the inconvenience of reading them, unpointed and unaccented as they were, naturally led to their disuse. Perhaps the MSS. from this period and onward were made more and more conformable to the Masorah; though the existence of various Antemasoretic readings in MSS. shews

that *all* were not so altered. But though the ancient copies are now irrecoverably lost, there is no good reason for supposing that their preservation to the present time would have had an *essential* influence in altering the form of the text to any considerable degree. That they would have contributed to make it purer than it now is, there can be no doubt. They would have helped to remove several blemishes which stand in the Masoretic text, and guided to the original reading. But no *vital* change would have been effected by their means. The Masorah can hardly be said to have been printed for the first time in Bomberg's first Rabbinical Bible edited by Felix Pratensis. In the appendix at the end some pages appeared there after the manner of the *Masorah finalis*, but in great disorder, and with a corrupted text, for the editor himself did not understand the Masorah. But in Bomberg's second Rabbinical Bible, Jacob Ben Chayim set himself to cleanse the Augean stable. With immense labour he brought the mass into something like order, doing more than any other man for its purification and arrangement, that it might be of use to critics. When we consider the state in which he found it, it is surprising that he should have done so much in a most uninviting field. After him the elder Buxtorf did a good deal to rectify it. He had observed its contradictions, defects, superfluities, confusion, as he tells us; and undertook to purge it. But he too left much uncorrected. John Henry Michaelis and Opitius contributed a little to the same work, but only a little compared with their two great predecessors.

It has been disputed whether, after the settlement of the Masoretic text, it be likely that it was altered conformably to the Targums. Eichhorn believes* that many a MS. was made conformable to these Chaldee paraphrases. But Jahn,† with more reason, deems this improbable, because of the growing

* Einleit. vol. i. § 134, p. 372. † Einleit. vol. i. p. 400.

and great veneration which the Jews had for the original text as settled by the Masorah. Kennicott,* with greater probability asserts, that the Targums were sometimes altered to agree with the Hebrew text, of which he gives various examples. In like manner, Eichhorn thinks that alterations were made in compliment to the state of Hebrew grammar, when readings occurred which violated the established rules of it. But objection may be taken to this conjecture. Nor can we well suppose that the text was now changed agreeably to certain celebrated MSS., whose correctness gave them a claim to be taken as the basis of other copies or as sources whence others should be corrected. Eight such MSS. are mentioned by learned Rabbins, ex. gr.—

1. The MS. of Hillel. This exemplar (סִפְרָא) is mentioned by many Jewish writers, such as David Kimchi, Rabbi Moses Nachmanides, Elias Levita, Rabbi Menachem de Lonzano, and by Rabbi Zacut in his treatise Juchasin. It is probable, as Cappel, Joh. Morin, and Simon thought, that the Hillel in question was the rector of an academy in Spain, who revised at least in some places the Masoretic text after ancient copies. It is certain from the testimony of the Jews themselves that his exemplar had the vowel points.

2. Codex *Babylonius*, supposed to be the recension or rather revision made by Ben Naphtali of Babylon, which the Oriental or Babylonian Jews followed.

3. Codex *Palaestinus*, *Israel*, *Hierosolymitanus*, *Egyptius*, supposed in like manner to contain the recension of Ben Asher in Palestine, and adopted by the Palestinian Jews.

4. An Egyptian MS., written at Jerusalem, and taken thence to Egypt.

5. Codex *Sinai*, a MS. of the Pentateuch mentioned by Elias Levita, said to be exceedingly exact in the punctuation.

6. The Pentateuch of *Jericho*, thought to be the most cor-

* Second Dissertation on the state of the printed text, p. 177, et seq.

rect with regard to the *matres lectionis*. This copy is frequently quoted by Menachem de Lonzano, and also by Elias Levita.

7. Codex *Sanbuki* mentioned by Menachem de Lonzano.

8. The book *Taggin*, mentioned by Jacob Ben Chayim in the preface to his edition of the Bible, and extending only to the Pentateuch.

Probably these MSS. contained the text lying at the basis of the Masorah most faithfully and fully; and therefore they were in great repute among the Rabbins of the middle ages.

CHAPTER IX.

FROM THE FINAL SETTLEMENT OF THE MASORETIC TEXT. AND THE DEPARTURE OF THE LEARNED JEWS FROM THE EAST, TILL PART OF THE BIBLE FIRST APPEARED IN PRINT; OR FROM A.D. 1040 TILL A.D. 1477.

THE Jewish academies which gained for themselves so high a position because of their study of the Hebrew Bible, especially those in Palestine and Babylon, continued to flourish till the commencement of the eleventh century. But about that time their learned inmates were obliged by the Arabs to leave their places of abode and settle elsewhere. They fled to Europe, especially to Spain, which became in consequence the seat of the critical study of the Bible—the country where the most correct MSS. were made. Here flourished Aben Ezra and Moses Maimonides. From Spain, Jewish learning spread immediately into Italy, Germany, and France, where Salomon Jarchi and David Kimchi were conspicuous. All these gave great attention to the Hebrew text. They searched for the celebrated MSS. of an older date or at least for extracts from them; adhered to those which were said to be well corrected; divided verses otherwise than the usual way; but differed from one another in the division and pointing of words. Yet their studies had a comparatively small influence on the state of the text, because its general character had been already fixed. Their critical principles were sound in the main, and exercised some effect on the purity of the text,

inasmuch as they succeeded in procuring several very accurate MSS. of an ancient date or extracts from them, whose readings are sometimes at variance with the received text.

In their time it cannot be supposed that transcribers had become so very careless as to allow many departures from the Masorah, notwithstanding the complaint of Meyer Hallevi of Toledo, in the beginning of the thirteenth century, about corruptions in the text of the Pentateuch. The *scriptio plena* and *defectiva* is what he chiefly refers to; and this is a mere difference of *orthography*.*

On the whole, we feel grateful to the God of Providence for his watchful care over the Old Testament Scriptures. Through the instrumentality of the Jews He has preserved the sacred books containing his revealed will. The reverent attention which this people gave to the Hebrew text, and the jealousy with which they guarded it from corruption, must have belonged to the wise arrangements of the Highest, who puts it into the heart of men to engage in works tending to promote His own glory.

* See Kennicott's Dissertatio Generalis, ed. Bruns. p. 113, et seq.

CHAPTER X.

HISTORY OF THE PRINTED TEXT.

HAVING enumerated the sources of corruption, and given the history of the unprinted text itself, we proceed to notice the various attempts that have been made to restore it to its original purity. After the invention of printing many were desirous to publish corrected editions of the Holy Scriptures, though they seldom gave an account of the materials they used. The history of the printed text is important as showing the manner in which our present copies of the Hebrew Bible were edited, and the sources available for obtaining the exact words of the original. At the present time the first editions are equivalent to MSS., and may be regarded as memorials of the state of the text at the time they were printed.

The Psalter was the first part of the Hebrew Scriptures which was printed A.D. 1477 4to (probably at Bologna). It was not, as has been erroneously stated, *the first printed book.*

This rare volume, consisting of 153 leaves, contains the Psalter divided into five books. There are no larger or smaller letters, no vowels or accents except in the first four Psalms as far as Psalm iv. 4. It is without any titles to the columns, without numbers to the Psalms and leaves, without signatures on the first 67 leaves, and without *custodes linearum.* The commentary of Kimchi is interspersed among the Hebrew text, sometimes after one verse, sometimes after two, and occasionally after six verses. It is in the smaller Rabbinical type,

approaching the German character. The text is very erroneously printed, with many abbreviations and omissions, bearing all the marks of a first rude attempt at printing Hebrew.*

The Pentateuch appeared in print for the first time in 1482 at Bologna, with the Targum of Onkelos and the commentary of Salomon Jarchi or Rashi. The volume is in the large folio size, and the leaves of glazed paper. The Hebrew character employed approaches the Spanish; but the letters are not of an even size. The text has the vowel-points and accents, and the *Begadcephath* letters have a *Raphe* in the first pages. There are no large *initial* letters, nor enlarged ones, nor *majusculae* and *minusculae*, nor numbers on the pages, nor signatures, nor *line-preservers*. This volume is thought to exhibit a beautiful specimen of *early* printing. The text is very correct, with the exception of the *matres lectionis* ' and ו. Tychsen found but four mistakes in it, and says that the text agrees with Van Der Hooght's. (?)†

A few years later appeared the *former* prophets, viz., Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, with Kimchi's commentary. The text has no enlarged, *majusculae* or *minusculae* letters, no vowels or accents, except *Soph Pasuk*. The pages, chapters, and verses, are not numbered. It occupies the upper part of the pages, which are divided into two columns, while the lower is filled with Kimchi's commentary. The initial letters are large and adorned with woodcuts in Joshua, Judges, and Samuel; but these ornaments are wanting in the Kings. The volume appeared at Soncino in 1486, in folio, consisting of 166 leaves, according to Steinschneider in 1485.

Soon after appeared, without date and place, the *later* prophets, viz. Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the twelve minor

* See De Rossi, Annales Hebraeo-typographici, p. 14; and de Hebraicae typographiae origine ac primitiis, &c. p. 13.

† See the Repertorium für biblische und morgenländische Literatur, u. s. w. vol. vi. pp. 65-103.

prophets, with Kimchi's commentary. This appears to be the second part belonging to the preceding volume, because the type, form, paper and all other particulars exactly correspond. Hence it should be dated in the same year and at the same place. The text of both parts is not very accurate, and there are many abbreviations. It consists of 292 leaves.

The five Megilloth, *i.e.* Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, and Esther, appeared the same year, also at Soncino and Casali. This edition has the prayers or *Machsor* of the Italian Jews, and is in quarto.*

Before this edition there had appeared in 1482, folio, at Bologna, the five Megilloth, viz. Ruth, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Lamentations, with the commentary of Jarchi; and Esther, with the commentary of Abenezra.†

The Hagiographa first appeared at Naples 1487, small folio.‡ This work consists of three volumes or parts. The first contains the Psalter, with the commentary of Kimchi. The second contains the Proverbs, with the commentary of Rabbi Immanuel the son of Jacob. The third volume contains the book of Job, with Levi Gerson's commentary, Canticles and Ecclesiastes, Lamentations, Ruth, Esther, Daniel, Ezra, and Chronicles, with Rashi's commentaries. The text is in the square Hebrew character, with vowel-points, but not accents. The commentaries are in the Rabbinical character. According to Kennicott, there is a copy in the library of Eton College, of which he gives some account.§

Thus all the parts of the Bible had been printed before a complete and uniform edition of the whole had issued from the press.

* See De Rossi, de ignotis nonnullis antiquissimis Hebr. text. editionibus, &c. &c. p. 5.

† Ibid, p. 3.

‡ According to Steinschneider in 1486.

§ First Dissertation on the state of the printed Hebrew text, p. 519, et seq.

The first entire copy was published at Soncino, A.D. 1488, in a folio volume, consisting of 373 leaves. The first 100 contain the Pentateuch, Joshua follows, after which the former prophets begin on the 177th leaf, and the Hagiographa on the 265th. The text is divided into two columns. It has the vowel points, accents, *signatures* and *custodes*, with the titles of the books in the superior margin; but it has no numbers on the leaves, nor the greater and lesser letters. The initial words of the books are ornamented with woodcuts, but not in all cases, for a vacant space is left in some. According to the subscription appended to the Pentateuch, the work was printed by Abraham Ben Chayim. The edition is very scarce.* What MSS. were used by the editor we do not know. Judging however from the general state of learning at the time, and particularly from the character of sacred literature, it is not probable that the best or most ancient MSS. were employed. Kennicott says that its text differs from Van der Hooght's in more than twelve thousand instances,†—an assertion which is properly regarded as extravagant. Most of its readings are in later editions. The text is incorrectly printed. Typographical errors are numerous. Entire words are sometimes omitted, and one verse has been taken from the 89th Psalm and inserted in the 76th.‡

Another edition of the entire Bible has neither date nor place, in folio. De Rossi conjectures that it appeared also at Soncino. The type is beautiful and square, and the text correctly printed. The volume consists of 431 leaves. The text is divided into two columns, with the exception of the Psalms, Proverbs, and Job, which are printed verse-wise, with a few

* See De Rossi, De Hebraicae typographiae origine, &c. p. 41, et seq.

† See the ten annual accounts of the collation of Hebrew MSS. account x. year 1769, p. 147.

‡ Kennicott's Dissertatio Generalis ed. Bruns, p. 441, et seq.

pages in other books. It has the vowel-points and accents. In some parts it is ornamented with woodcuts.*

The third complete edition is that of Brescia, in small quarto, 1494. The books follow one another in a peculiar order, viz., the Pentateuch, Megilloth, the former prophets, the later prophets, the Hagiographa. The text is printed without regard to the Masoretic annotations. There are no *K'ris* in the margin, but the readings so marked are commonly found in the text. There are no larger, smaller, or suspended letters. The extraordinary points are wanting for the most part, as also the division of chapters. The type is small and difficult to read, especially in the case of letters alike in shape, which are indistinct. The edition has many peculiar readings which are neither in preceding nor succeeding editions. The editor, whose name was Gerson, had a Masoretic copy before him, but he did not follow it. It has often been asserted that it was taken from the Soncino edition; but there is no good reason for the affirmation. The differences of the two are striking. Nor does it appear to have been followed in subsequent editions, till Bomberg's second appeared, and supplanted all that went before it. The edition is now rare. The copy which Luther had in making his German version is still in the Royal Library at Berlin, where it is an object of curiosity to Protestants.†

We have now to notice the efforts of Christians in editing and publishing the Hebrew Scriptures. Hitherto Jews alone had been occupied with such labours; but at the commencement of the sixteenth century, the zeal of others was excited, and works of the same kind proceeded from them.

The edition in the Complutensian Polyglott first claims our attention. This work was prepared at the expense of Cardinal

* See De Rossi, De Hebraicae typographiae origine ac primitiis, &c. Erlang. ed. p. 77, et seq.

† De Rossi, Annales Hebraeo-typographici, p. 101.

Ximenes, who spent much time and money upon it, having purchased MSS. and got learned Jews who had embraced Christianity to superintend it. It was finished in the year 1517, but not published till 1522, at Alcala in Spain. The entire work consists of six parts, the first four of which contain the Old Testament, viz. the Hebrew text with the Targum of Onkelos, the Septuagint, and the Vulgate, in three columns; the external column having the Hebrew text with points but not accents; the middle one, the Vulgate; and the inner, the Septuagint with a Latin translation. The Targum of Onkelos with a Latin translation is in two columns below. The Hebrew text was taken from seven MSS.; but what they were it is impossible to tell.

Daniel Bomberg of Antwerp deserves still greater praise than the Cardinal for his exertions in making the Hebrew Scriptures more accessible and more correctly edited than they had been before. His press at Venice was devoted exclusively to Hebrew and Rabbinical literature. He incurred great expense in procuring Christian and Jewish scholars to superintend the text, so that it might be printed as accurately as possible. His chief assistants were Felix Pratensis, who had exchanged Judaism for Christianity; and Rabbi Jacob Ben Chayim of Tunis who continued a Jew. By the united exertions of Bomberg and his fellow-labourers, no less than eight editions were sent forth from the press, five in quarto, and three in folio.

The first edition in quarto appeared a year after the Complutensian Polyglott was printed, viz. 1518. In this edition the final Masorah is given at the end of each book. It consists of two parts or volumes. The various readings are few in the Pentateuch, but more numerous in the other books. The type is clear and distinct. It is certain that the editor used MSS.; whether he employed printed editions is doubtful.

The second quarto edition appeared in 1521. It is like its

predecessor in appearance, but the text is a little different, having received new readings from a collation of MSS.

The third quarto edition was published in 1525-1528. The fourth, after being partly printed, seems to have been suppressed. No person has yet seen it, but its existence is inferred from the numeral *fifth* being on the title page of the next one which was issued in 1544.

Of far greater importance than these were the *Rabbinical* editions which issued from the same press. As early as 1518, the very year in which the first quarto edition was published, came forth the first Rabbinical Bible of Bomberg in folio, edited by Felix Pratensis. The work consists of four parts or volumes. In addition to the Hebrew text it contains the Targum of Onkelos and the commentary of Rabbi Salomon Ben Isaac; the former and later prophets, with the Targum of Jonathan Ben Uzziel and the commentary of David Kimchi; the Psalms, with the Targum of Joseph the Blind, and David Kimchi's commentary; the Proverbs, with the Targum of Joseph and the commentary of Kav Venaki; Job, with the Targum of Joseph and the commentaries of Ben Nachman and Abraham Peritzol; the five Megilloth, with the Targum of Joseph and the commentary of Salomon Ben Isaac; Daniel, with the commentary of Levi Ben Gerson; Ezra and the remaining books, with the commentaries of Rashi and Simeon. At the end are placed the Jerusalem Targum on the Pentateuch, the second Targum on Ezra, the various readings of Ben Asher and Ben Naphtali, with a few treatises. It is evident that the editor made use both of MSS. and of printed editions. Elias Levita spoke severely of the edition, chiefly it seems because Felix had forsaken Judaism. For this reason, it was not acceptable to the Jews, notwithstanding its value and the elegance of its type. It is now rare.

As the Jews found great fault with this edition, Bomberg

made preparations for another, and entrusted the editing of it to a learned Jew from Africa, Rabbi Jacob Ben Chayim. This was published in four volumes folio at Venice, 1525-1526. The great improvement in it consists in the insertion of the Masorah, with which work the editor was intimately acquainted. Into it he introduced something like order. He also made considerable changes in the Hebrew text by bringing it into agreement with the Masorah. He altered the order of the books from that in the first edition, and added other commentaries of learned Jews. On the whole it may be said that the text is regulated by the precepts of the Masoretes. The editor made use of Spanish MSS.

The first part or volume contains the Pentateuch, with the Targum of Onkelos, the Jerusalem Targum, the commentaries of Rashi and Abenezra; the second, the earlier prophets with the Targum of Jonathan and the commentaries of David Kimchi, Rashi, and Levi Ben Gerson; the third, the later prophets with the Targum of Jonathan, the commentaries of Rashi and Abenezra on Isaiah, of Rashi and Kimchi on Jeremiah and Ezekiel, of Rashi and Abenezra on the minor prophets; the fourth volume contains the Hagiographa with the Targum of Joseph the Blind and the second Targum on the book of Esther, the commentaries of Rashi and Abenezra on the Psalms, the five Megilloth and Ezra, of Levi Ben Gerson and Abenezra on Job and Proverbs, of Abenezra and Saadias Haggaon on Daniel, and of Rashi on Chronicles. Each page is surrounded with the Masorah as far as the space would allow; and what was inadmissible there was put at the end of the books.

A second edition of Ben Chayim's Bible was printed A.D. 1547-1549, in four volumes folio, being the third Rabbinical Bible issued from the press of Bomberg. It differs from the former in several respects. The commentaries of

Abenezra on Isaiah and the minor prophets are left out. But several are added, such as the commentaries of Isaiah Ben Elias on Judges and Samuel; the commentaries of Kimchi on all the prophets and on Chronicles. Various notes on the Pentateuch under the title *Baal Turim*, written by Jacob Ben Asher Ben Jechiel a German Jew of the fourteenth century, are given. On the whole, this is the most copious and most correct Rabbinical Bible extant. As the name of another editor appears, it is thought that Ben Chayim had died before.

There is little doubt that this edition has had more influence on succeeding ones than any other. The printed text was finally settled after the Masorah.

The following editions followed Ben Chayim's, viz. the Rabbinical Bible of John de Gara, Venice, 1568, 4 vols. folio; the Rabbinical Bible of Bragadin, in 4 vols. folio, Venice 1617-1618. The small editions printed by Bragadin at Venice in 1614-1615 duodecimo; in 1619, 1628, 1707, in 4to; and that of Robert Stephens at Paris in 7 vols. 16mo 1544-1546, followed it.

The same text was printed, with some alterations, in the editions of Justiniani at Venice, 1551 4to, 1552 18mo, 1563 4to, 1573 4to; in De La Rouviere's Geneva editions, 1618 4to, 12mo, 18mo; in the three editions of John de Gara at Venice, 1566 4to, 1568 8vo, 1582 4to; in Plantin's edition at Antwerp, 1566 4to, 8vo, 16mo, whose text was repeated in Hartmann's editions at Frankfort-on-the-Oder, 1595 4to, 8vo, 16mo, 1598 4to; and in the Wittemberg edition of Zachary Kraft, 1586, 1587 4to.

The Antwerp Polyglott, 1569-1572, 8 vols. folio, of which Arias Montanus was the chief editor, contains the Complutensian text collated with Bomberg's. It was followed by Plantin's editions with a Latin translation at Antwerp, 1571, 1584 folio; by the editions having Arias Montanus's Latin version published at Burgos in Spain, 1581 folio, and at Leyden,

1613 8vo; by the Geneva Hebrew-Latin Bibles, 1609, 1618 folio; by Knoch's edition at Frankfort-on-the-Maine, 1618 folio; and by the Hebrew-Latin one of Vienna, large 8vo 1743. The same text was also followed by the Paris Polyglott 1629-1645, 10 vols. folio; and by the London Polyglott 1657, 6 vols. folio. It was taken besides into the Leipzig Polyglott of Reineccius, 1750, 3 vols. folio, and into the smaller editions superintended by the same scholar, and published at Leipzig in 1725 8vo, 1739 8vo and 4to, 1756, 1793 8vo.

A new edition was published at Hamburg by Elias Hutter, which presents a mixed text taken from the Antwerp, Paris, and Venetian editions, 1587 folio. This text was repeated in Hutter's unfinished Polyglott, Nürnberg, 1591 folio.

The edition of Nissel in 8vo, Leyden, 1662, presents a text chiefly conformed to the larger edition of Stephens. Others however were compared with it, such as Bomberg's second, and the edition of Manasseh. It is not very correctly printed. The page is in double columns; the type small and trying to the eyes.

Among those whose names are deservedly conspicuous in this department stands the elder Buxtorf, whose small Hebrew Bible was published at Basel in 1611-1612 8vo. The precepts of the Masorah were followed in the preparation of this volume. From it was taken the edition of Jansson at Amsterdam 1639 8vo. But the smaller and now rare edition was afterwards eclipsed by Buxtorf's *Rabbinical* Bible, which must ever maintain a high rank among those furnished with a critical apparatus. The work was published at Basel in 1618, 1619, in four parts or volumes folio. The model which the learned editor followed was the third Rabbinical Bible of Bomberg. But he did not content himself with simply repeating what had been already done. He changed various things, omitted some, and added others. The work contains

the commentaries of Rashi, Abenezra, David Kimchi, Levi Ben Gerson, Saadias Haggaon, and extracts from Jechaiah on Samuel. The appendix contains the Jerusalem Targum; the great Masorah as printed by Ben Chayim, but corrected and amended in many places; the various readings of Ben Asher and Ben Naphtali, and of the Oriental and Occidental Jews; as also a treatise on the accents. The Chaldee paraphrase was pointed by Buxtorf after the analogy of Ezra and Daniel.

The most recent Rabbinical Bible, and in some respects the most complete, is the Amsterdam edition edited by Moses Ben Simeon of Frankfort, 4 vols. folio, 1724-1727. This edition has various Rabbinical commentaries not included in Bomberg's and Buxtorf's Bibles.

The edition of Sebastian Münster deserves a separate notice. It was published at Basel in 2 vols. 4to, 1536. Besides having the final Masorah at the end of the separate books, the editor gives a collection of various readings which must have been taken in part from MSS., and in which the hand of a Jew is seen occasionally. It is this critical apparatus which constitutes the chief value of the work; for in type it is far inferior to Bomberg's editions. The text is supposed to be based on that of Brescia, with which indeed it frequently agrees in remarkable readings, but from which it also departs in many places. Bomberg's, as well as the Brescian text, contributed to the formation of Münster's. This edition must not be confounded with another of Münster accompanied by a Latin version and published at Basel in 1534-35 folio.

The next edition which claims distinct mention is that of Athias published at Amsterdam, 2 vols. 8vo, 1661. The title of the book which is now rare, is this:—"Biblia Sacra Hebraea correcta et collata cum antiquissimis et accuratissimis exemplaribus manu scriptis et hactenus impressis." A Latin

preface by Leusden accompanies the volume, in which he states that the Hebrew text was collated with the Bibles of Bomberg and Plantin, and with two MSS., one of which was written 1299, and the other, a Spanish one, was 900 years old. This edition was the first in which the verses were marked with numbers. A second edition was afterwards published at the same place in 1667.

The edition of Athias was the basis of others. With various improvements his text was repeated in the three Clodian editions, the first of which was superintended by Clodius himself, Frankfort-on-the-Maine, 1677 8vo; the second by Maius, at the same place, 1692 8vo; the third by Maius and Bürcklin, 1716 4to, also at Frankfort. Athias's second edition was also taken as the basis of Jablonski's edition published at Berlin in 8vo, 1699. There are also copies with a broad margin, giving the volume the appearance of quarto size. In the preface, which is of considerable value, the editor states that he collated all the cardinal editions, besides several MSS., two of which he specifies. From these sources he has given a very accurate text. The accents and vowel-points were particularly attended to, and Latin headings were put in the margin of all copies except those designed for the Jews. The paper and type are very beautiful, and the edition in all respects a valuable one. There was a second impression issued at Berlin, 1712 in 12mo, but it is not so correct.

The edition of Athias or Leusden also formed the basis of Opitius's, published at Kiel, 1709 4to. This is one of the most accurate ever printed. The laborious editor spent thirty years in its preparation. In the preface is given an account of all the editions employed, besides the MSS. he examined. The external beauty of it is far inferior to some others; but the type is large and the text exceedingly correct.

In like manner, the second edition of Athias formed the

basis of Van der Hooght's, published at Amsterdam and Utrecht, 1705 8vo. This edition has always been celebrated for the beauty and distinctness of its type, the accuracy of its text, and the convenience of it for ordinary use. The editor however does not profess to have collated any MS. for it, but to have made use of the best standard editions besides Athias's. The final Masorah with a Latin translation is given, and a list of various readings at the end collected out of the editions used by the editor.

Van der Hooght's text is contained in the very accurate edition published at Amsterdam in 1724 8vo, by Salomon Ben Joseph Props, for the use of the Jews; and in that of Sebastian Schmid, with a Latin version, published at Leipzig, 1740 4to. The same text was also printed, but without points, in the edition of Charles Francis Houbigant, which appeared at Paris in 1753, four vols. folio, having been preceded by Prolegomena to the Scriptures which were published in 1746. This Bible is splendidly and sumptuously printed, but its real value bears no proportion to its costly form. Critical notes occupy the margin and lower part of the page. The Latin version of the Hebrew text is neither literal nor very free. In the outer margin, by the side of the Hebrew text, the variations of the Samaritan Pentateuch are given in Hebrew type. The editor has sufficiently shewn in his critical notes the revised text which he inclines to; but it does not seem that his emendations rest for their basis on manuscript authority. He did not attach much importance to MSS. as sources of emendation. Ancient versions and the Samaritan Pentateuch were more acceptable to him. For these he manifested an undue partiality. It would appear that he *used* only thirteen Hebrew MSS., besides those of the Samaritan Pentateuch; and even these he could not have collated throughout or accurately. He was satisfied with a partial examination of them. Nine belonged to the Library of the Oratoire, and

three to the Royal Library. Only six however of the Oratoire copies are described in his Prolegomena; the remaining three containing the prophets he promised to describe, but did not fulfil the promise. What bishop Marsh says that though Houbigant *saw* and *had* others belonging to the Royal Library in his possession, he did not *use* them, is not entirely correct, for the editor himself states "vidi imprimis duo quae vocant *volumina synagogae*, quorum unum satis diu habui, *et saepe consului*."* We are therefore warranted in saying that he *used* thirteen at least. He has been justly condemned for his excessive use of conjectural emendation. Controlled by no authority and guided by no safe rule, he shewed himself a most daring critic. He meddled too much with the text, as if it were a thing to be rashly or heedlessly touched.

The text of Van der Hooght was also followed by Simonis in two editions published at Halle, 1752 and 1767 8vo. The latter is much more correct than the former, and more valuable.

Of greater importance was the edition published at Halle by J. H. Michaelis in 8vo and 4to, 1720. In the preparation of this edition, the editor compared twenty-four of the best editions published, and five Erfurt MSS. But it has been found that his collations of the MSS. were not thorough; and hence it has been inferred that the printed copies also were hastily examined. The text of Jablonski's first edition was taken as the basis. Notwithstanding all the care bestowed, the text is not perfectly free from mistakes; nor does it look so pleasing to the eye as Van der Hooght's. But it is certainly superior to it in value and accuracy. In the Bibliotheca of Le Long by Masch, it is characterised as "omnium editio. praestantissima quae omnes praecedentes superat, et sequentes post se relinquit."

* Prolegomena, p. 107.

But all the preceding editions were behind the wants of the age. They exhibited nothing more than a text derived from a few MSS., and those too junior ones. It was known that a great number of codices were lying in libraries unexamined. No good critical edition had yet appeared, because the copious materials necessary for its production had not been collated.

The first person who seemed to have a right apprehension of the edition required and did much towards its accomplishment was a learned Jew of Mantua, Salomon Norzi. His work, containing a copious critical commentary on all the Old Testament books, the fruit of many years' labour, was published at Mantua in 1742, 4 vols. 4to, with the title מִנְחַת שַׁי, *Minchath Shai.* Norzi himself however did not live to see the fruit of his learned labours printed. About 116 years after the completion of the task he had undertaken, a rich Jewish physician, Raphael Chayim, had it published.

The critical commentary which Norzi intended to accompany the text, was the result of much reading and collation of copies. Having collected as many printed Bibles as he could obtain, with correct MSS. of the text and of the Masorah; having consulted the Talmud, the Midrashim, and the commentaries of the most learned Rabbins, he drew up his commentary. Raphael Basila the editor inserted some annotations of his own in the critical commentary of Norzi, and added others at the end of the volumes.*

Norzi had been preceded by two other Jewish critics, whose names stand out honourably in the history of Hebrew learning. The first was Todrosius, or as he is also called in full, Rabbi Meir Levita son of Todros, abbreviated into *Harama*, who flourished at the commencement of the thirteenth century. The critical work on the Pentateuch which he published in

* See De Rossi's Prolegomena, vol. i. §§ 37, 38.

Chaldee, is called *the book of the Masorah the hedge of the law*, first published by a Polish Jew at Florence in 1550. From the preface it appears that Todrosius used accurate and ancient MSS. which he followed in preference to the more recent; and that where they disagreed among themselves, he leaned to the reading of the majority.

In addition to that of Harama another Jewish name is conspicuous for his critical labour on the Old Testament text, viz., Rabbi Menachem de Lonzano, who lived at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and nearly at the same time with Norzi. He collated Hebrew MSS. of the Pentateuch, and made extracts from them in a work called *Or Torah*. He compared ten MSS., chiefly Spanish ones, with the text of Bomberg's quarto Bible, published in 1544, some of them being five or six hundred years old. But his criticisms relate solely to the Pentateuch.

About the middle of the eighteenth century, Dr. Kennicott of Oxford directed public attention to the state of the Hebrew text, and encouraged the hope that something might be done for the criticism of the Bible, commensurate with the labours of Walton, Fell, and Mill in the department of the New Testament. Having published two dissertations on the state of the printed Hebrew text, and being encouraged by the liberality of the British nation in bearing the expense of such an edition as he proposed, he published the first volume in 1776. The second issued from the same Oxford press in 1780, both in folio. The number of codices collated by himself and his fellow-labourers, the chief of whom was Professor Bruns of Helmstadt, amounted to 694. This includes *MSS.*, *editions* of the Hebrew Scriptures, and *Rabbinical works*, particularly the Talmud. The text is Van der Hooght's, without vowel-points or accents, from which all variations in the authorities are marked, constituting the *various readings*. The pages of the Pentateuch are divided into two columns;

the first giving as much of the Samaritan text in Hebrew letters as differs from the Hebrew; the latter the Hebrew text. Below the text are placed the various readings with a specification of the MSS. and old printed copies in which they are found. The poetical parts are arranged in hemistichs. A general dissertation closes the second volume, in which the author gives a full account of the MSS. collated, and the authorities consulted in the preparation of the work. This was reprinted by Bruns, accompanied by many observations of his own and published at Brunswick, 1783.

As soon as the first volume appeared, the expectations which had been formed respecting the edition were considerably disappointed. Perhaps however they were unreasonably high. Amid the mass of various readings collected by Kennicott with so great labour, few were found to be of much value in amending the text. The majority appeared to be the *lapsus* of transcribers. In this respect he was unjustly censured, as if he could have given more and better readings than what his authorities supplied. If the result of so much industry and toil be of little importance, the painstaking editor should not be blamed. He collated what MSS. were within his reach; and he could do no more. *One thing* his edition proved and that is of importance in the history of the Old Testament text viz., that existing Hebrew MSS. belong to a late period and exhibit but one text. They are all conformed to the Masorah; so that they belong to that recension which was made by the learned Jews of Tiberias. Their uniform state is owing to the influence of the traditions embodied in writing by these ancient Jews. Had there been no Masoretic labour on the text, this sumptuous edition would have presented greater and more important diversities of reading. If we believe in the *beneficial* influence of the Masorah, it is proved by this edition that the Hebrew text has

undergone no remarkable alteration or corruption. And from all that is known of the veneration which the Jews had for the sacred books—a veneration tinged with superstition—we cannot but think that the Masoretic text is on the whole a correct one. We cannot suppose that these doctors corrupted the materials they had in their hands. On the contrary, they employed them conscientiously and faithfully, knowing that they contained divine oracles addressed to their fathers.

But while the learned editor of this splendidly printed edition did not deserve many of the censures directed against him, he can hardly be exonerated from blame. He neglected the Masorah, as if it were wholly worthless. In specifying the sources of his readings he is not always consistent with himself or uniform in his method, as he ought to be. Some MSS. too were collated wholly, others only in part, when they might have been fully examined. As far as No. 254 were collated throughout, besides 290, 389, 615, 685; but the rest were only examined in particular passages. Neither was he very accurate in extracting various readings from his copies, though rigid accuracy is the highest quality in a critical editor. Again, where several letters are wanting in MSS., there is no remark indicating *whether* the defect should be remedied, and *how*. The MSS. corrected by a different hand are rejected by the editor without reason. Old synagogue copies are neglected in like manner, though they would have contributed to the value of the various readings. And Van der Hooght's text has not been accurately given, since the marginal *K'ris*, the vowel-points, and the accents have been left out. Nor had the letters of a larger and smaller size than the rest, that appear in the common text, their origin in the superstition of the Masoretes, as Kennicott supposes. Besides, the Samaritan text should have been given in Samaritan letters, that readers might see the origin of many

various readings. The exchanging of letters alike in shape is seen only when both types are exhibited. The edition wants extracts from ancient versions, which is a serious defect.

There can be no doubt that Kennicott was a most laborious editor. To him belongs the great merit of bringing together a large mass of critical materials. His apparatus was the first that bore any resemblance to Mill's in the New Testament. The task of furnishing such an apparatus, drawn from so many sources, scattered through the libraries of many lands, was almost herculean; and the learned author is entitled to all praise for its accomplishment. But his principles or rules for judging Hebrew MSS., and determining their age, quality, or value, are defective. In applying his copious materials he often errs. His estimate of varying evidence is often erroneous. He is not a consummate critic. He proceeds too much on the assumption that the Masoretic text is corrupt where it differs from the Samaritan Pentateuch and ancient versions; and therefore sets about reforming it where it is authentic and genuine. He wants the judgment, sagacity, tact, and skill necessary to constitute a masterly critic.

A work of a similar kind, but in many respects superior to Kennicott's, was published by John Bernard de Rossi, professor of Oriental languages at Parma, in 1784-88 four vols. 4to. The learned editor, perceiving the defects and omissions of his predecessor, was led to undertake the very laborious task of examining many important MSS. and ancient editions which had escaped the attention of Professor Bruns; applying better critical principles than the erroneous ones followed by Kennicott. Rome and the other cities of Italy afforded him excellent copies for collation. He had also a large number in his own library. Accordingly, the various readings contained in the four volumes were taken not only from Kennicott's collection, but from many MSS. collated for Kennicott re-examined, and the extracts from them rectified;

from 731 MSS. and additional MSS., and from three hundred editions; from the ancient versions, the writings of the Rabbins and the Masorah. The text with which his materials were compared was Van der Hooght's; but he did not print it. One especial feature by which the work is increased in value is the repetition of Kennicott's most important readings, as well as the statement of his own. The prolegomena prefixed to the first volume, consisting of 160 pages, with additional prolegomena prefixed to the other volumes, contain an account of the work and the sources of criticism employed in it, as well as a description of the MSS. and printed editions used, with ninety-three critical canons. In 1798, a supplemental volume was also published at Parma in 4to, containing extracts of the same kind from new sources.

The immense collection of various readings contained in the five volumes of De Rossi was made with marvellous industry and singular care by one who displayed a better judgment in such matters than Kennicott. There is greater accuracy in the collations. But though De Rossi was a better scholar than his predecessor and produced a much superior work, it is doubtful whether he be entitled to the appellation of a *consummate critic*. His theory of criticism is not sound. His principles and canons are defective or erroneous. His prolegomena should therefore be read with discrimination, except in those parts where he describes his MSS. and editions, which are singularly accurate and exact, with the exception perhaps of the dates assigned to some old unprinted copies. The readings generally are of the same character as those given by Kennicott, furnishing an additional proof of the fact, that all existing MSS. are comparatively recent and Masoretic ones, presenting essentially the same text as the one given in Bomberg's Bible by Ben Chayim.

There can be no doubt of the superiority of De Rossi's to every other collection of various readings. Those who can

dispense with Kennicott's edition cannot do so with the present. It stands at the head of all similar works before or since. It is matter of regret that De Rossi did not collate his MSS. throughout word for word, but only in select places. This is the cause of our commonly finding variations only where Kennicott or other critics had already marked a difference of reading. It will also explain the fact, that so few various readings *affecting consonants* appear in this work, which we could not have known otherwise.

It should be observed moreover, that we are quite ignorant of the principles on which De Rossi proceeded in adducing some variations and omitting others, in collating some passages and leaving others untouched. One thing is apparent that the learned critic was more solicitous about producing a great number of MSS. and printed editions, than about using such MSS. alone as were good and important ones.

The entire number of documents collated by Kennicott and De Rossi is 1793, viz., 1418 in MS. and 375 printed. But this is more apparent than real; for both put not only the entire Bible and a single book of it under separate numbers, but also every part of a book, and every fragment of a MS., though consisting of a very few leaves. Thus the numbers are swelled by an individual numeration of every separate part.

Doubtless it would have been better for criticism, had they consigned a considerable number of their documents to the moths and worms. If they had selected the oldest and best, and collated them throughout, we should have had more important readings. Many now given *do* affect the sense of passages; but in that case we should have had more of this character.

In consequence of the expensive nature of these two works, which England and Italy had the honour of giving to the world, a small edition of the Hebrew Scriptures, containing a selection of the more important readings, was superintended

by Doederlein and Meisner, and published at Leipzig, 1793 in one volume small octavo, frequently bound in two. It was intended for the use of students and others. The text adopted was Reineccius's. Both the type and paper of the edition are bad. The type is small, the vowel-points frequently illegible and often wrong.

Of much more value is the edition of Jahn published at Vienna in 4 vols. 8vo 1806. The text is Van der Hooght's, with the exception of nine or ten places where the editor changed the readings on sufficient authority. The Jewish order of the books is not followed, but they are arranged rather according to Christian ideas. The chief value of the edition consists in the select various readings found below each page, with the authorities clearly and distinctly given, MSS., versions, and printed editions. Most of the Masoretic notes commonly appended to the margin of Bibles are retained. Annexed to the fourth volume is a brief description of all the codices and editions collated by Kennicott and De Rossi, which may serve many as a substitute for the want of the former's *Generalis Dissertatio*, and the latter's *Prolegomena*. The learned editor has given the books of the Chronicles in fragments, mostly in parallel columns with other books. Though this arrangement has its advantages, it has also serious disadvantages which on the whole preponderate. The poetical books and the poetical fragments are properly arranged in hemistichs. In the text the vowel-points are given, but only the principal accents are retained. The typography is good, clear, and distinct; but the paper is inferior in colour. It is to be regretted that this valuable and convenient manual edition has now become scarce and dear.

In the year 1810, B. Boothroyd began to issue in parts, from his private press in Pontefract, an edition of the Hebrew Scriptures without points, "after the text of Kennicott, with the chief various readings selected from his collation of He-

brew MSS., from that of De Rossi, and from the ancient versions, accompanied with English notes critical, philological, and explanatory." The work was completed in two volumes, 4to 1816. Useful in some respects as this edition may be, it is by no means what might have been reasonably expected. The editor paid great deference to the opinions of Kennicott, Houbigant and others who interfered with the text in too many instances. He also deferred unduly to the authority of the Samaritan text and of the ancient versions. He has no claim therefore to the title of a good or sound critic, having a very imperfect apprehension of the value and claims of different witnesses in favour of or against certain readings of the text. The type of the work is good and clear, but the paper is of inferior quality.

In 1831, Dr. Hahn superintended a manual edition exhibiting Van der Hooght's text but freeing it from as many errors as could be detected. A still more correct edition was published at Leipzig in 1832, which was stereotyped by Tauchnitz. Both appeared in an octavo form. The type is remarkably clear and good; and the edition very convenient, correct, and useful.

Van der Hooght's text was also retained in a very accurate edition published at London and superintended by Judah d'Allemand in 1822 8vo. A second edition of the same was revised by Hurwitz.

On the whole, the text of Van der Hooght may be regarded as the *textus receptus;* just as the Elzevir text is the *textus receptus* of the Greek Testament. Almost all our modern editions exhibit it; the manuals in common use invariably.

Before concluding this part of the subject, we may refer to a large collection of variations between different editions of the Hebrew Bible found in Masch's Le Long. It is taken both from what are called *amasoretic* and *masoretic* editions; and includes many of them. Running as it does through eighty-

five quarto pages, it would be very useful to a critical editor in preparing a new and better work than any that has yet appeared in this department.*

In concluding this part of the subject—the history of the printed text—it will be apparent that the criticism of the Old Testament text is still in its infancy. Very little has been done in the department, compared with its magnitude and general importance. The labours of Kennicott and De Rossi are almost the only conspicuous ones in later times. And where they left it, it has remained. A critical edition of the Old Testament, like those of Griesbach, Scholz, Lachmann, and Tischendorf in the New, has not been attempted. Contributions have been made towards it; but they have not been all applied to the accomplishment of the work. A revised text founded on MSS. versions and quotations, has not been published. There is no doubt that such text is wanted. It is far more necessary in the Old Testament than in the New; for the text of the latter is in a much better state than that of the former. It was so even before the labours of Griesbach constituted a new epoch in the history of the latter. Doubtless the MSS. of the Hebrew Scriptures now existing are much younger than those of the Greek Testament, and in a much more uniform state as regards their text. Doubtless there are corruptions which none of the ancient authorities would avail to remove. The materials for emendation are fewer and less important than those of the New Testament. But these and other drawbacks should not deter a right-hearted critic from undertaking the preparation of a good critical edition out of such sources as are available. The text should by all means be brought as near to its original state, as all existing means for its restoration will fairly warrant and allow. It ought to be purified. It is high time that it should be so. A good stock of various readings has been accumulated for

* See Bibliotheca Sacra, Halae, 1778, part i. pp. xxxiv.-cxviii.

this purpose. Jews will not do what is needed. The Masorah restrains them. They have too much attachment to the Masoretic text. But Christian critics need have no such excessive reverence for the Masoretic doctors. Why then does not one and another attempt to supply a pressing want? Why have so many scholars turned their attention to the New Testament text, and so very few to the Old? It is a reproach to criticism in the present day that this great field has been neglected—a field in which there is ample room for many labourers. The criticism of the New Testament has been in its manhood for many years; that of the Old is yet in its infancy. We trust some well-furnished scholar will ere long appear to take away the reproach, by giving to the world a new critical edition of the Hebrew Bible resembling that of Griesbach for the Greek Testament. Whoever does so with judgment, ability, and sincerity of purpose, will deserve and obtain the gratitude of all who are interested in the advancement of biblical knowledge.

CHAPTER XI.

ANCIENT VERSIONS.

THE SEPTUAGINT.

HAVING described the state of the Hebrew text, *unprinted* and *printed*, we proceed to give an account of the means available for judging of its purity, and restoring it, in cases of corruption, to its original form. *The sources of criticism* are these—

I. Ancient versions.
II. Parallels or repeated passages.
III. Quotations.
IV. Hebrew MSS.
V. Critical conjecture.

Some have specified various forms which the Old Testament text presented at different times. Thus the form of it *before the close of the canon* has been distinguished. But this *precanonical* text cannot now be separated from the *postcanonical;* and even if it could, the only means of ascertaining and restoring it, viz. parallels or repeated passages, afford little assistance.

The *premasoretic* state of the text has been also distinguished. This is discovered and amended by the aid of ancient versions, by the quotations of the Talmud and Rabbins, and the Masorah.

The *Samaritan text* of the Pentateuch has also been singled out, as seen in the Samaritan Pentateuch, and the Samaritan-Arabic version.

Finally, *the Masoretic text*, presented by all existing MSS. But these phases and forms of the text cannot now be separated. It is useless therefore to treat the critical materials according to them. Necessity as well as practical utility leads us to speak of *the Old Testament text merely*, and to describe all the materials of criticism with reference to it, whether as *premasoretic* or *Masoretic*. We apply all the sources to *the text generally*.

The oldest version of any part of the Scriptures in any language is the Greek translation of the Old Testament commonly called the *Septuagint*, either from the *supposed* fact of its having been approved by the Jewish Sanhedrim consisting of seventy-two persons, or from the Jewish account of seventy-two individuals employed in making it.

Among all translations of the Old Testament this has the first claim on our attention, not only on account of its great antiquity, but its very general reception by Jews and Christians. It is also quoted in the New Testament much oftener than the original Hebrew—a fact shewing that it was commonly circulated at a very ancient period, and regarded on the whole as a faithful version. The history of this version is unfortunately veiled in obscurity. The notices of its origin which have come down to us are suspicious. There are no sure data to rest upon. Hence writers have had recourse to various hypotheses, in many points contradictory to one another, and all resting on slender grounds. Amid the discordant accounts given of it we shall follow the one which appears the most plausible, without entering into a formal refutation of others that scarcely deserve attention.

The oldest writer who mentions this translation is Aristobulus, a Jew of whom both Clement of Alexandria and Eusebius speak. He is also mentioned in the second book of Maccabees. The doubts formerly thrown out respecting him by Hody and Eichhorn were dispelled by Valckenaer; but

others have been raised by Frankel,* which it is needless to examine. In a passage where Aristobulus wishes to prove that the ancient Greek philosophers, such as Plato and Pythagoras, were acquainted with the divine law, he asserts that before the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus and Demetrius, there existed a Greek translation of the Pentateuch from which these philosophers drew the greatest part of their writings, and adds,— ἡ δὲ ὅλη ἑρμήνεια τῶν διὰ τοῦ νόμου παντῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ προσαγορευθέντος Φιλαδέλφου βασιλέως . . . . . Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως πραγματευσαμένου τὰ περὶ τούτων. "The entire interpretation of the law was made in the time of a king surnamed Philadelphus, ... Demetrius Phalereus being actively employed about it."† It appears from this passage, that in the time of Aristobulus, *i. e.* at the commencement of the second century before Christ, this translation was thought to have been made when Demetrius Phalereus lived, and also in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus. The former seems to have been the promoter of the work.

Hody‡ has endeavoured to shew that this account contradicts the voice of history, and that therefore no credit should be attached to it. But when closely examined it will not be found wholly worthless or undeserving of belief. It has been objected to it that Demetrius Phalereus is represented as living in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, whereas he lived under Ptolemy Lagi. But this is a mistaken apprehension of the words, according to Hävernick.§ The sense extracted by him from Aristobulus's statement is, that Demetrius was the person who took an active part in it, or caused it to be undertaken; the whole *being finished* in the time of Philadelphus. But this is putting into the language of the writer more than it expresses.

* Vorstudien zu der Septuaginta, pp. 18, 19.

† Ap. Eusebius, Praeparatio Evangelica, lib. xiii. c. 12.

‡ De Bibliorum textibus originalibus, p. 49, et seq.

§ Einleitung, vol. i. part i. § ii. p. 39.

When it is said of Demetrius Phalereus πραγματευσαμένου τὰ περὶ τούτων *immediately after* and *in connexion with* ἐπὶ τοῦ Φιλαδέλφου βασιλέως, the plain inference is, that Demetrius took an active part in the work *under Philadelphus.* And then nothing is said about the version being *completed* or *finished* under Ptolemy Philadelphus, as Hävernick assumes; so that we have no right to make Aristobulus say that Demetrius suggested it to one person and it was finished under another. His words do not fairly bear that sense. Aristobulus must either have made a mistake in the name of the king; or else he applied the name Philadelphus to Ptolemy Lagi improperly. Ptolemy Philadelphus caused Demetrius to be banished after he ascended the throne, because of a certain counsel he had given Lagi the monarch's father. Thus history shews that Aristobulus is wrong in writing Ptolemy Philadelphus instead of Ptolemy Lagi; perhaps he wrote Philadelphus, meaning the father. It is related by Plutarch, that Demetrius advised the king to purchase and read books relating to royalty and dominion;* and we know from Ælian† that he took an important part in the laws introduced by Ptolemy. It is also certain that this king was favourably disposed towards the Jews, numbers of whom spontaneously forsook their native land to reside in Egypt under the sway of a monarch so kind to their nation.

The account given by Aristobulus is confirmed by a Latin scholion found in a MS. of Plautus at Rome by Osann of Giessen, and described by Ritschl,‡ where it is stated that Ptolemy Philadelphus collected as many volumes as he could out of all lands by the aid of Demetrius Phalereus and seventy

* Regum et Imperator. Apopthegm. vol. viii. p. 124, ed. Hutten.

† Varia Historia, iii. 17.

‡ See Die Alexandrinischen Bibliotheken und die Sammlung der Homerischen Gedichte nach Anleitung eines Plautinischen Scholiums. Berlin, 1838, 8vo.

elders, and made two libraries; and that the king had them translated into his own language by the best interpreters. Here, as in the case of Aristobulus's testimony, the son Ptolemy Philadelphus is confounded with the father Ptolemy Lagi. What is stated can only be true of the latter.

It is difficult to determine the motive which prompted Demetrius Phalereus to set about such a version. It may have been a *literary* one. It may have been *political*. Or both may have been in the minds of the counsellor and the king. The words of Plutarch would lead us to suppose that the object of Demetrius in advising the king to procure a copy of the Jewish law was, that the latter might obtain information respecting the best mode of governing a nation, and of forming laws for its economic welfare.

The next historical testimony respecting the Septuagint is supposed to be that of Jesus the son of Sirach, whose statement is interesting, if it contain the judgment of a Palestinian Jew about the version. After requesting the reader's indulgence on behalf of his own translation, he adds,—*οὐ μόνον δὲ ταῦτα ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ νόμος, καὶ αἱ προφητεῖαι, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν βιβλίων οὐ μικρὰν ἔχει τὴν διαφορὰν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς λεγόμενα.* "And not only these, but the law itself and the prophets, and the rest of the books, have no small difference when spoken in their own language." From this it has been thought that the law, the prophets, and the rest of the books were translated into Greek at that time, *i. e.* about 130 B.C. The author states that during his abode in Egypt he perceived that the Egyptian Jews and those of his own country differed in several important particulars as to their modes of expounding scripture. But this testimony to the Septuagint is equivocal, as will be shewn afterwards.

We now come to the account given by Aristeas, an author who describes himself as being highly esteemed by Ptolemy

Philadelphus, in a letter addressed to his brother Philocrates. The substance of this letter is—that Ptolemy Philadelphus, when founding a public library at Alexandria, applied by direction of Demetrius Phalereus to the Jewish high priest Eleazar, on the subject of a copy of the Jewish laws. As a preliminary step, he purchased the freedom of all the Jews in his dominions who had been taken captive by his father or himself. He then sent Aristeas and Andreas with magnificent presents and a letter to the high priest, in which he requested the latter to send to Alexandria seventy-two interpreters. The seventy-two elders were sent. They brought a copy of the law, consisting of "different parchments in which the law was written in gold, in the Jewish letters." After the king had entertained them at sumptuous banquets, he took them to an island, which, from the description, was Pharos in the harbour of Alexandria. Here they were lodged together in a magnificent house near the shore. They finished their work in seventy-two days. When it was ended, Demetrius summoned the Jews and their heads to the house where the interpreters had lodged, and read the translation to them. They approved of it. Curses were pronounced upon all who should venture to add to or take anything from it. The Jews requested permission to take a copy. The king received the work with reverence, ordered it to be carefully preserved, and sent the interpreters home with ample gifts both for themselves and Eleazar. According to Ussher, whom Walton follows, this took place 277 B.C.

The substance of Aristeas's narrative is repeated by Josephus,* both appealing to Aristeas's letter. Philo† also speaks of the translation; but he dissents in many particulars from the account now given. He says that the learned Jews sent from Jerusalem composed separate versions in the island

* Antiq. xii. 2. p. 585, et seq. vol. i. ed. Havercamp.

† De Vita Mosis ii. p. 600, ed. Mangey.

of Pharos, which were found to agree in every word, though there had been no communication between the translators. They were therefore directed by the Holy Spirit in every word they wrote. He adds, that in memory of the miracle, both the Egyptian and Grecian Jews repaired yearly to the island, and kept a festival on the shore. But he makes no mention of the ransom of captives, of the copy of the law written in golden letters, of the presents sent by the king, or the number seventy-two. The inspiration of the interpreters is a new thing, unnoticed in the letter. The name of Aristeas too is not mentioned; nor is his letter appealed to.

Justin Martyr, in the second century, represents the seventy-two interpreters as having been shut up in seventy-two cells, in which they had no communication with one another, and where they composed seventy-two distinct versions miraculously agreeing in every particular. He even says, that the ruins of these cells were visible in his own day, and that he had seen them with his own eyes at Alexandria.*

Epiphanius again makes thirty-six cells, in each of which two interpreters were shut up, and where they produced thirty-six versions exactly agreeing. He also furnishes each cell with a quick writer, to whom the versions were dictated.†

The narrative of Aristeas, enlarged with these fabulous circumstances by Philo, Justin, Epiphanius, and others, was received for the most part by the fathers down to the latter half of the seventeenth century, when the authenticity of the letter was questioned by Joseph Scaliger, Calvisius, Episcopius, Lightfoot, Cappellus, and many others; and afterwards denied for solid reasons by Hody and Van Dale, the former applying to it a searching examination which most succeeding critics have sanctioned as just. This eminent scholar *proved*

* Cohortatio ad Graecos, cap. 13.

† De ponderibus et mensuris, capp. 3, 6, 9, 10, 11. See Rosenmüller's Handbuch, vol. ii. p. 370, et seq.

that it contains particulars improbable, incredible, and contrary to history. It is therefore universally admitted at the present day that it did not proceed from a Gentile contemporary author; but was fabricated by a Jew *after* the time it purports to have been written. As it was known to Josephus, the letter must have been early composed. But though it be supposititious, and not the production of the person whose it professes to be, there is still room for inquiry whether the contents of it be *wholly* fictitious. Is there no truth in them? Not according to Hody, Eichhorn, Bertholdt, De Wette, and Frankel. According to them, neither the high priest at Jerusalem, nor the Egyptian king, had anything to do with the version. It was made by the Jews in Egypt for their own use. The religious necessities of the Hellenistic Jews prompted them to it. But we believe that *some* truth lies at the basis of the narrative. It has much of the fabulous, but also something of the true. Who then shall separate these elements? There is danger in rejecting too much; especially as the credulity which received the whole implicitly continued so long. We may run to the opposite extreme. This appears to be the case with Hody and the great majority of learned men who have followed him. 'Not content with shewing that the authors of the version were *Alexandrine* Jews, he denied that it was made by order of Ptolemy Philadelphus, or under the superintendence of Demetrius Phalereus; that it was ever deposited in the royal library; that it was made by one person, or by more than one with any mutual consultation. And in these negative conclusions the great majority of critics have acquiesced.

But it may be inferred from various circumstances, that truth lies at the basis of the story contained in the letter. It is not likely that a Jew would venture to impose on his countrymen in so important a matter; or that he could hope for success in inducing them to believe him, unless one or other

of the things adduced had been known to them as facts of no doubtful character. And then the readiness with which such persons as Josephus gave credit to the story, appears to shew that some of the circumstances narrated were already known. The yearly festival instituted in memory of the event indicates that the version originated in the manner described. It is also worthy of notice, that when Clement of Alexandria* speaks of some placing the version in the reign of Ptolemy Lagi, others in that of Philadelphus, the epistle of Aristeas was not *the only* source from which accounts respecting the origin of the version were derived, for the king of Egypt is expressly mentioned in it.

It has been appositely observed, that the true way of ascertaining the real fact lying at the basis of the story must be found in *the design* the Pseudo-Aristeas had in view when he wrote the letter.† Now it is manifest that the writer's object was to exalt the credit of the version. Hence he sets forth, that the original whence it was made was brought from the holy city Jerusalem, the high priest and wise men approving and consenting. It was drawn directly from an authentic copy which had been preserved in the metropolis of the holy land. In connection with this, the king of Egypt and his library are magnified. That king was a great patron of the Jews and their law. He was most favourable to them and their religion. If such were the design of Pseudo-Aristeas, the version must have been exposed to animadversions. Its reputation was threatened. Its credit was likely to suffer. Perhaps it had been objected to because it originated in the command of a heathen king who had oppressed the people of God; and not in the decree of an orthodox ecclesiastical tribunal; that it was not taken from the sacred uncorrupted text of the Jerusalem copies, but proceeded from unknown persons acting without authority. Perhaps too it had been said of it,

* Stromata, lib. i. c. 22.

† See Herbst's Einleitung, vol. i. p. 150.

that a Samaritan copy had been employed in its production. Objections like these, as is not improbable, were heard against the version. Hence it was the writer's object to maintain its credit and uphold its authority. He could not deny that it was made by command of the king. It was too well known that its origin was owing to royal authority. But instead of representing the king to be Ptolemy Lagi, who must have been obnoxious to the Jews as having profaned the temple and maltreated the people of God, the writer put his son, who was favourably disposed towards the Jews. If Ptolemy Philadelphus were the king to whom it owed its origin, less objection could be made to it than if it were his father. And then what could be said thereafter against the character of the version, if, as the writer alleges, it was taken directly from a holy copy at Jerusalem—the translators themselves having been sent by the high priest? The text *must* be right, since it was reproduced from the genuine, Palestinian-Hebrew original.*

There is little doubt that the writer's object was accomplished by the letter of Aristeas. The reputation of the version was saved and upheld. Its origin and faulty character ceased to be spoken of to its disparagement. It was dependent on Palestine, and therefore it was received. It was faithful as a version, in consequence of its relation to the highest and most sacred persons at Jerusalem; and it was accordingly adopted thenceforward without hesitation by the Hellenistic Jews. We believe then, agreeably to the letter, that the version was made at the command of an Egyptian king. But that king was not Philadelphus. He was Ptolemy Lagi, as Irenaeus and others affirm. Most of the particulars contained in the letter correspond to the character and reign of Lagi, but not to that of Philadelphus. Plutarch and Ælian confirm this opinion. The oldest witness Aristobulus, and the scholium on Plautus are also in favour of the fact that the king of Egypt caused the version to be made and put in the royal library.

* See Herbst, Einleit. vol. i. p. 151.

But all that is said about the king's liberation of captives, his munificent presents, the Hebrew copy from Jerusalem, the sending of interpreters by the high priest, must be discarded as fabulous.

If this view be correct, that of Hody and others who hold that the translation owed its existence to the wants of the Egyptian Jews when they had lost their knowledge of the sacred original, must be rejected. It did not originate in the ecclesiastical necessities of the Alexandrine Jews requiring it for use in their synagogues. We know so little of the establishment of synagogues in Egypt, that any hypothesis assuming their existence at a particular period before Christ is uncertain. The translators would hardly have ventured *of themselves* to make it for ecclesiastical purposes; because the Jews in Alexandria were solicitous to remain in ecclesiastical connection with Palestine. They did not wish in any way to disunite themselves from their brethren there. To have taken that step voluntarily would have been contrary to their respect for the Palestinian Jews, to whom they looked as their superiors in piety and learning. But when the king ordered a version to be made, it is quite probable that the translators thought of the ecclesiastical purpose which it would serve. It would fall in with their religious desires and wants, though they would not have undertaken it without an external impulse. The design of the king was one thing; the intentions of the Jews who made it another. We cannot believe that it originated in a purely ecclesiastical motive, as Hody maintains. The king could not have been actuated by such; though possibly the Jews may have thought at once of applying it to ecclesiastical use. A political motive is more likely to have been in the mind of the king. Hävernick thinks that the design of it was a literary one,* which is the least probable of all the conjectures that have been entertained.

* Einleit. part i. § ii. p. 41.

How much of the Old Testament was translated at first in consequence of the king's wish?

This question has been variously answered. The words of Aristobulus are ambiguous. Valckenaer* and Hävernick† argue that they imply the translation of *all the books*. The expression τῶν διὰ τοῦ νόμου is not wholly decisive for the Pentateuch alone; since all the books were occasionally spoken of under the one appellation νόμος, *law*. But as the translation was made by degrees, not at once, it is more probable that νόμος should be understood in its proper sense. The Pentateuch was translated first. This is the only part of the Old Testament which the king ordered to be translated. The reasoning of Hävernick to show that Aristobulus's words mean *all* the books is more ingenious than probable. It is plausible but unsound. That Aristobulus meant only the five books of Moses is strengthened by the fact that Aristeas, Josephus, Philo, the Talmudists, and Jerome, speak only of the law being translated at first.

But who was the king of Egypt whom Demetrius advised to procure a copy of the Jewish laws? We have seen that Aristobulus calls him Ptolemy Philadelphus. There is probably a mistake here. The same thing is implied in the words of the ancient scholium already alluded to, where we must believe the same mistake to be made. The Pseudo-Aristeas confounded the father and the son, Ptolemy Lagi and Ptolemy Philadelphus, on purpose. Irenaeus gives Lagi. So does Theodoret. Several of the Rabbins also speak of him. And it may be gathered from the words of Clement of Alexandria, that it was more commonly attributed to the father than the son. But a great many writers following the Pseudo-Aristeas, attribute the version to Ptolemy the son. Philo, Josephus, Tertullian, Eusebius, Cyril of Jerusalem,

* Diatribe de Aristobulo Judaeo, p. 61, et seq. † Einleit. p. 41.

Epiphanius, Chrysostom, Basil, and others, appear to have adopted this opinion from the letter.

In order to reconcile these conflicting statements, Hody assigned the version to those two years during which Philadelphus reigned conjointly with his father, about 286-285 B.C.* We are more disposed, however, to attribute the mention of Philadelphus to a mistake on the part of Aristobulus and the writer of the scholium on Plutarch; while the design of the Pseudo-Aristeas in confounding the father and the son was to save the credit of the version. Later authors naturally adopted the view given by Aristeas, because they believed in the authenticity of his letter. All the circumstances of the letter itself agree best with Lagi; Plutarch and Ælian refer to him; and the connection of Demetrius with Lagi and with the version, which cannot be discarded, is upheld. But on the other hand, the connection of Demetrius with Philadelphus as confidential adviser or prime minister is so very questionable, that it can be upheld only at the expense of refusing him all share in the work. He cannot have taken an active part in it, if Philadelphus the son be the king who ordered it to be made.

That the translator or translators of the Pentateuch were Alexandrine not Palestinian Jews, is manifest from the character of the version itself. It is written in the Alexandrine-Greek dialect. *The spirit* that breathes throughout it agrees with the language in proving that it did not proceed from the Jews of Palestine. Hody has also adduced various expressions which, in his opinion, could only have been known to persons who had lived in Egypt for a considerable time. But though he has been followed by such writers as Eichhorn, Jahn, Herbst, &c. in bringing forward these proofs, many of them are worthless or weak. Thus he says that the Hebrew word שפח is translated δίδραχμος in Gen. xxiii. 15, 16; Exod. xxi. 32; xxx. 13.

* De Bibliorum textibus originalibus, p. 91.

Now Josephus* and Jerome† affirm, that the shekel contained four drachmae. But the Alexandrine talent was double the Attic one, and so was the drachma. Surely however the Palestinian Jews at this time were as well acquainted with Alexandrine as with Attic money. Adopting, as the translator did, a Grecian coin to express the value of the Hebrew, he acted naturally in taking that which was current at Alexandria, though he may have been a Palestinian Jew. Such an example as this is totally worthless when we recollect that the translators have sometimes given *Chaldee* meanings to words, because the Syro-Chaldaic idiom then prevalent in Palestine was known to them, as may be seen in Isaiah iv. 2; liii. 10.‡

Again, the Hebrew measure אֵיפָה *Ephah*, is expressed οἶφι in the way the Egyptians pronounced it; and οἶφι is an Egyptian measure.§ Thus Hody reasons. The authority of Hesychius is quoted for οἶφι being an Egyptian measure. But his is a very insufficient name on this point. Besides, in Exod. xvi. 36, the Hebrew עֲשִׂירִית הָאֵפָה is translated τὸ δέκατον τῶν τριῶν μέτρων. Why was a paraphrase of *Ephah* put instead of the alleged well known οἶφι? It is likely that the translator merely left the Hebrew *Ephah* untranslated οἰφά, which became οἰφί.

The creation of the world is not termed κτίσις but γένεσις, the term used by the Egyptian philosophers; and therefore the title of the first book of Moses is γένεσις. This is another argument. But it is probable that the translators themselves did not put the title. It was of later origin. Besides, γένεσις would have been the most suitable word for the translator's purpose, as has been shewn by Thiersch.‖

Again, ἀλήθεια, *truth*, is the translation of תֻּמִּים *Thummim*,

* Antiq. iii. 9. † In Ezekiel, cap. iv.

‡ Comp. Gesenius, Commentar ueber den Jesaia, vol. i. p. 63.

§ See Levit. v. 11; vi. 20; Numb. v. 15; xxv. 5; Ruth ii. 17, &c.

‖ De Pentateuchi versione Alexand. &c. pp. 78, 79.

whereas the Hebrew signifies *perfection*. Why is this? Because ἀλήθεια was the appellation of the image made of sapphire jewels depending from the neck of the supreme judge in Egypt who was also a priest, as two passages from Ælian and Diodorus shew.* It is more likely that ἀλήθεια was chosen because it was reckoned a good free translation, than for the reason assigned. Indeed it is more so, for *a Jew* would hardly have adopted a word appropriated to the *likeness* of any thing. Diodorus calls the ornament ζώδιον, *a little animal, a small figure*. Besides, *truth* is a proper translation of the Hebrew word, independently of every external consideration, as Gesenius admits. Other proofs of this kind are equally weak, such as ἱππόδρομος for כִּבְרַת, Gen. xxxv. 16; xlviii. 7; whereas the Hebrew word was simply left untranslated from ignorance of its meaning, and ἱππόδρομος was subsequently added by persons who perceived the mistake into which the original translator fell; † κόνδυ for נָבִיעַ, Gen. xliv. 2, &c.

More to the purpose are other examples adduced by Hody, such as the translation of the Hebrew צָפְנַת־פַּעְנֵחַ by ψονθομφανήχ. Here, by a little alteration in the word, the translation expressed the genuine form of the Egyptian appellation more accurately than the Hebrew. It is compounded of the article and two others which mean *the salvation* or *Saviour of the world, servator mundi*, as Jerome rightly interprets it. The change from the Hebrew in the form of the Greek name could only have been made by one acquainted with Egyptian, and therefore it is very probable the translator belonged to Egypt.

Again, the Egyptian word אֹחוּ in Gen. xli. 2, 18, is retained by the translator ἄχε or ἄχει without being rendered into Greek. The same Egyptian term is given by the tran-

* Hody, pp. 113, 114.

† See Thiersch, De Pentateuchi versione Alexand. &c. p. 79.

slator of Isaiah for the Hebrew עָרוֹת, τὸ ἀχλ τὸ χλώξον, the τὸ χλώξον being a gloss which was added to the text, so that there is a double translation.*

It is also certain from the character of the text which lies at the basis of the version, that the MS. it was made from did not come immediately from Jerusalem. The high priest did not send it thence. There are too many variations between the Jerusalem text and that of this version, to allow of their identification.

If now the version of the Pentateuch was made at Alexandria under Ptolemy Lagi, it may be asked, when were *all the books* translated into Greek? At what time were the rest, appearing as they did at successive times, considered, along with the Pentateuch part, to constitute *one* version. The question is a difficult one. The whole *appears* to have been completed in the time of the younger Sirach, as has been inferred from the prologue already quoted. But the words in question afford no evidence that Sirach thought of a Greek translation. They would equally apply to a Chaldee version. We see nothing in them to justify or favour the idea, that "the law, the prophets, and the other writings," mean those books as existing in the present version. And then supposing he *does* refer to our version, it is not easy to settle the time he lived in. It may either be between 246-221, or between 170-117 B.C., according to the Euergetes fixed on; for Sirach says no more than that he went to Egypt in the thirty-eighth year of Euergetes. Apart from this passage in Sirach, no other has been adduced to show the time *about* which the translation was completed.

Hody endeavours to prove with a great array of learning,† that Joshua was not rendered into Greek till after the death of Lagi, because the Gallic word *γαῖσος a javelin*, occurs in it;

* See Frankel, Vorstudien, u. s. w. p. 40, et seq.

† De Bibliorum textibus, &c. p. 178, et seq.

and the Gauls did not make an irruption into Greece and the East till after Lagi's death. But little weight can be attached to such proof. It is just as probable that the Hebrew word like many others, was here left untranslated, and one of a similar sound in Greek substituted for it afterwards. The same scholar labours to make it appear, that the prophets were translated a few years after the death of Philometor. Antiochus Epiphanes who persecuted the Jews forbad, it is said, the reading of the law in their synagogues. Hence they had recourse to the prophets, a section of which was publicly read every sabbath day. Now Antiochus began to reign in Syria about the fifth year of Philometor, and died in the seventeenth year of his reign. The Alexandrine Jews thought it right to follow the example of their brethren at Jerusalem, and turned to the prophets also.

Such is the way in which Hody reasons.* But the opinion that Antiochus forbad the law alone, wants all historic probability. No conclusion based on his supposed interdict of the Pentateuch deserves attention. Neither the Mishna nor the Gemara speaks of such an origin for the reading lessons from the prophets. The prophets were translated *after* the Pentateuch. Thus much is certain; but how long is not known.

Again, it has been inferred by Ussher and Hody,† from the historical appendix to the book of Esther, that it was rendered into Greek in the reign of Ptolemy Philometor. The name of the translator is also given as Lysimachus, the only one of all the translators mentioned in the version itself. It is remarkable, however, that he is not mentioned by Aristeas among the seventy-two translators. In regard to the epilogue belonging to Esther, grave doubts may be entertained. It probably alludes to the apocryphal additions to the book, which are of later origin than the genuine portion.

* Hody, p. 188. † Ibid, p. 189.

Hody supposes that the book of Judges was not translated till after Christ. But his proof of this position is invalid. A passage in Philo's book *De confusione linguarum*, is thought to be taken from the Hebrew not from the Greek, as elsewhere. But it has been clearly proved, that Philo was ignorant of the Hebrew original; and his *supposed* allusion to it in this place not to the Greek, can be satisfactorily explained on another principle. Here, as in all other places, he referred to the Greek version.*

It is remarkable that Philo observes an entire silence respecting Ezekiel. No book presented so much attraction to his allegorising fancy as the early chapters of this obscure prophet. Yet his unacquaintedness with it is no proof that it was not then in Greek. Its posterior origin should not be deduced from the fact in question. The reason of his silence is deduced by Frankel from its being translated elsewhere than in Alexandria, and its lateness of coming to that city.†

Michaelis and Bertholdt also suppose that Daniel was not translated till after the time of Christ. But there is no good reason for holding this opinion. It is true that the version of Theodotion was in early use instead of it, and that the cause of the substitution was unknown even in the time of Jerome; but it cannot be inferred from this that the Septuagint version of Daniel was not then in existence. Frankel accounts for the fact in the same manner as he accounts for Philo's ignorance of the Greek Ezekiel, viz. that Daniel was translated in some other place than Alexandria, perhaps Asia Minor; but this is a mere conjecture.‡

Thus all attempts to ascertain the times when the separate books were rendered into Greek, are nugatory. We only know that the Pentateuch was translated first, and that the rest followed, probably at no distant interval, but not all together. The Greek language became so prevalent, that the

* Frankel, pp. 46, 47. † Vorstudien, p. 39. ‡ Ibid, pp. 39, 40.

pressing want of the entire Old Testament in that language was all the more felt after the Pentateuch came to be perused in it. There seems to have been no great interval between the version of the law and that of the prophets.

In regard to *the number* of translators, nothing certain can be known. The fable that there were seventy-two must be rejected. The version itself shews that various hands were employed on it; but *how many*, is an inexplicable problem. Internal evidence speaks in favour of the Pentateuch having been made by more than one. Exodus, Leviticus, and Deuteronomy are better and more literally rendered than the other two books, Leviticus best of all.* Yet there is an uniformity in characteristic renderings which would lead to the conclusion that the translators did not work independently; or that after the books were done into Greek, some one hand had to do with them all, so as to make them proper parts of one collection. In the Talmud there is a tradition of five translators; but that number probably arose from the mere number of the books.

It is manifest that the other books proceeded from different hands to the translators of the Pentateuch, and also that there were different translators in those books themselves. This is proved by Hody from the different way in which the same words are rendered in the Pentateuch and the other books; and likewise in the other books themselves mutually compared. Thus the Hebrew word translated *Philistines* is represented in the Pentateuch by φυλιστιείμ; in the other parts of the Old Testament, except Joshua, by ἀλλόφυλοι. *Thummim* throughout the Pentateuch is rendered ἀλήθεια; but in Ezra ii. 63, τελείοι.

Teraphim is translated εἴδωλα in Gen. xxxi. 19, 34, 35; but out of the Pentateuch it is always rendered by some other Greek word, ex. gr. κενοτάφια in 1 Sam. xix. 13, 16.

* An opinion in some respects different from this is given by a writer in Kitto's Journal of Sac. Lit. No. xiii. for 1851, p. 83, et seq.

Again, the Hebrew word for passover is rendered φασέκ in Chronicles, but elsewhere πάσχα. In the Pentateuch and Samuel, *Urim* is translated δήλωσις or δῆλοι, but in Ezra and Nehemiah by φωτίζοντες and φωτίζων. Judges, Ruth, Samuel, Kings, and Job have a peculiarity of expression in the use of ἐγὼ εἰμί for ἐγώ; but it can hardly be inferred from this that they were executed by one and the same translator.

Other proofs of diversity of translators have been collected by Hody with great industry, in which it is shewn that *proper names of men*, which are the same in different places, have been furnished with different vowels by the interpreters, or have received a different form in their hands; that the names of deities or idols are differently translated out of the same Hebrew words; that the names of *places*, *nations*, &c. &c., vary in the various parts of the version; that the same holds good with the names of animals, trees, plants, precious stones, and other natural objects, weights and measures, &c. &c.* But this mode of proof is insecure, because one translator does not bind himself to the use of the same Greek word for the same Hebrew one in all cases. He indulges in freedom of interpretation.

The character of the version must vary in different parts, inasmuch it was the work of five or six persons at least. The best interpreters were unquestionably those of the Pentateuch. That portion far surpasses the others in fidelity and accuracy. The translators were well acquainted with the Hebrew language, had a right perception of the sense of the original, and transferred it to another tongue with fidelity and skill. Hence Jerome speaks approvingly of the agreement of the translation with the Hebrew.†

* De Bibliorum textibus originalibus, &c. p. 204, et seq.

† "Quos (libros Mosis) nos quoque plus quam cæteros profitemur consonare cum Hebraicis."—Praefat. ad Quaest. in Genes.

The version of Joshua, Judges, and Ruth gives the sense of the original in a majority of places. But there are many additions and omissions. A large number of mistakes have also been made, several of them glaring and gross, such as taking proper names for *appellatives*, and *vice versa*.

The books of Samuel and Kings are the worst of *the historical* ones. The version of them is inferior to that of the rest, having the same faults in a greater degree. The knowledge of Hebrew which the translator of them possessed was but meagre. He has many additions longer and shorter to the text; but omissions are less common. The mistakes are great and striking. False and arbitrary explanations of every kind are met with. It is remarkable that we find such erroneous renderings by the side of passages well translated. Ignorance and negligence are conspicuous enough.

The books of Chronicles are carefully and literally rendered, the translation exhibiting skill and tact.

The prophets did not meet with competent men. The translators had too little acquaintance with Hebrew and Greek, much less than is necessary for a text so difficult as that of the prophets. Hence they often fail in obscure passages, and give an erroneous view of them. Jeremiah is the best executed. Amos and Ezekiel stand next in order. The version of Isaiah is the worst of all the prophets, being wholly unworthy of the original. Nor has Daniel fared better. His book is very badly and defectively translated. Whether the Greek church rejected it on this account and adopted Theodotion's, is uncertain.* On the whole, the version of the greater and lesser prophets is inferior in value. It is tame and prosaic. The translators wanted both knowledge and poetic spirit.

The version of the Psalms is bad, equally so with that of Isaiah. The translator was not proper master either of the Greek or Hebrew languages. And not only was he devoid of

* It was not published till the year 1772 at Rome in folio.

the necessary knowledge of the two tongues, especially of the Hebrew, but also of taste and poetic elegance. Hence he renders slavishly, word for word, down to the very prepositions and conjunctions, without attending to the poetic diction, and the difference of Greek construction. Hence also he renders the tenses of the Hebrew just as they are in the original, the preterite by the preterite, and the future by the future. The comparative and superlative are paraphrased, as in the original. In short, the passages are exceedingly numerous where the translation is unintelligible and meaningless.

The translator of Proverbs was much more competent for his task; but he was hardly equal to it. His knowledge of Greek was considerable and he endeavoured to give an intelligible rendering; but he has deviated very often from the original. His knowledge of Hebrew was meagre; his mastery over Greek apparent. His version as a whole, has been praised as *the best* of the didactic and poetical books.

The version of Ecclesiastes is most literal. Even the particle אֵת prefixed to the object is rendered σὺν.

The book of Job is but indifferently executed. The translator was familiar with the Greek poets, and possessed a taste for poetry; but his knowledge of Hebrew was very limited. The poetical portions are often defective. He has left out much, probably because he felt himself unable to translate it. In the prose portions on the other hand, there are considerable additions, mostly unsuitable ones. Origen and Jerome both complain of the omissions; and the former was obliged to supply them from Theodotion. The latter has observed in his preface to Job, that nearly 700 or 800 (versus) members of sentences have been omitted.

The Song of Solomon is better executed than Psalms, but not so well as Proverbs. It occupies an intermediate position in regard to value, being on a par with the version of Job.

The Pentateuch part of this translation has given rise to

many questions and treatises. From its peculiarities it is well fitted to do so. The questions it has suggested are perplexing, exercising the ingenuity and taxing the critical sagacity, of the most accomplished scholars. Their very nature is such as to impede a satisfactory solution of them. We shall allude to the principal topics.

It is well known that the Septuagint harmonises with the Samaritan Pentateuch in more than a thousand places where they differ from the Hebrew text. To account for this agreement various hypotheses have been propounded.

(*a.*) Hassencamp,* after Postellus, De Dieu, Selden, Hottinger, &c., endeavoured to shew that the Greek version of the Pentateuch was made from the Samaritan text rather than the Hebrew. Plausible circumstances have been urged both by Hassencamp and later writers in favour of this opinion, such as—mistakes in the Greek version which appear to have arisen from the interchange of letters resembling each other in the Samaritan, but not in the Hebrew; and the testimony of Origen and Jerome, who affirm that in the MSS. of the version in their day the sacred name *Jehovah* was given as if it had been written in Samaritan letters. But the hypothesis in question is wholly improbable. The text of the prophets and Hagiographa at the basis of the Septuagint, differs quite as much from the Masoretic text, as that at the basis of the Greek Pentateuch differs from the Masoretic Pentateuch. And then the Alexandrine version frequently departs from the Samaritan Pentateuch; while there may have been a closer agreement between the Samaritan and Jewish texts at the time the translation was executed. As to the letters, it is certain that Jewish and Samaritan letters were identical when the Greek translators undertook their task. The square or Chaldee

* Commentatio philologico-critica, de Pentateucho lxx interpretum graeco non ex Hebraeo sed Samaritano textu converso. Marburgi, 1765, 4to.

character did not originate so early. Hence all attempts at shewing that the translators fell into mistakes from the similarity of certain letters which are alike in the Chaldee alphabet, but very different in that found on the Jewish coins, are nugatory. Nor is it likely that the Jews would have received with so much favour a version made from the Samaritan, in which the name *Jehovah* so sacred to the Jews was written in the Samaritan character.

(*b.*) Another hypothesis which has been proposed to account for the general agreement of the Samaritan with the Septuagint, is the interpolation of the one from the other. This too is improbable. The Jews would hardly have altered their Greek version after the Samaritan text; nor is it likely that the Samaritans would have adopted the same method of correction. The state of feeling existing between the two peoples must have effectually prevented this mutual interpolation of their Scriptures. It is possible, that the Hebrew MS. or MSS. used by the Egyptian Jews agreed at that time more closely with the Samaritan than the Masoretic text now does; but subsequent interpolations will scarcely reach the extent of change required. It is a mere conjecture that the version was purposely conformed to the Samaritan copies by the Alexandrine Jews out of hatred and envy, as Rabbi Asaria supposes. The Alexandrine Jews did not so regard their Palestinian brethren. It is a mere conjecture also, that the Samaritan Pentateuch was interpolated sooner or later out of the Seventy, as Ravius conjectured, after Grotius and Ussher. Even though the closer agreement of the Hebrew with the Samaritan text originally be admitted, the great number of instances in which they now harmonise, and especially the character of them, clearly shew the hand of *interpreters*, not *interpolators*. The agreement frequently extends to the most minute things, and is such as would have escaped an interpolator.

(c.) Another hypothesis, more plausible than any former one, was proposed by Gesenius, viz. that the Samaritan Pentateuch and Septuagint version both flowed from Jewish MSS. which resembled one another, and followed a different recension of the Pentateuch from the one that afterwards obtained public authority among the Palestinians, but that the Samaritan copy was subsequently corrected and interpolated by illiterate transcribers.* "This supposition," says Professor Stuart, by whom it is adopted, "will account for the differences and for the agreements of the Septuagint and Samaritan. On the supposition that two different recensions had long been in circulation among the Jews, the one of which was substantially what the Samaritan now is, with the exception of a few more recent and designed alterations of the text, and the other substantially what our Masoretic codex now is, then the Seventy using the former would of course accord in a multitude of cases with the peculiar readings of it, as they have now done. If we suppose now, that the ancient copy from which the present Samaritan is descended, and that from which the Septuagint was translated were of the same genus, so to speak, or the same class, and yet were of different species under that genus, and had early been divided off, and subjected to alterations in transcribing, then we may have a plausible reason why the Septuagint agreeing with the Samaritan in so many places, should differ from it in so many others. Add to this, that the Samaritan and Septuagint each in the course of being transcribed for several centuries, would receive more or less changes, that might increase the discrepancies between them."†

This hypothesis, more ingenious and refined than the others, is less liable to objection than they. Much may be said in favour of it that would be difficult of refutation. With

* De Pentateuchi Samaritani origine, &c. p. 14.

† American Biblical Repository for 1832, pp. 714, 715.

some minor improvement and modification we should not oppose it. Taking *recension* as not necessarily equivalent to *revision*, but rather, in connection with the Samaritan and Septuagint, *a want* of revision as far as the text at their basis is concerned, the hypothesis bears a very plausible character. In the absence of a better it might be adopted. But it is not probable that the Samaritan copy was subsequently corrected and interpolated, as Gesenius supposes; at least it could not have been much transcribed, and therefore the liability of it to interpolation was the less. Some considerations *might* be urged as adverse to the hypothesis; but they are of a subtle character—not patent to ordinary apprehension. We shall waive all mention of them in the present place, especially as they are of comparatively little weight or importance. Yet we do not feel ourselves at liberty to adopt the hypothesis, however plausible it appears, believing it insufficient to account for all the phenomena. We admire the ingenuity of the contriver, but cannot fully go along with him.

(*d.*) Dr. S. Lee accounts for the harmony between the Alexandrine version and Samaritan Pentateuch in a peculiar way. The early Christians, as he thinks, interspersed their copies with Samaritan glosses, which were subsequently taken into the text by incautious and unskilful transcribers.* But he has not shewn that the early Christians were acquainted with the Samaritan Pentateuch or its glosses; neither has he regarded the reverence of the early Christians for the sacred books. Hence the hypothesis is utterly baseless.

(*e.*) Another hypothesis has been formally adduced by Frankel.† It is based on an opinion of Rabbi Asaria's, who speaks of an Aramaean version at the time of Ezra from which the Septuagint was afterwards taken. Although Jahn

* Prolegomena in Biblia Polyglotta, p. 55.

† Vorstudien, u. s w. § 5, p. 32, et seq.

long ago termed this a groundless conjecture on the part of Asaria, it has been brought forward by Frankel for the purpose of reconciling the Samaritan Pentateuch with the Greek version. This Targum was inexact and paraphrastic. Its text was fluctuating, and had suffered much through the rash and unskilful attempts of persons who meddled with it. If now the Chaldee paraphrase was circulated in different copies which differed among themselves, and attracted less care in the preservation of its integrity, both the Greek version and the Samaritan Pentateuch may have flowed from it.

The great objection to this hypothesis, which appears very plausible on the first view of it, is the assumption of a Chaldee version prior to and at the time of Ezra, connected with the supposition of the late origin of the Samaritan Pentateuch. The first is certainly unlikely; the latter impossible. The Pentateuch of the Samaritans originated too early to allow of its derivation from a Chaldee paraphrase not long before, or at the time of Ezra.

In the present state of the question, nothing better can be proposed than that the countries where the Samaritan Pentateuch originated, and the Jewish MSS. at the basis of the Seventy had been in circulation, were much less favourable to the preservation of a pure text than Palestine or rather its metropolis Jerusalem. The peoples too who possessed the Pentateuch and the Jewish MSS. in question, were less careful of them. They lived amid less conservative influences than the Palestinian brethren. The Samaritan Pentateuch suffered in its text from the hands it passed through—not through any bad motive, but a mistaken desire of making it more intelligible, regular, and full. The Alexandrine Jews, living amid the influences of the philosophy that prevailed in Egypt, had little superstitious veneration for the mere text of the sacred volume. The translators too were more intent on giving *the sense* than adhering to the literal text. They were in-

experienced, and often failed in the difficult task they had undertaken. But why the agreement of the one document with the other should be so extensive, why both texts should harmonise so often where they differ from the Masoretic, we profess ourselves unable to explain. As yet, no satisfactory solution of the problem has been offered. Perhaps it is impossible.

Another question which has been discussed in connection with the Alexandrine Pentateuch, is the existence of a prior Greek translation. Here the words of Aristobulus have been adduced for the purpose of shewing that they sanction the fact of an early Greek translation before the time of Demetrius, *Διηρμήνευται γὰρ πρὸ Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως, δι' ἑτέρων . . . . . ἡ δὲ ὅλη ἑρμήνεια τῶν διὰ τοῦ νόμου πάντων, κ. τ. λ.* But the words only mean, that *an extract* from the Pentateuch—a *compendium* of the law—had been made before *the whole law* was executed in the time of Demetrius Phalereus. And that this compendium was made *in Greek* is apparent from the context, notwithstanding Frankel's denial. It is not indeed so stated *distinctly*, but it is virtually *expressed.* If then there be no proper evidence for the existence of a prior Greek version in Aristobulus's words, is it likely, from the nature of the case, that such a one had been made before? Hody and most critics oppose the idea. And indeed there is little probability that a regular Greek version of the Pentateuch had been made before. In that case, the wish of Demetrius and the command of the king for the making of a version, had been superfluous. They are unaccountable. It is possible, however, that a fragmentary, partial translation may have previously existed consisting of pieces here and there, glosses, remarks on difficult passages, loose paraphrases of certain portions, which were supplemented, put together, and worked up into a proper and entire version—the version called the Sep-

tuagint. But we cannot allow that this was a Greek translation *properly so called* of the Pentateuch *made for synagogue use.* It is hazardous to assume the existence of synagogues in Egypt before Lagi's reign. That certain parts had been done into Greek we allow—mostly for private or social use; that glossarial annotations and notes on certain places had been made in that language may be fairly admitted; perhaps the essential portions had been transferred into Greek; but these were merely the rough beginnings of an entire version, the imperfect elements which required amalgamation, elaboration, and completion, so as to give them the character and form of an *entire* and *proper* version. They were fragmentary and fluctuating pieces, which had not obtained any general currency, as indeed they were not designed for it. In this manner, glosses are incorporated in the present Septuagint, which are as old as itself. Whoever undertakes a thorough investigation of the work itself, in the peculiarity of its text and structure, will probably come to the conclusion that a patch-work version of many parts of the Pentateuch existed before, pieces of which may be still detected here and there—glosses of equal antiquity with the now existing translation. Frankel,* with whom De Wette† sees much to support this view, does not hesitate to hold it. We are inclined to think that it has some probabilities in its favour.

Another inquiry has been instituted respecting the Pentateuch as at first executed, viz.—from what sort of MS. did the translators execute their version? Tychsen maintained that it was made from a Hebrew-Greek copy, or in other words, one having the Hebrew transcribed in Greek letters. According to him, the ambassadors sent from Jerusalem *transcribed* the Hebrew copy into Greek for the

* Vorstudien, u. s. w. p. 76, et seq. † Einleitung, § 42, p. 65.

king's use; and the Alexandrine Jews, or whoever they were that afterwards translated, made the translation from this Hebrew-Greek copy.*

The hypothesis of *transcription* into Hebrew-Greek characters is founded on some ambiguous expressions in the letter of the Pseudo-Aristeas, which might perhaps, if taken by themselves, denote *a mere copying* of the Hebrew text into Greek letters. But expressions are employed in the same epistle, which cannot be taken without violence in any other sense than proper *translation*. The doubtful phrases, therefore, should be explained by the help of the plain and unequivocal ones. And by whom, we ask, could such a transcript have been read, at the time it is said to have been made? It must have been unintelligible to King Ptolemy; for though acquainted with Greek, it is all but certain that he was ignorant of Hebrew. Neither would it have been intelligible to the Jews in Egypt. It would have rendered the reading of the Scriptures more difficult to them. If they were unable to read the Bible in its own proper character, they would have been far more incompetent to understand it when dressed out in Greek costume. Besides, the peculiar readings on which Tychsen builds his hypothesis in part, may be explained by *mistakes in hearing* without having recourse to an expedient contradicted by all history. The examples adduced in its favour fail to establish it. In short, it is utterly incredible that the Alexandrine version was made from a Hebrew-Greek copy. This singular notion of Tychsen was examined and refuted by Dathe, Michaelis, and Hassencamp; and though it was introduced into this country by Hamilton,† it found no favour.

* Tentamen de variis codicum Hebraicorum Vet. Test. MSS. generibus, &c. p. 53, et seq.

† General Introduction to the Study of the Hebrew Scriptures, &c. p. 114, et seq.

It is difficult to characterise the version before us; looking at it as far as we can in its original state.

It is obviously not a literal translation. The translators' aim was to make the original intelligible to those who were ignorant of it; to give the general sense of the Hebrew without faithfully adhering to its phraseology. Hence it is somewhat free and paraphrastic. Instead of representing *the person* and *number* found in the Hebrew, where there are frequent and rapid changes from one to another, the translators had respect to *uniformity*, and deviated from the original. In the same manner, the *active and passive voices* were freely interchanged to suit the subject and person.

In accordance with this departure from literality is *the amplification* they use. Words are added to make the sense clearer. Apparent ellipses are filled up, partly by additions and partly by paraphrase. But the translators not only amplified, they also contracted, by leaving out what seems to be double in the original.

In pursuance of their leading object, the translators frequently resolved *tropes* and *metaphorical expressions* into the *proper* sense; aimed at *paronomasia*, even where it is not in the original; inverted the order of words in a verse, so that such as came later in the verse appeared earlier; put the affirmative or negative where there was a question; translated a word twice, putting it along with two successive members; avoided expressions apparently indecent, by *euphemism*; and shunned anthropomorphisms by employing paraphrase or using terms more appropriate. The care taken in respect to this last feature, is very remarkable. The religious exegesis of the Jews also lent its element to the version; for we find traces of the allegorical spirit characteristic of that people.

These peculiar features of the version may prepare the way for the assertion, that the translators, generally speaking, were not masters of the Hebrew language. Many words they ren-

dered according to tradition, and where that guide failed, their attempts at giving the sense were either very imperfect or absurd, or the words were left untranslated. In the case of rare terms, they seem to have been in doubt about the meaning, and therefore translated them differently, sometimes in contradictory ways. Their mistakes too in regard to proper names were numerous. The same name was translated in one place, and in another left untranslated; appellatives were taken for proper names, and *vice versa;* prepositions were combined with proper names most strangely, so as to make a *single word.*

With their limited knowledge of Hebrew, we need not be surprised that roots somewhat alike should be confounded by the Alexandrines; or that they should have availed themselves of the assistance of other Shemitic languages, especially the Aramaean.

Examples of the several peculiarities here specified might be given in abundance. Various critics have collected a number of them, especially Carpzov, Hottinger, and Gesenius. But the fullest induction is furnished by Frankel,* who has contributed in different ways to a better understanding of the entire translation.

But though the Septuagint is by no means a faithful or literal version, its merits are considerable. They have been generally acknowledged. It helps us to see the state of the Hebrew text in Egypt, perhaps too in Asia Minor, at the time it was made. Much more does it shew *the sense* attached to the original at an early period. Its authors lived nearer the time when Hebrew was a living tongue, and had better opportunities of knowing it. Unhappily however, what the version is most wanted for—critical use—it fails very much to supply. It shews indeed *a form* of the original text; but we hesitate to adopt it in most instances as *the original form,*

* Vorstudien, u. s. w. p. 163, et seq.

where it differs from the Masoretic. Its value therefore is least where it is most required. We can *understand* the language without it, especially in the present day; but it does not help towards the *emendation of the text* as much as is desirable. The free character of the version, and the liberties which the translators took with the text, are serious deductions from its *critical* importance. Its numerous errors and imperfections suggest caution in its application to the restoration of the original text. Since the majority of, if not all the translators were not fully competent for their task, it must be employed with discrimination. Assistance in criticism has doubtless been derived from it; and more will yet be rendered. We do not think that its internal value is commensurate with the reputation it has had. The extravagant praises pronounced upon it will be lessened by the study of its genius and character. It is very far from being a *good*, much less an *excellent* translation. But the reading of it cannot be dispensed with. Its position in the criticism of the Old Testament is conspicuous. Its text *must be* studied by every one engaged in biblical researches connected with the integrity of the Hebrew records. It will repay that study, by opening up views and suggesting ideas of the state in which those records were, which might not have been otherwise perceived. It will *contribute to* the restoration of the undoubted Hebrew originals—though it may not contribute *as much* as we think it might have done. Its value none will deny. The *amount* of that value may be differently estimated. It must be taken in the best state in which it can be obtained, and freely employed as a help towards the restoration of the authentic text

In recent times, the opinion entertained by all the fathers till Jerome respecting the Septuagint has found an ardent advocate in Mr. Grinfield, who endeavours to prove its inspiration and canonical authority. Various arguments are adduced for this purpose. He pleads for the version as an integral part

of the Old Testament canon, co-ordinate with the original Hebrew. But his reasoning is unsatisfactory. Important as the version has been, it must not be exalted to an undue position. The inspiration of the translators could not have been verbal, as the writer vainly affirms.*

The Alexandrine version soon acquired a high reputation among the Hellenistic Jews. This is apparent from the fables connected with its origin, and the inspiration attributed to the translators. Even Philo believed in their inspiration, and used the version alone. But he seems not to have known Hebrew. It was read in the synagogues in Egypt. Nor was it unknown to the Jews in Palestine and Babylonia, or unvalued by them. It is spoken of in the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds. In the former,† it is described as having been made by King Ptolemy, who put seventy-two interpreters into seventy-two cells, where they agreed perfectly. Thus the fable of their inspiration appears; but the Jerusalem Talmud‡ is silent about seventy-two interpreters, their cells, their inspiration, or its having been undertaken by command of King Ptolemy. The Tract *Sopherim* in which the Septuagint is mentioned, does not properly belong to the Jerusalem Talmud, as has been erroneously stated. It does not belong to the Mishna at all. It was added to the Tract *Pirke Aboth* by the later Jews; but among the ancient ones it did not appear in the Talmud. Frankel assigns it to the eighth or ninth century, which is too late. The Septuagint appears to have been read in *some synagogues* at least out of Egypt, as may be inferred from the statements of Justin Martyr and Tertullian. The former says in his Dialogue with Trypho,—ἡ περικοπὴ . . . . . ἡ ἐγγεγραμμένη ἔν τισιν ἀντιγράφοις τῶν ἐν συναγωγαῖς Ἰουδαίων, "written in some copies kept in the synagogues of the

* An Apology for the Septuagint, 8vo. London, 1850.

† Megilla, fol. 9. See Frankel, pp. 25, 26.

‡ Ibid, fol. 6, Frankel, p. 27.

Jews;" the latter in his Apology,—"Sed et Judaei palam lectitant." *The Jews read it publicly.* It may be inferred also from 146 Novell of Justinian, ... "Praeterea ii qui Graeca lingua recitant, septuaginta interpretum utentur translatione;" "those who recite in the Greek language will use the translation of the seventy."* These passages taken and studied in their connections intimate, that the version was read in the synagogues, not only of Egypt, but sometimes at least of Palestine itself. The Talmud also states,† that the book of Esther was *read in every language.*

It must not be concealed however, that the places referred to have been subjected to minute examination. Some are of opinion that they do not warrant the view now deduced from them; and that the version never existed in the synagogues of Palestine for public reading. Of these Frankel is the most recent and conspicuous writer. But repeated consideration of the passages has brought us to the conviction, that Hody and Carpzov were right in their view; and that Frankel, in denying the fact altogether, has resorted to violent interpretations. It may however be freely conceded to the modern Jews on this point, that the translation was not read in any Palestinian synagogue *before Christ;* and that even afterwards, it was not generally used there; perhaps not at all at Jerusalem. It was in the synagogue at Caesarea, as appears from a passage in the Jerusalem Talmud;‡ but in that passage it is not stated, that the synagogue lessons were read at Caesarea in the Greek language. It is merely said that Rabbi Levi Ben Chaita going to Caesarea, "heard them reciting their phylacteries in Greek, which when Rabbi Jose heard he was very angry and said, If a man doth not know how to recite אשורית in the holy tongue, must he not recite them at all? let him perform his duty in what language he

* See Hody, p. 224, et seq., and Carpzov, Critica Sacra, § 7, p. 522, et seq. † Tract. Megilla, fol. 17. ‡ Tract. Sota. fol. 21, c. 2.

can." Thus the place alludes only to the *Shema* (a part of the prayers) and not to *Pentateuch-lessons.*

It is a proof of the estimation in which the translation was held by the Palestinian Jews, that Josephus made more use of it than of the original itself, though he knew Hebrew. In the Babylonian Talmud, the fable respecting the inspiration of the translators is repeated; so that the Jews generally had high ideas of its value and authority. Its celebrity was all but universal among them, wherever they were.

At the commencement of the second century and afterwards, when the early Christians were brought into contact with the Jews and controversies arose between them, the Jews began to look upon it with other feelings. Their attachment to it decreased. The Christians were wont to appeal to it as containing remarkable prophecies fulfilled in Christ. When therefore the Jews were worsted by arguments derived from their own version, they betook themselves to another version as soon as it could be obtained; if not to the study of the Hebrew itself. The Septuagint was looked upon with suspicion by them. They began to deny that it agreed with the Hebrew text, and disliked it. It became odious to them. Hence arose the Talmudic statement of a fast on the 8th day of the month *Thebet*, the day on which the law was made into Greek, to perpetuate the remembrance of an event so inauspicious.

After abandoning the Septuagint, the Jews generally had recourse to the version of Aquila, who is thought by many to have undertaken his work in opposition to the Christians, that the Septuagint might be superseded by a new version more conformable to the Hebrew.

The text of the version never attained a stable condition. There was no general revision of it. It fluctuated and shifted, having never reached equal authority with the original Hebrew. The same care was not extended to it. When therefore copies

began to multiply, the text of it was freely meddled with by transcribers. They did not scruple to alter, add, omit at pleasure. Corruptions were introduced into it early and extensively. There is reason to believe, that it had suffered before the time of Christ, as passages in the writings of Philo and Josephus imply. In their day, the text had mistakes in it. Indeed Frankel supposes, that it was almost in its present state in the days of Philo, having suffered much from two classes of persons.* But the time between Christ and Origen was probably the chief period of arbitrary changes introduced into it. Justin Martyr had a text that was greatly altered, at least in the minor prophets. In his writings, there are readings that appear in no MS., edition, or ancient father. The probability is, that he had copies which had been compared with the Hebrew, and changed here and there conformably to it; especially in Messianic passages. They had passed through *Christian* hands. When Dr. H. Owen tries to shew that the Jews at this time wilfully altered the text in many instances with a view to pervert the meaning of Scripture, he fails in his conclusion. The sources on which he relies are not trustworthy; neither are his conjectures happy.†

It is a bold task to undertake to shew the early corruption of the Septuagint text—that which had been made in the time of Philo. Yet it is attempted by Frankel. It arose as he thinks from two causes, partly through mistakes committed by *transcribers*, and partly by supposed *improvements* introduced into the text to render it more perspicuous. Many examples are given of mistakes introduced by *transcribers* from ignorance or carelessness; and many others are presented which owed their origin to *improvers* of the text. And it is probable enough that both classes had deteriorated the text before the

* Vorstudien, u. s. w. p. 62.

† See an Enquiry into the present state of the Septuagint version, sections iii.-ix. p. 16, et seq.

first century. It is likely that it had suffered. Some of the examples are apposite, being correctly referred to the causes specified, as far as internal evidence assists a judgment of the case. But we hesitate to allow that the ingenious scholar has been successful in all his examples, or even in the majority of them. His critical sagacity has led him to conclusions and distinctions which are nothing else than conjectures. He has *assumed* too extensive alterations before Philo; and set himself with microscopic skill to assign to two classes of persons respectively a number of alterations which seem to us to have belonged to the version in its original state.*

It is *certain* that there were errors in the text in Philo's time. Thus in Gen. xv. 15, there was τραφεὶς ἐν γήρει καλῷ instead of ταφείς. Of the same age seems to be ἱπποδρομον after χαβραθά in Gen. xxxv. 16, and xlviii. 7. The translator not knowing the Hebrew word retained it, to which the explanation ἱπποδρομος was *subsequently* added by an improver of the version. In the same manner a gloss was added to the proper name Ισσάχαρ, viz. ὅ ἐστιν μισθός, in Gen. xxx.

* Vorstudien, u. s. w. pp. 63-89.

CHAPTER XII.

SEPTUAGINT—(CONTINUED).

ORIGEN saw the lamentable state in which the Septuagint was in his time; how much it had suffered from meddling critics and correctors; and he undertook to remedy it. He wished to rectify a text so shamefully disfigured. It would appear from his own words in an epistle to Africanus,* that his motive for revising it arose in consequence of the polemics between Jews and Christians. The Jews were able to detect the differences existing between the version and the Hebrew original; but the Christians were not. When the latter adduced quotations from the Greek against the former, they were liable to be met with the reply, *such is not in the original.* This generally sufficed to silence the Christians, who could not pretend to follow their more critical antagonists into the original. Now Origen intended to help his fellow-believers, by revising the Greek text. He undertook to compare it with the Hebrew and other existing Greek versions, so as to adapt it to general use by making it more intelligible. He had therefore an *exegetical* object in view, rather than a critical one. In preparing for this great work he spent twenty-eight years of his life, travelling about through the East and collecting materials. When we consider the magnitude of the task and the labour it demanded, we need not wonder at the application to him of the epithet *adamantius* by the ancients. His indomitable zeal and

* Epist. ad Africanum. See Jahn's Einleit. vol. i. p. 164.

patience well entitle him to the appellation. In the course of his travels he was so fortunate as to meet with three anonymous versions, besides those of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. The sixth version he discovered A.D. 228, according to Epiphanius.* From this till 231 he travelled about to avoid the Decian persecution, and then took up his abode at Caesarea. Here he arranged his materials, and composed at least a part of his work.

The *Tetrapla* was first published, containing in four columns, the Seventy, Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. In the first column was the text of the ἡ κοινή, corrected by MSS. *of itself*, as Holmes shews.† The order of the columns was that stated, the Septuagint occupying the first place, as Walton rightly asserts. It is true that Hody affirms the contrary, relying on the authority of Epiphanius. But Eusebius, who is more to be relied on, seems to intimate that the Septuagint stood first in the Tetrapla.‡

The following is a specimen of the Tetrapla :—

Gen. i. 1.

Οἱ Ο.	Ἀκύλας.	Σύμμαχος.	Θεοδοτίων.
Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν.	Ἐν κεφαλαίῳ ἔκτισεν ὁ Θεὸς σὺν τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ σὺν τὴν γῆν.	Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἔκτισεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν.	Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἔκτισεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν.

* De Ponderib. et Mensuris, c. 17.

† Praefatio ad Tomum i. Veteris Testamenti Graeci, § 4.

‡ See H. E. vi. 16.

But though the Tetrapla was an independent work, as we gather from Epiphanius, Eusebius, and the scholia of Greek MSS., it was but preparatory to his projected Polyglott. In an enlarged edition he gave the Hebrew text both in Hebrew and Greek letters; and as there were then six columns, it received the name *Hexapla*. In *some books*, he used two other Greek translations whose authors were unknown, in which case the work was called *Octapla;* and a third version was likewise put, so that there were *nine* columns. Montfaucon says, that none of the ancients used the title *Enneapla, ninefold.** It is impossible to tell *the particular books* to which the *fifth*, *sixth*, and *seventh* Greek versions were appended. Jerome's statement is very general: "Nonnulli vero libri, et maxime hi qui apud Hebraeos versu compositi sunt, tres alias editiones additas habent, quam quintam, sextam, et septimam translationem vocant, auctoritatem sine nominibus interpretum consecutas."† This would lead us to suppose that they were chiefly used in Job, Psalms, and Proverbs. But the fragments of them prove that they were put in the Psalms and minor prophets. From the same source we learn, that the *fifth* and *sixth* were in the Pentateuch and Canticles also.‡

The following is the order of the columns:—The Hebrew text in its own proper character, the same in Greek letters, Aquila, Symmachus, the Seventy, Theodotion; the fifth, sixth, and seventh versions in some books. All these were placed in parallel columns to one another, as the following specimen will shew:—

* Praeliminaria, vol. i. p. 4, ed. Bahrdt.

† Comment. in Epist. ad Titum. ‡ Ibid.

HEXAPLA.

Gen. i. 20.

Τὸ Ἑβραϊκόν.	Τὸ Εβραϊκὸν Ἑλληνικοις Γραμμασι.	Ἀκύλας.	Σύμμαχος.	Οἱ Ο.	Θεοδοτίων.
ויאמר אלהים ישרצו המים שרץ נפש חיה ועוף יעופף על־הארץ על־פני רקיע השמים	Ουιωμερ ελωειμ ισρεσου αμαιμ σαρες ναφεσ αια ουωφ ιεωφεφ αλ-ααρες αλφανη ρακια ασαμαιμ.	Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεός· ἐξερψάτω τὰ ὕδατα ἑρπετὰ ψυχῆς ζώσης, καὶ πετηνὸν ἱπτάμενον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἐπὶ πρόσωπον τοῦ στερεώματος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.	Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεός· ἐξερψάτω τὰ ὕδατα ἑρπετὸν ψυχὴν ζῶσαν, καὶ πετηνὸν πετόμενον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, κατὰ πρόσωπον στερεώματος οὐρανοῦ. Καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως.	Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεός· ἐξαγαγέτω τὰ ὕδατα ἑρπετὰ ψυχῶν ζωσῶν, καὶ πετεινὰ πετόμενα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, κατὰ τὸ στερέωμα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. — Καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως:	Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεός· ἐξερψάτωσαν τὰ ὕδατα ἑρπετὰ ψυχὰς ζώσας, καὶ πετηνὸν πετόμενον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, κατὰ τρόσωπον στερεώματος οὐρανοῦ. Καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως.
Psalm viii. 4. אראה שמיך	ερεε σαμαχα.	ὄψομαι τοὺς οὐρανούς σου.	οψομαι τους ουρανους σου.	ὄψομαι τοὺς οὐρανούς * σου:	ὄψομαι τοὺς οὐρανούς σου.
Psalm xviii. 7. לרוץ ארח	λαρους ωραχ.	δραμεῖν ὁδόν.	δραμειν οδον.	δραμεῖν ὁδόν—αὐτοῦ: Jer. xliv. 22 (li. 22.)	δραμεῖν ὁδόν.
				* Α. Θ. παρὰ τὸ μὴ ὑπάρχειν ἐνοικοῦντα. Jerem. xi. 13.	
				* Α. Σ. Θ. θυσιαστηρια. Jes. xxxviii. 3.	
				* οἱ Γ. ᵀΩ δὴ κύριε:	

The following is a specimen where nine columns were used:—

Habbak. ii. 4.

Γὸ Ἑβραϊκόν.	Γὸ Ἑβραικὸν Ἑλληνικοις γράμμασι.	Ἀκύλας.	Σύμμαχος.	Οἱ Ο.	Θεοδοτίων.	Ε.	ς.	Ζ.
וצדיק באמונתו יחיה	ουσαδικ βημουναθο ιειε.	καὶ δίκαιος ἐν πίσει αὐτοῦ ζήσεται.	ὁ δὲ δίκαιος τῇ ἑαυτοῦ πίσει ζήσει.	ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ πίσεώς μου ζήσεται.	ὁ δὲ δίκαιος τῇ ἑαυτοῦ πίσει ζήσει.	ὁ δὲ δίκαιος τῇ ἑαυτοῦ πίσει ζήσει.	ὁ δὲ δίκαιος τῇ ἑαυτοῦ πίσει ζήσει.	ὁ δὲ δίκαιος τῇ ἑαυτοῦ πίσει ζήσει.

The object of Origen in this laborious work was not to correct the Septuagint from MS. copies of itself, which were probably incurable and unable to furnish proper emendations. He wished rather to collate it with the Hebrew and other versions. He did not alter the version itself by erasing anything in its text but allowed it to remain as he found it, with marks serving to shew what it ought to be in his opinion. When he discovered, by means of the other columns, that the Seventy wanted something, he inserted it out of Theodotion, with an asterisk at the commencement, and the name of the source the supplement belonged to (*). When he perceived something superfluous in the text, he allowed it to stand, but prefixed an obelus to it (—:—). Two points after the word or words supplied, or those meant to be omitted, shewed how far the proposed correction extended, (:). Origen also used *lemniscs*, (—:) and *hypolemniscs*, (—.), the signification of which is not known. An example of each will suffice—Job xxxii. 12.

* Θ. καὶ μέχρι ὑμῶν συνήσω· καὶ ἰδοὺ
* οὐκ ἦν τῷ Ἰὼβ ἐλέγχων, ἀνταποκριν-
* όμενος ῥήματα αὐτοῦ ἐξ ὑμῶν
* ἵνα μὴ εἴπητε εὕρωμεν σοφίαν τοῦ
* θεοῦ προσδέμενοι :

Here the addition is taken from Theodotion.

Again, —:— ἐνέγκατε τῷ κυρίῳ υἱοὶ θεοῦ : Psalm xxviii. 1.
—:— ἐνέγκατε τῷ κυρίῳ υἱοὶ θεοῦ :

It may appear strange that the meaning of *lemniscs* and *hypolemniscs* is not known, as Epiphanius has explained it. But Monfaucon has shewn that his explanation is self-contradictory.* It is likely that a *lemnisc* was affixed to words in which the translations of the Seventy and Theodotion coincided; *hypolemnisc* to words used by Theodotion alone.

It added to the completeness of the work that the Samaritan Pentateuch was compared with the Hebrew, and their differ-

* Praeliminaria, ed. Bahrdt, vol. i. p. 81, et seq.

ences marked. There was also a history of each translation prefixed to it; prolegomena preceded every book of the Bible; and the margin was full of exegetical and critical remarks.

Origen's recension of the Seventy is called the *Hexaplar* text to distinguish it from the previously existing text called the κοινή or *common*, and sometimes the *antehexaplarian*.

The great work, consisting of nearly fifty volumes, on which he had spent the best years of his early life, does not seem to have been transcribed—probably in consequence of its magnitude and the great expense necessarily attending a transcript. It lay unused as a whole for fifty years after it was finished, till Eusebius and Pamphilus drew it forth from its concealment in Tyre, and placed it in the library of the latter at Caesarea. It is thought to have perished there when Caesarea was taken and plundered by the Saracens, A.D. 653. Such was the fate of the immortal work, which, considering the period and state of sacred criticism when it was undertaken, may justly excite the admiration of posterity. Its loss must ever be regretted.

But though we regret the loss of a work so valuable in the criticism of the Old Testament, it did not wholly perish. Extracts were made from it. In the beginning of the fourth century, Pamphilus and Eusebius transcribed the column containing the Septuagint, with the critical marks appended by Origen. Jerome says in his preface to Chronicles, that the recension prevailed in Palestine. This copy being frequently transcribed was soon corrupted. The text being accompanied with all the critical signs and fragments of the other versions in the margin, gave rise to innumerable errors. The critical marks were exchanged for one another; the initial letters of the names of the translators whence Origen took his supplements were also interchanged; or, the critical marks with the names were omitted, so that all was written continuously as if it belonged to the proper Septuagint text. Besides, pieces of other Greek translators in the margin were taken by

bold transcribers into the text. Nor was this all the mischief that rashness, ignorance, and carelessness united in bringing about. When such interpolated MSS. were compared with quotations from the Septuagint in writers before Origen, *ex. gr.* Philo and Justin Martyr, they contributed to those citations of the *antehexaplaric* text. Passages out of the corrupted, interpolated *hexaplaric* text were interpolated in the writings of Philo and Josephus.*

Fragments of the Hexapla have been diligently sought after by several scholars, by Peter Morin, Drusius, Martianay. From the materials thus collected, and greatly enlarged by himself, Montfaucon published two folio volumes (Paris, 1713). Bahrdt reprinted them in a better and more convenient form in two volumes 8vo. (Leipzig and Lubeck, 1769, 1770). Later contributions to the collection were made by Semler, Scharfenberg, Doederlein, Matthäi, Schleusner, Spohn, and others. As soon as the Syriac treasures obtained from the Nitrian monasteries and now deposited in the British Museum are carefully examined, and all the books of the Hexaplar-Syriac published, important assistance will be obtained in discovering Origen's Hexaplar text, with its marks and references to other translations. The *Syriac-Hexaplar* version ought to furnish new materials.

Other labourers appeared in the same department with Origen. New recensions were undertaken because of the new corruptions to which the work of Origen had given occasion. Thus Lucian, a presbyter of Antioch, at the commencement of the fourth century, amended the text of the Seventy. The accounts of this work given in ancient writers are very defective, and the principles he followed unknown. Holmes thinks that the Hexaplar text was used by him,† though the great work itself of Origen he had not seen. The recension of

* See Eichhorn's Einleitung, vol. i. § 173, p. 499, et seq.

† Praefatio ad tom. i. Veteris Testamenti Graeci, sectio ix.

Lucian was called the Λουκιανὸς or κοινή, and was adopted in the churches from Antioch to Constantinople.

Another was undertaken about the same time by Hesychius, an Egyptian bishop. As little is known of it as of the Lucian revision. Holmes supposes that he made use of the Hexaplar text.* According to Jerome, it was current in the churches of Egypt. He calls it *exemplar Alexandrinum.* Ernesti† thinks that neither Lucian nor Hesychius made use of the Hebrew text, but only the later Greek interpreters, and his opinion is adopted by Frankel. But Hody,‡ relying on ancient testimonies, thinks that they used both the other Greek versions and the Hebrew text, for the purpose of bringing the Septuagint nearer to the original Hebrew.

Syncellus also speaks of Basil bishop of Caesarea correcting the text of the Seventy.§ But this was not a *recension*, as Eichhorn supposed.‖ The words merely refer to his solicitude in having correct copies of the existing recensions of Origen, Lucian, and Hesychius.

So many different revisions of the text contributed little to its purity. Had they been kept distinct, they might have done so; but they were very soon mixed up together, so that they helped to introduce greater corruption into it than there was before Origen. Jerome complains of this confusion in various places. Accordingly the MSS. now existing do not exhibit the text in any one recension of it. They contain the old text before Origen, viz. the κοινή, the Hexaplar, the Lucian, and the Hesychian texts, but not *separately.* No MS. presents a single condition of the text. The recensions are presented in a mixed state in the copies.

The parts of the version where the text presents the great-

* Prefatio ad tom. i. Veteris Testamenti Graeci, sectio x.

† Dissertatio de Origene interpretationis librorum ss. grammaticae auctore, § 15.

‡ De textibus originalibus, &c. pp. 302-3, 626, et seq.

§ Chronographiâ, p. 203. ‖ Einleitung, vol. i. p. 508.

est departures from the Hebrew are in Exodus, Jeremiah, Esther, Daniel, Job, Proverbs.

In Exodus from chapter xxxvi. 8 till the end, and in parts of the next three chapters, there is great mutilation and confusion. It was so in the time of Origen, for he complained about it in his epistle to Julius Africanus, and endeavoured to apply a remedy in his Hexaplar edition.

In the case of Jeremiah, the arrangement of the prophecies is very different. Those uttered against foreign nations form the concluding part of the Hebrew copy, whereas in the Greek they occupy the middle, for they begin after chapter xxv. 14 of the Hebrew text and run through six chapters, so that the xxxii. of the version corresponds with xxv. 15-38 of the Hebrew.

The following tables shew the diversities between them :—

Hebrew.	*Greek.*
Chapter xlix. 34-39	xxv. 34-39.
xlvi. 2-12	xxvi. 1-11.
xlvi. 13-28	xxvi. 12-26.
l. li.	xxvii. xxviii.
xlvii. 1-7	xxix. 1-7.
xlix. 7-22	xxix. 7-22.
xlix. 1-6	xxx. 1-5.
xlix. 28-33	xxx. 6-11.
xlix. 23-27	xxx. 12-16.
xlviii. 1-44	xxxi.
45, &c.	wanting.
xxv. 15-38	xxxii.

The prophecies against the different nations are thus arranged in the two documents :—

	Hebrew.		*Greek.*
1.	Against Egypt	1.	Against Elam.
2.	„ the Philistines	2.	„ Egypt.
3.	„ Moab	3.	„ Babylon.
4.	„ Ammon	4.	„ The Philistines.
5.	„ Edom	5.	„ Edom.
6.	„ Damascus	6.	„ Ammon.
7.	„ Kedar	7.	„ Kedar.
8.	„ Elam	8.	„ Damascus.
9.	„ Babylon	9.	„ Moab.

There are also omissions in and additions to the Greek text. The omissions relate not merely to single words and verses as i. 13; ii. 17, 19; iii. 1, 9, 10; v. 13, 15, 19; vii. 1, 2, 13, 21; viii. 4, 10, 13; ix. 12, 22, 25; xvi. 1, 5, 6; xvii. 5; xviii. 7, 17; xxv. 1; xxvii. 1, 3 (Hebrew l. 1, 3); but to whole passages such as viii. 10-12; xvii. 1-4; xxvii. 13, 14 (Greek xxxiv. 13, 14); xxvii. 19-22 (Greek xxxiv. 19, &c.); xxix. 13-21 (Greek xxxvi. 14-20); xxxiii. (Greek xl.) 14-26; xxxix. (Greek xlvi.) 4-13; xlviii. (Greek xxxi.) 45-47. Additions are found in ii. 28, 30, 31; iii. 17, 18; iv. 2, 26, 29; v. 1, 17; vii. 4, 10; xxvi. 15 (Hebrew xlvi. 15); xxxv. 10 (Hebrew xxviii. 10); xxxvi. 1, 8 (Hebrew xxix. 1, 8).*

As to the hypotheses concerning these discrepancies, they do not belong to our present purpose. Spohn, Eichhorn, Jahn, Movers, Ewald, Hitzig, De Wette, and especially Wichelhaus, have tried to account for the perplexing anomalies.

There are various additions to the book of Esther in this version, which Jerome in his Latin translation put at the end of the book. The principal are these:—

A dream of Mordecai, which stands at the commencement of the lxx, but in the Vulgate chapters xi. 1—xii. 6.

The edict of Haman, after chapter iii. 13. In the Vulgate xiii. 1-7.

A prayer of Mordecai and Esther, after iv. 17. In the Vulgate xiii. 8—xiv. 19.

An amplification of the scene between Esther and the King, v. 1, 2. In the Vulgate xv. 4-19.

Mordecai's edict mentioned in viii. 9. Septuagint viii. 12. Vulgate xvi. 1-24.

The interpretation of Mordecai's dream and the account of

* See Cappell's Critica Sacra, ed. Vogel and Scharfenberg, vol. ii. p. 704, et seq.; and Herbst's Einleitung, zweyter Theil, zweyte Abtheilung, p. 52, et seq.

the way in which the feast of Purim was made known in Egypt. Septuagint after x. 3. So too the Vulgate.*

These additions are obviously *apocryphal.*

In regard to Daniel, the chief additions in the Septuagint are *Azariah's prayer* and *the song of the three children* in the third chapter; the history of Susanna, chapter xiii., and Bel and the Dragon, chapter xiv. There are other minor additions, abbreviations and varieties, especially in chapters iii.-vi.†

The deviations from the Hebrew text which the version presents in Job and Proverbs are considerable when collected together, but not as they occur singly. They are such as may be attributed partly to the MSS. employed, and partly to the translators' caprice or ignorance.

The two principal MSS. of the Seventy are the Vatican and the Alexandrine. According to John Morin, the basis of the former is the κοινή. This opinion Holmes adopts only so far as the Pentateuch is concerned. But Masius and Grabe thought very differently. With regard to the Alexandrine MS. the basis of its text is the Hexaplar one, according to Montfaucon and Grabe. Holmes, however, considers it to present the text of the *tetrapla.*‡

Printed editions of the Septuagint represent the text in a worse state than the MSS., because they do not give *exactly* the particular MSS. from which they were taken. They may be reduced to four principal ones, whence all the rest have flowed.

1. The Complutensian edition contained in the Polyglott, 1514-1517.—This text, according to the editors, was derived from several MSS. Holmes says that three of them are extant still. On what authority Scholz§ affirms that three MSS.

* See Eichhorn's Einleitung in die apokryphischen Schriften des alten Testaments, p. 419, et seq. † De Wette's Einleit. p. 391.

‡ Praefatio ad Pentateuchum, caput ii.

§ Einleitung in die heiligen Schriften des alten und neuen Testaments, vol. i. p. 481.

now lost were used by the editors we cannot ascertain. He has probably mistaken what Holmes asserts. It has been suspected that the text was altered by the editors to bring it into agreement with the Hebrew. So Ussher, Walton, and Hody supposed. But the suspicion has not been verified. It rather agrees with Origen's Hexaplar text; for Bruns* and Norberg† have both shewn, that the Syriac-Hexaplar MS. at Milan frequently coincides with this edition. Hence the suspicion is unfounded, notwithstanding the attempt of Frankel‡ to revive it—an attempt in which he has wholly failed. The text of the Complutensian proceeded from Greek MSS. containing Origen's improved Hexaplar text.

2. The Aldine edition was published in folio, at Venice 1518. —This exhibits a text corrected according to the marks placed by Origen. Hence it contains additions from Theodotion and Aquila. Even the New Testament has furnished interpolations in it. The MSS. used by the editor Andreas Asulanus were probably not many and those representing the text found in the later Greek MSS.

3. The Roman edition, prepared by order of Pope Sixtus the Fifth, and published in 1587 folio, under the editorship of A. Carafa, A. Agelli, P. Morin, J. Ursin, R. Bellarmine.—The basis of it is the Vatican MS. It does not however give that text accurately; for several parts were altered under the mistaken impression that they contained the errors of transcribers. In others the orthography was changed. The important gaps of the MS. were also supplied from other codices.

4. The edition of Grabe, published at Oxford, in four volumes folio, the second and third edited by Lee and Wigan after Grabe's death, and also large octavo, 1707-1720.—The text is that of the Alexandrine MS. It does not however adhere to

* In Eichhorn's Repertorium, Theil iii. p. 174 and Theil viii. p. 109.

† In Eichhorn's Allgemeine Bibliothek der biblischen Literatur, Theil i. p. 851.

‡ Vorstudien u. s. w. p. 243, note.

it in all cases. Suspicious readings in the Alexandrine MS. are sometimes rejected. This edition was reprinted by J. J. Breitinger in four volumes 4to at Zurich, 1730-32. The editor appended the various readings of the Roman edition and three MSS.

The best edition representing the Vatican text is that which was begun by Dr. Holmes, who published the Pentateuch at Oxford, 1798 folio. After his death it was continued by Parsons, and completed in other four volumes, the last appearing in 1827. This is the most complete edition, and the most important of all yet published. It contains the text of the Roman edition, with various readings from many MSS., from the fathers, from versions, and from five printed editions. Citations are given from the uncial MSS. marked i. to xiii. and cursive ones from 14-311. But eight are given twice, so that the entire number is so much the less. The materials collected might have been more clearly and distinctly exhibited. Readings even of important MSS. such as the Alexandrine, are imperfectly given.* It is matter of regret that the Vatican MS. was collated only *in part* for this edition.

The mass of readings collected by Holmes shews that it is hardly possible to restore the original text of the Seventy. It confirms the opinion formerly entertained, that the text is incurably corrupt. Materials may be accumulated; but they are all too recent to shew the authentic κοινὴ text.

Holmes's edition, it will be observed, is not a critical one. It does not give a critically revised text. It is merely a storehouse of materials for such an edition. No critical text has yet been given.

A very convenient manual edition was published by Tis-

* "Vellem indicasse Holmes, utrum ipse denuo hunc codicem (Alexandrinum) contulerit. Quod si neglexit, id profecto multum de hujus operis pretio detrahit." See Amersfoordt, Dissertatio Philolog. de variis lectionibus Holmesianis, p. 136.

chendorf at Leipzig, in two volumes 8vo, 1850. The text is the Vatican. The value of the edition consists in the readings taken from the cod. Ephraemi, the text of which Tischendorf first published; and from the cod. Friderico-Augustanus also published by him. In addition to these he has given the readings of the cod. Alexandrinus.

The proper Alexandrine version of Daniel was first published from a MS. in the library of Cardinal Chigi at Rome in 1772, folio. It was subsequently reprinted at Göttingen and Leyden, and is given in the portable edition of the Messrs. Bagster lately published.

A beautifully printed manual edition in one octavo volume has been published since Tischendorf's by Bagsters of London. It is to be followed by a selection of various readings.

The versions made from the Septuagint are the old Latin version, the Syriac-Hexaplar, the Æthiopic, the Gothic, the two Egyptian translations, viz. the Coptic or Memphitic and Sahidic or Thebaic, the Armenian, the Georgian, and several Arabic versions. The Slavonic, which has been usually considered a daughter of the Greek, was made from the old Italic in the Glagolitic letters according to Alter, and altered after Greek MSS. about the fourteenth century. But Dobrovsky adheres to the common opinion.

By means of the Syriac-Hexaplar it is probable that the Hexaplar text may be well known, as various books of it are now in the British Museum which were obtained in addition to other treasures, from the Nitrian monasteries. It is likely that with the books already printed from the Milan MS. all are extant.

CHAPTER XIII.

GREEK VERSIONS OF AQUILA, THEODOTION, SYMMACHUS, &c. &c.

AQUILA.

AQUILA was a Jewish proselyte born at Synope in Pontus, who translated the books of the Old Testament into Greek for the purpose, it is supposed, of assisting the Hellenistic Jews in their controversies with the Christians. He has been accused by the fathers of misinterpreting some prophecies relating to the Messiah. But little weight can be attached to their accusations, because they were ignorant of Hebrew. The most they could do was to compare Aquila with the Seventy and note the agreement or disagreement; but this was insufficient to shew that he had perverted the original text. It is needless therefore to dwell on the unfavourable opinion entertained of him by Irenaeus, Eusebius of Caesarea, Philastrius, and others. Jerome could find no trace of falsification in his version, and even applies various commendatory epithets to him.* It is true that in one epistle he applies to him the epithet *contentiosus*;† but in another he denies that he is such.‡ In modern times Kennicott has repeated the charge, mainly

* See his Comment. in Hosea ii.; Epist. 138 ad Marcell.; in Esai. xlix.

† Epist. ad Pammach. de optimo genere interpret.

‡ Epist. 125 ad Damas.

relying on the fathers.* But one of his chief witnesses, Justin Martyr, does not quote Aquila at all; and any proof extracted out of others is absolutely worthless.

It would appear from Jerome, that he made two editions, the cause of which was his anxiety to render his version as literal as he could; for he found that in the first edition, though generally adhering to the Hebrew words, some expressions were used which he afterwards thought too paraphrastic. The second edition was therefore more literal than the first. Whether it extended to the entire Old Testament or not, it is impossible to determine. We know that it embraced Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel.

This version was highly esteemed by the Jews and preferred to all others. They called it *the Hebrew verity.* It is extremely literal, keeping as closely as possible by the original contrary to the idiom of the Greek language. Accordingly Aquila renders the Hebrew particle אֵת by σὺν in the first chapter of Genesis. Jerome says—"Non solum verba, sed etymologias verborum quoque transferre conatus est. Quis enim pro *frumento* et *vino* et *oleo* posset vel legere vel intelligere χεῦμα, ὀπωρισμὸν, στιλπνότητα, quod nos possumus dicere *fusionem, pomationem* et *splendentiam?* Aut quia Hebraici non solum habent ἄρθρα set et προάρθρα, ille κακοζήλως et syllabas interpretatur et litteras, dicitque σὺν τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ σὺν τὴν γῆν, quod Graeca et latina lingua omnino non recipit."†

The great *critical* value of this version lies in its slavish literality. By means of it, we are sometimes able to shew that certain readings of the Masoretic text apparently condemned by other translators are of great antiquity, and preferable to such as probably originated in a paraphrastic mode of translation.

Aquila belonged to the second century; but to what part

* See Dissertatio generalis, ed. Bruns, p. 147, et seq.

† In Esai. xlix.

of it can only be approximated. He is mentioned by Irenaeus* (177-192), which would bring him probably to *the middle* or more of the second century. If however it be true, as that father says, that he was a disciple of Rabbi Akiba, he belongs to the first half of the century, to the time of Adrian 117-138; for Akiba was put to death at the command of Adrian. This agrees with the accounts of Epiphanius, who says he was a relative of Adrian;† and with notices in various Jewish books.

The Jerusalem Talmud often speaks of this version and cites it.‡ But the Babylonian confounds him in one place with Onkelos. It has also been conjectured that Irenaeus is guilty of the same interchange, because Rabbi Asaria in his work entitled *Meor Enayim* quotes various passages from the version of Aquila which do not bear the character of literality. But it is better to abide by the testimony of Irenaeus in the second century, than that of a Jewish writer in the sixteenth. The passages quoted by the latter were probably taken from a *Midrash*, as Herbst supposes,‖ and falsely ascribed to the celebrated translator Aquila. It is totally improbable that the Aquila of the Jerusalem Talmud was different from the Aquila of Irenaeus, making *two* men of the same name who rendered the Old Testament into Greek, as Eichhorn supposes.¶

THEODOTION.

Theodotion was a native of Ephesus, according to Irenaeus, and is called by Jerome and Eusebius an Ebionite, or semi-christian. He is the second who composed a Greek version. If we receive the testimony of those who had the version in their hands, it approached the Septuagint very nearly in sense

* Advers. Haeres. iii. 24. † De Ponder. et mensur. c. 15.

‡ Shabbath, fol. 8, 2; Yoma, fol. 41, 1; Megill, fol. 73, 2; Succah fol. 54, 4. § P. 146, b. ‖ Einleitung, vol. i. p. 157.

¶ Einleit. vol. ii. §§ 221, 222, p. 34, et seq.

and phraseology. The mode of translation adopted by him holds an intermediate place between the scrupulous literality of Aquila and the free interpretation of Symmachus. The translator appears indeed to have made the Alexandrine version the basis of his own; and to have abided by it as long as it represents the Hebrew faithfully; departing from it and freely translating for himself *only* where it inadequately expressed the sense of the original. His object was rather to supply the defects of that version, than to give a new and independent one. Hence the additions found only in the former reappear in his work. From the remaining fragments it may be inferred that his knowledge of Hebrew was not great. He has retained Hebrew words not very difficult or obscure, expressing them in Greek letters from ignorance of their meaning.* But Jahn conjectures that they were used among the Ebionites, and therefore retained by him;† a supposition as improbable as that of Prideaux and Owen, viz., that they were left so for particular reasons, such as the honour of the Jewish nation.‡

The version was in higher estimation among Christians than those of Aquila and Symmachus; and the book of Daniel was taken from it in place of the Septuagint version. Origen in his Hexapla supplied the omissions of the Seventy chiefly from it.

As Theodotion is mentioned by Irenaeus, he must have lived before A.D. 176. And if there be allusions to him in Justin Martyr's Dialogue with Trypho, as Stroth§ thinks, he must have made his version before 160.

* "Praeter alia minus docti interpretis signa, quae erudito lectori exploranda remittimus, persaepe ille verba hebraica, quorum interpretatio non ita difficilis erat ut vertendi molestiam declinaret, graecis litteris expressit."—Montfaucon, Praeliminaria, vii. 3, p. 129, ed. Bahrdt.

† Einleitung, vol. i. pp. 178, 179.

‡ Owen, Enquiry into the present state of the Sept. version, p. 108.

§ Repertorium, ii. p. 76.

A passage in Jerome apparently favours the idea of a second edition.* But Hody conjectured that it is corrupt. †

SYMMACHUS.

The third Greek version proceeded from Symmachus, who is said to have been a Samaritan by birth. Eusebius and Jerome represent him as an Ebionite; and this is confirmed by Syrian accounts. The old writers who mention this version observe, that the author translated freely and laboured to give the sense rather than the words. He does not adhere to the text so closely as to render it verbatim into Greek; but chooses to express the sense in perspicuous and intelligible language. But it was not pure or elegant, as is often said, if we may judge from the fragments that remain. It contains the usual Hellenistic phraseology, very like that of the Seventy. There was a second edition of it, as we learn from Jerome. ‡ But whether it extended to the entire Old Testament is uncertain. It may have been purer and more elegant than the first, as Eichhorn supposes. The time when Symmachus made his version cannot be accurately fixed. It is certain that it appeared after Theodotion's (177); for Irenaeus makes no mention of him, which he would probably have done had his version been published.

There can be little doubt that all the three translations were better executed than the Septuagint. They were more faithful to the original, and avoided the resolution of tropes, which is so common in the Alexandrine one. And they often agree in opposition to it.

The remaining fragments of Aquila, Symmachus, and

* "Theodotio interpretatus est *sudrinas*; secunda *pessima*; Symmachus *novissimas*."—In Jerem. xxix. 17.

† De Bibliorum textibus, &c. p. 584.

‡ On Jeremiah xxxii.; Nahum iii.

Theodotion were collected by Montfaucon in the work already noticed; and are found of course in Bahrdt's reprint. A specimen of the three may therefore be sought in the latter work, which is very accessible.

When Origen travelled into eastern countries collecting materials for his Polyglott, he discovered three other Greek versions made by unknown authors, and of an unknown age. Judging by the fragments of them in Montfaucon, they appear to have embraced some, not all books of the Old Testament, and are usually called the fifth, sixth, and seventh, from the columns they occupied in Origen's work. Hence in the Hexaplar fragments they are marked with the letters ε, ς, ζ.

The accounts given of the three in ancient writers are uncertain and contradictory. Epiphanius says, the fifth was found at Jericho; but Jerome, that it was found at Nicopolis on the Actian shore. Epiphanius makes the sixth to be found at Nicopolis. According to Eusebius, one was found at Jericho and one at Nicopolis; but it is not said which. The truth seems to be that the fifth was found at Nicopolis, the sixth at Jericho.* The fifth is supposed to have contained the Pentateuch, minor prophets, Psalms, Solomon's Song, as all the fragments collected by Montfaucon refer to no other books. Yet there is reason to believe that it also extended to Kings. The words of Jerome too favour the opinion that it had Job and Proverbs;† though Jerome may have been mistaken in this.

The sixth contained the same books as the fifth, with the exception of the Kings. It has been inferred from one fragment that the author was a Christian, viz., Habak. iii. 13, where the translation runs thus: ἐξῆλθες τοῦ σῶσαι τὸν λαόν

* See Carpzov, Critica Sacra, p. 371, et seq.

† "Nonnulli vero libri, et maxime hi qui apud Hebraeos versu compositi sunt, tres alias editiones additas habent: quam quintam et sextam et septimam translationem vocant," &c.—Comment. in epist. ad Titum.

σου διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου. But Jerome calls the translators of the fifth and sixth *Judaicos*, which may either be a mistake on his part, or else the translator was a Jewish Christian; or the passage quoted may be *a Christian gloss.*

The seventh version contained the Psalms, according to Eusebius,* and the minor prophets. The words of Jerome seem to imply that it extended, as well as the fifth and sixth, to Proverbs and Job. The fewest fragments of it remain. Probably the author was a Jew.

It is likely that all three were made after Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus had executed theirs; and that the authors made use of existing versions. The Hebrew original however was consulted.

In addition to the Hexaplar fragments already noticed, others have been found in the margin of MSS., indicating the existence of Greek versions distinct from the preceding ones. Thus we meet with fragments under the appellations ὁ Ἑβραῖος, ὁ Σύρος, τὸ Σαμαρειτικόν, ὁ Ἑλληνικός.

According to Semler,† ὁ Ἑβραῖος means Aquila. But this appears to be incorrect. The title rather refers to the Hebrew text, *i.e.*, remarks of the fathers that a passage should be translated in such and such a way after the Hebrew text. Most fragments of ὁ Ἑβραῖος have been drawn from Jerome's commentaries, shewing that in comparing the Septuagint with the Hebrew, he often had occasion to amend it according to the latter. Hence his improvements are introduced into the Hexapla with the title of ὁ Ἑβραῖος.

ὁ Σύρος is thought to mean fragments of Jerome's Latin translation out of the Hebrew rendered into Greek by Sophronius. This is inferred from the agreement of many fragments so quoted with Jerome's Latin version; from the fact that no trace of ὁ Σύρος appears before Jerome; that Theodore of Mopsuestia in a passage preserved by Photius calls Jerome

* H. E. vi. 16. † Hermeneut. Vorbereitungen, p. 421.

Aram, i.e., the Syrian, either because he lived for a long time on the confines of Syria, or because the Greek edition of his Hebrew-Latin version had obtained currency among the Syrians. But all this is very questionable, because ὁ Σύρος frequently appears in the Pentateuch; and we know that the Psalms and prophets alone were translated by Sophronius out of Jerome's Latin into Greek. Nor is the agreement of ὁ Σύρος with Jerome uniform or great. In regard to the title Ἀραμ used by Theodore, it cannot mean the *Aramaean* or *Syrian*. It should have been ὁ Ἀραμαῖος.*

The true meaning of the phrase is the Syriac version, quoted in the same way by Diodorus of Tarsus, Eusebius, and Theodoret. Τὸ Σαμαρειτικὸν is either extracts from the Samaritan translation of the Pentateuch as Herbst supposes;† or extracts out of a Greek version made from the Samaritan.‡ Ὁ Ἑλληνικὸς is an unknown Greek translation.

THE VENETIAN-GREEK VERSION.

A MS. exists in the library of St. Mark's at Venice containing a Greek version of various books in the Old Testament, viz. the Pentateuch, Proverbs, Ruth, Canticles, Ecclesiastes, the Lamentations of Jeremiah, and Daniel.

The internal character of this version shews that it was made directly from the Hebrew. It is slavishly literal, word for word of the original being rendered into Attic Greek. In the Chaldee sections of Daniel the Doric is used. As it is impossible to adhere with rigid exactness to the words of the original and at the same time present the elegancies of the Attic Greek, it is obvious that gross barbarisms must pervade the diction. Although therefore the translator was intent on Attic elegancies and high-sounding words used by the best

* See Herbst's Einleit. vol. i. pp. 161, 162. † Ibid, p. 191.
‡ See De Wette, Einleit. § 63, b. p. 98.

Greek writers, his version is peculiarly barbarous. Thus in Proverbs iii. 3, we meet with such words as γαϱγαϱεὼν ὀϱϱωδέω; in iii. 32 οὐσιωτὴς; in ii. 18 βοθϱοῦν. The *Masoretic* text lies at the basis of it. No important readings have been discovered in it which are not in existing Masoretic MSS., nor any peculiar to it which are preferable to the common text. Like the modern MSS., the translator's text agrees sometimes with the *K'ri*, sometimes with the *c'thib*. It would seem however, that the MS. he used was not divided throughout, like our modern copies, by accents, nor furnished throughout with the present vowel system; since there are many departures from the accents and vowel points. In the preparation of his work the author consulted the Septuagint and other Greek translations, and even Jewish expositors.

It is impossible to tell the time when it was made or the person from whom it proceeded. The MS. in St. Mark's belongs to the fourteenth century; but it appears to have been copied from another much older. The version must be placed after the ninth century; and it is likely that it was made by a Jew at Byzantium, apparently for private use. As it is, its value is little. Criticism can derive small benefit from it. When it is sometimes said that extracts from it were inserted by Holmes in his edition of the Septuagint, there appears to be an error, as Holmes nowhere mentions it.

The Pentateuch was edited by Ammon in three octavo parts or volumes, at Erlangen, 1790, 1791; the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Daniel, by John Casp. d'Ansse de Villoison in one volume 8vo, 1784, at Strasburgh.

CHAPTER XIV.

TARGUMS.

THE origin of Chaldee paraphrases or versions is somewhat obscure. It has been mixed up with disputed points, such as the authenticity of certain books, and therefore different views of it have been entertained. The extinction of Hebrew as a living language, with which the rise of these translations is necessarily connected, has also been variously determined in relation to *time*, a circumstance which must affect the view taken of them. It is not likely that the Hebrew language ceased to be spoken after the Jews had returned from exile. Doubtless they had largely forgotten it in Babylon. Tenacious as they were of their national peculiarities, they had become accustomed to the Chaldee. The common people to a great extent had adopted it. The lower and less educated class had laid aside the use of their mother tongue in part, as was natural in the circumstances. They spoke Chaldee more frequently than Hebrew, and understood it better. It was the language of their every-day life in the land of their exile. But the more cultivated class read and spoke Hebrew still. The old tongue continued to be the language of books; the other pervaded more their ordinary conversation. After returning to their own land the two continued side by side,—the Hebrew gradually verging towards total disuse, till in the second century before Christ it was wholly supplanted.

If this view be correct, we need not minutely examine two

passages which have been explained differently both by older and by modern scholars. From them Gesenius and De Wette extract another sense than Hengstenberg and Hävernick. There must be difficulty therefore in coming to a proper conclusion; and we would gladly be relieved from the alternative of pronouncing one or other wrong. The two passages which have been drawn into the question before us in an indirect way are Nehem. xiii. 24, and viii. 8. The former, according to Gesenius and De Wette, shews that the Jewish language was *not* lost during the Babylonish captivity;* though Hengstenberg,† assigning to the phrase *the Jews' language* the meaning of *Aramaean language*, maintains its perfect harmony with the opposite opinion. The latter passage, according to the same lexicographer,‡ means that the Priests and Levites read in the law of God *word for word, faithfully, exactly*, with such explanations of what was difficult as served to make it intelligible, *all in the same language;* while the older interpreters (whom Hengstenberg and Hävernick follow) think that the passage contains the idea of a Chaldee version which accompanied the law thus publicly read to the people. Here every thing turns on the right sense of the term מְפֹרָשׁ, which Gesenius understands to mean *word for word, faithfully, literally;* but those who are opposed to him, *illustrated, made manifest* (*i.e.* by an accompanying version). Perhaps the passages are rightly explained by Gesenius. Perhaps it is implied in Nehem. xiii. 2, 4, that *the Hebrew* was still spoken, though by no means *exclusively*. Probably also it is *not* involved in Nehem. viii. 8, that a Chaldee paraphrase was uttered in the hearing of the people when the law was read before them. We hesitate here to accept

* Geschichte der Heb. Sprache und Schrift, p. 44, et seq.; and De Wette's Einleit. § 34.

† Beiträge zur Einleit. ins alte Testament, p. 299, et seq.

‡ Geschichte, u. s. w. p. 44.

the interpretations of Hengstenberg and Hävernick who are too ready to revert to old opinions, when such men as Gesenius and De Wette have discarded them. But though the necessity for a Chaldee oral version was not felt so early as the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, it became more urgent as years rolled on. The Chaldee was encroaching on the Hebrew. It was acquiring the ascendency over it. It is likely that soon after Ezra a few oral explanations in Chaldee were added by the public interpreter* to the Sabbath lessons taken from the law and prophets. The Hebrew Scriptures were accompanied by occasional glosses or paraphrases in Chaldee. In process of time the custom of extempore comment seems to have been abused. Hence the oldest parts of the Talmud contain strict injunctions respecting public interpretations of the law. Definite hermeneutic rules are laid down, in conformity with which the interpretation was to be conducted. It is easy to perceive how the value of *written* expositions would become apparent, when the freedom of the interpreter began to be abridged. *Oral* gave rise to *written* explanations, the necessity for the latter presenting itself the more strongly when the extempore translator was not allowed free scope. It was gradually perceived that the surest and best method of giving the meaning was by a regular and written version. Of course the written interpretation was not to be read in the synagogues; for that was forbidden, as we learn from Maimonides. It was for the private use of the interpreter himself, and the pious in general.

External circumstances in the second century before Christ were also favourable to the production of *written* explanations. Hellenistic Jews were already in possession of the law in their own tongue. Hence it was natural for the Aramaean-speaking

* According to Maimonides the office of interpreter (methurgeman) was distinct from that of reader. "A diebus Esdrae consueverunt habere interpretem qui populo id interpretaretur quod lector ex lege perlegit, ut sensum verborum intelligeret." Hilc. Tephil. cap. xii.

Jews to seek a version of the Scriptures in their own dialect. The necessity of it would be felt a century before Christ, probably not much sooner; inasmuch as oral explanations had prevailed during the preceding century and in some measure supplied its place up to a given period. Hence we are inclined to date the origin of Chaldee paraphrases or *written* translations *before* Christ's appearance, provided there be nothing in history opposed to that view. If history corroborates it, the opinion seems all but certain.

But here it must not be thought, that the earliest written Chaldee paraphrases which we now have consisted of these oral explanations traditionally handed down. They are not the same put into writing. Neither do they appear to have been made up of Chaldee glosses, scholia, explanations of unusual words, or of separate verses and paragraphs written in the margin of MSS. and enlarged by degrees, which the first paraphrasts Jonathan and Onkelos took and digested into one body, so making their translations. Their evenness of style, their uniformity of spirit and diction, as Carpzov long ago remarked, are adverse to this hypothesis. We cannot believe that the works of Onkelos and Jonathan were either the written copies of oral interpretations before prevalent, as some have thought; or that they were made up of glosses and notes. That several of the current oral expositions in Chaldee were adopted by the translators, is probable enough. That Chaldee words which had been already used to make the Hebrew intelligible were taken, is almost certain. But the versions were not transcripts of traditional interpretations. They were independent in their origin.

The name *Targum* is now appropriated to a *Chaldee* version; but the oriental Jews called every translation from one language into another a תַּרְגּוּם, *targum*, *interpretation* or *version*.

There are many Jewish traditions respecting Targums in

early times. Thus in various parts of the Talmud there is mention of one on Job, in the middle of the first century; and it is not likely that Job was the first book rendered into the language of the people. There are also allusions to older Targums, whence Zunz infers that there were written Aramaean versions of most books of the Old Testament in the time of the Maccabees.* But Jewish traditions regarding these Targums should be received with caution. Discrimination must be exercised in adopting them; for it is well known how prone the Talmudists were to carry up the origin of many things much higher than we can now believe.

But while the Jews are disposed to find Targums too early, some Christian writers have gone to the opposite extreme. Thus Havemann† assigned the earliest of them to the sixth century and to Chaldea. So too Vorstius, John Morin, and Eichhorn reduce them to a late date; relying mainly on the arguments adduced by Havemann. But their reasons were well answered by Pfeiffer, Wolf, Carpzov, Jahn, and others. The silence of the early fathers respecting these paraphrases is of little weight against their existence, because the fathers generally were ignorant of Hebrew and Hebrew literature. And then no importance was attached to them in comparison of Greek translations. It is somewhat remarkable, that the silence of Josephus should be used as an argument against their existence in his day; and that Zunz‡ on the other hand should judge that the historian made use of Targums.

We believe that the oldest Targums extant must be dated as early at least as the birth of Christ; but whether others preceded them which are now lost, must be left undetermined. We incline to the opinion that there were such a century before the Christian era, not in Palestine, but among the Babylonian

* Die Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden, pp. 61, 62.

† Wegeleuchte wieder die Jüdische Finsternissen, cap. v. p. 594.

‡ Die Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge, p. 62.

Jews. The latter would have them before the Palestinian Jews. They would require them sooner. They lost the Hebrew before their brethren in Palestine.

ONKELOS.

There is a Targum of Onkelos on the Pentateuch which has always been highly valued by the Jews. In regard to the author, the notices of him are meagre and uncertain. He is mentioned four times in the Babylonian Talmud. In the *Megilla*, fol. 3, 1, he appears to be confounded with Aquila the Greek translator, because what is there stated is applied in the Jerusalem *Megilla*, fol. 71, 3, to Aquila. In *Bab. Demai Tosaphta*, c. 5, he is also confounded with Aquila, as we learn from comparison of the Jerusalem *Demai*, fol. 25, 4. In *Avoda Sara*, fol. 11, 1, Onkelos, the son of Kalonymus and nephew of Titus, is also the same as Aquila, if what Epiphanius relates of the latter be true. According to *Avoda Sara*, fol. 11, 1, he was a friend of Gamaliel. But there is some reason for suspecting that the Onkelos here spoken of is the same as the Onkelos (Aquila) in other places of the Talmud. In the book *Sohar*, he is represented as a disciple of Hillel and Shammai. It is evident from all these notices, that the Babylonians had no certain knowledge of the time when he lived.

It has been inferred that he was a Babylonian from the purity of the Chaldee in his version; the Chaldee or Aramaean of Palestine being thought less pure than the Babylonian. This however is by no means certain. In the absence of Palestinian-Chaldee documents of the same age with which to compare Onkelos's Targum, little weight can be attached to that circumstance. It has also been inferred by Eichhorn and Bertholdt, from the silence of Origen and Jerome about Onkelos and his version, that it was known to the Babylonian Jews only, for a long time. But the Jerusalem Gemarists

may have had no occasion to speak of it; and the two fathers had to do with the original text and *Greek versions*, whenever they were occupied with biblical literature.

The diction of this Targum is pure, approaching that of Daniel and Ezra. The original is followed word for word, faithfully and literally. The author possessed an exact knowledge of the Hebrew language, and has been very happy in rendering not only all passages which might present some difficulty to less competent translators, but also in transferring into another tongue rare words and singular constructions. He deserves therefore the praise bestowed on him by the Jews, for his version is among the best and most valuable of ancient times.

The title *paraphrase* given to the version before us scarcely suits its character, since the author adhered so faithfully to the original words. But he did not bind himself to literality so slavishly as not to depart from it where the sense required some freedom. Indeed *the sense* was his chief concern. He has deviated from the letter occasionally by altering *the expression* without altering the meaning, for the purpose of resolving tropical expressions, as in Gen. xv. 4, where the words בַּר דְּתוֹלִיד, *the son whom thou shalt beget*, are put for יֵצֵא מִמְּעָיְךָ; of illustrating the expression, as in Exodus xxix. 35, where תְּקָרֵיב קוּרְבָּנֵיהוֹן, *thou shalt offer their offerings*, stands for תְּמַלֵּא יָדָם, *thou shalt fill their hand;* for the purpose of avoiding every thing which might appear to lower the divine Majesty or excite heathen notions respecting Him, as in Gen. xi. 5, where וְאִתְגְּלִי and (Jehovah) *appeared*, stands for וַיֵּרֶד, *and he descended*. So too יְהוָה is used for אֱלֹהִים. Deviations from literality are also exemplified in *alterations* of the expression and sense, in *paraphrases* of the expression and sense. In one case only, viz. Gen. xlix. has Onkelos abandoned his method of translation, and fallen into loose paraphrase. Occasionally there are not only paraphrases but

additions, for which no corresponding clause appears in the original, as in Gen. iii. 15, xxii. 14; Exod. xx. 5; Numb. vi. 27.

From the preceding remarks it will be seen, that while the translator follows the Hebrew text, for the most part word for word, he does not adhere to it closely *in all cases*. Hence we cannot always determine the readings he had in the MS. before him. The text his version was made from approached very near the present Masoretic one. Wherever it deviates from the Masoretic text, it is generally supported by other versions.

The work is useful in criticism chiefly in consequence of its literal character. It is as useful however in *interpretation;* for that was the translator's leading object. Among the Jews, this Targum was used as a sort of dictionary for the significations of Hebrew words; and they composed a Masorah upon it called *Masorah Hattargum*, which however did not prevent various readings in it.

The principal editions of it are that of Bologna, accompanied with the Hebrew text, 1482; that of 1490; of Lisbon, 1491; another without date or place; that of Constantinople, 1505; the Complutensian, reprinted in the Antwerp Polyglott; the edition inserted by Bomberg in his Rabbinical Bibles, 1518, 1525-1526, 1547-1549. Buxtorf took it from Bomberg's Bible, and inserted it in his Rabbinical Bible; from which it was taken into the Paris and London Polyglotts. A Latin translation of it, with learned annotations, was published by Fagi at Strasburgh, 1546, folio. The most important contribution to the criticism of the text is that of S. D. Luzzatto, a learned Jew of Padua, in a work published at Vienna, 1830. The Latin title is *Philoxenus*, sive de Onkelosi chaldaica Pentateuchi versione dissertatio hermeneutico-critica, in qua veteris paraphrastae a textu hebraico crebrae deflexiones in xxxiii classes distribuuntur, et lucido novoque ordine illustrantur; atque ccccl. in locis variae ejusdem versiones lectiones

perpenduntur, et ex antiquioribus et rarioribus editionibus, codicibusque emendantur. Accedit appendix, etc. etc.

JONATHAN.

The second Targum contains *the prophets, i.e.* Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the twelve minor prophets. It is ascribed to Jonathan son of Uzziel. According to the Talmudic accounts, this Jonathan was a disciple of Hillel the elder, and therefore he lived and wrote a little before Onkelos. The reputation of his work among the Jews is evinced by the tradition that he wrote it from the mouth of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi.

But this age ascribed to Jonathan has been controverted, as was that of Onkelos, partly with the same arguments, and partly with additional ones. We have seen that the silence of the Jerusalem Gemara and early fathers proves nothing against the early existence of a Targum. It has also been argued, that Jonathan seeks to explain away the Messiah out of the passages which Christians were accustomed to apply to him, shewing a polemic tendency, and consequently the later period when controversies between Jews and Christians were agitated; and that fables are incorporated with his version, which savour of later times.* But in the 53d chapter of Isaiah, to which Eichhorn after Carpzov appeals, the Messiah appears in Jonathan's version. In the 10th and 11th verses, he is arbitrarily introduced by name. And in the case of the 63d chapter, there is no proof that it was a classical Messianic chapter among the early Christians. On the contrary, almost all Messianic passages are explained of the Messiah. Thus in ix. 6 the son is expressly called *Messiah*; in lii. 13, to *my servant* is added *Messiah;* in the 11th chapter *the Messiah* is also found. So too in the 42d chapter. In like manner, *the*

* Eichhorn, Einleitung, vol. ii. p. 63.

righteous branch, Jerem. xxiii. 5, is referred to Messiah. Hence Gesenius is undoubtedly right in denying a polemical tendency on the part of Jonathan against the Christians.*

In regard to the fabulous legends which appear in the Targum and the references to later occurrences, it is likely that they are subsequent interpolations, a supposition confirmed by the fact that several of them are wanting in the text as printed in the Antwerp Polyglott.†

Jonathan is more of the *interpreter* and *paraphrast* than Onkelos. He allowed himself greater freedom in putting additions for which there are no corresponding words in Hebrew. But the Pentateuch was more sacred in the eyes of the Jews than any other part of Scripture. Stricter injunctions were laid on the interpreter of it. The people were better acquainted with it from childhood; it was more exact and intelligible. With the prophetic writings it was different. They were more obscure. They presented peculiarities which rendered them more difficult of apprehension. Their poetical diction, their references to uncommon objects, made them less easy to be understood by all. Hence Jonathan *resolves* tropes, or strives to make them plain by inserting several words, as in Isaiah i. 8, 21; alters the expression and sense where the honour of Deity or of his nation seemed to be affected, as in Isaiah i. 18, vi. 1; introduces later Jewish ideas, Rabbinical sayings, and the Jewish theology of his age, as in Isaiah i. 15, v. 10. It cannot be denied that his interpretation is often arbitrary and incorrect; or that absurd explanations appear here and there. In general however he translates literally and faithfully where the text does not require paraphrase. Though several Greek words, but in connections where they are appropriate, appear in the version before us, the style is pure, and the diction good, somewhat inferior indeed to that of Onkelos, but yet approaching to the biblical Chaldee.

* Commentar ueber den Jesaia, vol. i. p. 67. † Ibid, p. 68.

In the historical books, it is, as was to be expected, more literal than in the prophets properly so called. Hence some have looked upon the work as proceeding from at least two persons. But there is no good reason for this assumption. The prophets are much more difficult than the historical books, and require freer paraphrase.

The text lying at the basis of the Targum is the Masoretic one. Yet it differs from the Masoretic text in various places, where it appears to follow preferable readings. But the freedom which the translator took, makes it difficult to tell in every case what particular form of the text lay before him. Hence great caution must be used in applying the Targum to critical purposes. Because of its freer and more paraphrastic manner, it is of less value in a critical respect than that of Onkelos. Perhaps its *exegetical* value too is not so great. Still it must be remembered that Jonathan had a far more difficult task than Onkelos; and that his version has suffered here and there from interpolators.

The first half of the version was printed for the first time at Leiria in Portugal, accompanied by the Hebrew text and two Rabbinical commentaries, 1494, folio. It was afterwards printed entire in the Rabbinical Bibles of Bomberg and Buxtorf; whence it was transferred to the London Polyglott. The minor prophets appeared in separate parts at different times and places; at Paris by Robert Stephens 1546; at the same place by Mercer 1552, 1557; at Helmstadt 1702, reprinted at Göttingen, &c. 1775, under the care of J. D. Michaelis.

PSEUDO-JONATHAN.

A Targum on the Pentateuch was formerly ascribed to the same Jonathan who translated the prophets, on what grounds it is difficult to imagine. It is possible that the son of Uzziel may have made a Chaldee paraphrase of the law as well as the

prophets; but it is indubitable that the existing one does not belong to him, because the author used that of Onkelos, whereas Jonathan Ben Uzziel was before Onkelos; because the language is impure and barbarous, mixed with foreign terms, Persian, Greek, and Latin; because it contains a number of fables, legends, and allegories of later growth and very absurd, unlike the manner of the real Jonathan; because objects centuries after the son of Uzziel are mentioned, such as Constantinople, a name Byzantium did not receive till the fourth century (Numb. xxiv. 19), the Lombards (Numb. xxiv. 24), the Turks (Gen. x. 2); because the learned Jews of the middle ages and afterwards mention no Targum on the Pentateuch, except that of Onkelos.

These and other circumstances shew that it could not have been written till the seventh century; to the latter half of which Zunz assigns it.

The prevalent ideas of the time are embodied in this Targum, and they savour of a late period. Manifestly Jonathan did not think them out for himself; they are the traditional notions of his day which are arbitrarily introduced as allegorical additions to adorn the paraphrase. The writer's object was not merely to explain the Mosaic books, but also to introduce a number of other subjects more or less remotely related to passages in the Bible; to embody many of the floating ideas of the age; and give permanency to a kind of literature which belonged to it. Hence the profuseness of his paraphrasing propensity; his long additions and comments. Criticism can derive very little, if any advantage, from the work, because the Masoretic text had been fixed long before. Wherever the Masoretes depart from the text, the paraphrase follows the *K'ri*, with one or two exceptions. Yet it agrees with the Septuagint and Samaritan in Gen. ii. 24, iv. 8, xxii. 13, and other places.* Nor is its exegetical use worth mentioning.

* See Petermann, De duabus Pentateuchi paraphrasibus Chaldaicis, p. 22, et seq.

The paraphrase was first printed at Venice 1590, 8vo, by Joh. de Gara, with a preface by R. Ascher Phorins, along with the Hebrew text, the two other Targums on the same books, the commentary of Rashi, and other Targums; and the edition was repeated in 1594, 8vo. It was afterwards published at Basel 1607, fol.; at Hanau 1614, 8vo; at Amsterdam 1640, 4to; at Prague 1646, 8vo; and in the fourth volume of the London Polyglott.

THE JERUSALEM TARGUM.

This paraphrase on the Pentateuch is called the Jerusalem Targum, either because it was made at Jerusalem, or from its being in the dialect of that place. It is neither a complete nor an independent work. Chapters are occasionally omitted; and an entire series of explanations is sometimes attached to a single word or verse. Sometimes Hebrew words are inserted without explanation. The paraphrase indeed consists of nothing more than loose comments on select passages. The language of it is very barbarous. Numerous foreign terms, Persian, Greek, Latin, are mixed together. Stories and fables are abundant.

It is evident that there is a close agreement between Pseudo-Jonathan and this Targum. Indeed, the former existed at an early period under the name of the *Targum of Palestine* or *Jerusalem*. Thus the Pseudo-Jonathan is identified with the present work. They are merely two recensions of the same; and there is reason for believing that there were other recensions. The Jerusalem Targum is but a fragmentary recension of the Pseudo-Jonathan.*

The object of these post-Talmudic versions was different from that of the earliest ones. They were designed to embody the current traditional expositions consisting in a large degree of legendary tales and absurd superstitions. Hence they furnish little if any assistance in the criticism of the text. They

* See Zunz, p. 66, et seq.

shew the mode of interpretation followed by the Jews, and many of their doctrines. The traditions they contain were drawn not only from the Talmud but from more ancient and freer Targums.

It was first published in Bomberg's Rabbinical Bible 1518 and following years; and afterwards in the 4th volume of the London Polyglott.

The Jerusalem Targum was not limited to the Pentateuch. Zunz has shewn that it comprehended Judges, Samuel, Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Micah, Habakkuk, Zechariah; whence it is likely that it embraced all the books of the Old Testament.*

TARGUMS ON THE HAGIOGRAPHA.

There is a Chaldee version of the three books, Psalms, Job, and Proverbs. The Proverbs are best translated. The author was well acquainted with Hebrew and Chaldee, and commonly gives a literal and faithful version, without indulging in loose explanatory additions or inserting the fabulous legends belonging to later Jewish theology. The departures from the Hebrew text are few and unimportant, such as x. 20, xi. 4, 15. Still the language and style are inferior to Onkelos's and Jonathan's.

Its agreement with the old Syriac version has led many critics such as Dathe, Bauer, Eichhorn, Bertholdt, &c., to suppose that it was taken from *it* rather than the Hebrew. But the coincidence must be otherwise explained; chiefly by the kindred idioms of the two languages. While there are striking coincidences between them, as might be expected even from their literal character, they also differ in many important respects; so that the original must have been at the basis of both.

The version of the Psalms and Job is more paraphrastic,

* Die Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge, p. 77, et seq.

resembling Jonathan's manner. All three have the same linguistic character, and originated about the same time and in the same country, probably Syria.* It is uncertain whether they proceeded from the same individual, as stated by Hävernick.† Their use in criticism is small.

This Targum was first published at Leiria in Portugal, 1492.

The Targum on the five Megilloth, viz. Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Esther, Ecclesiastes, can scarcely be called a *translation.* It is rather a *hagadical* commentary, containing numerous additions, allusions to Israelitish history, fables, and legends. Ruth and Lamentations are a little better than the rest; Ecclesiastes more paraphrastic; Esther the same in a greater degree than Ecclesiastes. But Solomon's Song is a proper *midrash*, presenting an allegorical and mystical interpretation designed to exalt the Jewish people. The anachronisms of the author betray his gross ignorance of history. The five were probably paraphrased by the same person, who lived long after the Talmudic period. The tradition which makes him Rabbi Joseph the one-eyed, is contradicted by writers of the thirteenth century.‡ The Targum on the Megilloth was published along with the Hebrew text and the commentary of Rashi at Venice 1524, 4to, and subsequently in the Rabbinical Bibles of Bomberg, Buxtorf, as well as in the Antwerp, Paris, and London Polyglotts.

There are besides two Targums on Esther, one printed in the third volume of the Antwerp Polyglott without many digressions and legends; and another in the London Polyglott, abounding in all manner of fables and stories. These two however are one and the same work. Another was published by Francis Tayler at London 1655, 4to, *along with the preceding*, of a still fuller character. He calls it Targum *posterius*,

* See Zunz, p. 64. † Einleitung, vol. i. Zweyte Abtheilung, p. 88.
‡ See Zunz, p. 65.

distinguishing it from the *Targum prius* of the Antwerp Polyglott.

A Targum on the books of Chronicles was first published by Beck from an Erfurt MS. 1680, 1683, 4to, at Augsburgh in two volumes. But the text has many gaps and imperfections. Another and more correct MS. was found at Cambridge by Wilkins, who published it with a Latin translation, Amsterdam 1715, 4to. Like the rest, it is very paraphrastical. Its late origin is evident from various circumstances, particularly the use of the Jerusalem Targum on the Pentateuch. Beck ascribes it to *Rabbi Joseph.*

As far as our knowledge extends, there is no Targum on Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah. The reason assigned in the Talmud for not translating Daniel is because the book reveals the exact time of Messiah's advent. Perhaps the true cause was a fear of joining the sacred text of the original to that of a paraphrase, since there are Chaldee sections in these books. The superstition of the Jews revolted from such profanity. It is true that there are no Chaldee pieces in Nehemiah; but it was taken with Ezra as *one book.*

With the exception of Onkelos and Jonathan, the Targums are of small use in criticism. They follow the Masoretic text. It is not denied that they contain some readings different from those now current; and that they appear to have been altered here and there. The MSS. of them also vary considerably. But though they might be more skilfully and correctly edited, it is not likely that the text would differ much from what has been already printed. They may be advantageously used in suggesting readings of some importance and value. Perhaps they are more useful in interpretation than the lower criticism.

CHAPTER XV.

SAMARITAN VERSION OF THE PENTATEUCH.

THERE is a version of the Pentateuch in the Samaritan dialect. It is made, as might have been expected, from that copy of the Pentateuch which the Samaritans have had for so many centuries. Hence it exhibits the interpolations and additions which characterise the recension it follows. But in some cases it departs from the text of the Samaritan Pentateuch as printed in the Polyglotts, and agrees with MSS. of it having other readings; as in Exod. viii. 29, xxii. 25; Levit. xvii. 13; Numb. xx. 10.* Sometimes it has a reading which is found in only one MS.;† and in two places (Gen. xiii. 8; Deut. xxxiii. 3) it leaves the Samaritan and agrees with the Jewish copy.‡

The character of it is literality and faithfulness to the original text. It follows the latter word for word. But there are exceptions to this its general character; for whenever it was thought that obscurity or offence might arise from close adherence to the letter, a degree of freedom was taken. Thus for the sake of avoiding obscurity and making the meaning more palpable, it has in Gen. vi. 4, *heroes of excellency* instead of *men of name.* In Gen. xv. 5, *thy successors*, for *thy seed.* In Levit. xvii. 10, we read, *I will excite mine anger*, for וְנָתַתִּי

* See Winer, de Versionis Pentateuchi Samaritanae indole, p. 18.

† Ibid, p. 21. ‡ Gesenius, de Pentateuchi Samaritani origine. &c. p. 19.

פָּנַי, *I will put my face.* For the same reason the old geographical names are changed into modern ones as in Gen. xiv. 14, *Paneas* for *Dan;* in xii. 8, *Ainah* for *Ai;* in xx. 1, *Ascalon* for *Gerar.* In order to remove things objectionable or calculated to offend, tropical expressions are resolved into others; anthropomorphic and anthropopathic expressions are softened or removed; and everything calculated to give sensuous ideas of the Supreme Being, to favour heathen or polytheistic notions of him, is altered. Like some other translations it changes the names *Jehovah* and *Elohim* into *the angel of God,* as in Gen. v. 24, xvii. 22, xviii. 33; Numb. xxiii. 4, 5.*

It has been observed by Winer, that the translator has failed to give the sense of many easy passages, because similar letters are interchanged, false etymologies followed, or a false punctuation adopted; while in intricate passages, where the construction is embarrassed or some expressions rare, the sense is rightly given.

Its agreement with the Targum of Onkelos deserves attention. To account for it, some have thought that the translator used the latter as a help in making his own. But this is hardly correct, for there are many difficult places in which he departs from Onkelos and agrees with versions which Onkelos could not have seen. His translation too is more literal than that of Onkelos. The harmony may be explained by the kindred nature of the Samaritan and Chaldee dialects, and the poverty of each not permitting a wide choice of expressions. They are also translations of the same text made apparently on the same principle. Probably also, the Samaritan has been interpolated from Onkelos, especially in the MSS. still unprinted. The text indeed seems to have passed through several hands whence it received additions. Hence we find two different readings of one passage, glosses originally belonging to the

* See Winer, § 11.

margin now in the text, and differences between MSS. and the printed text in cases where interpolations are evident.

As the version is very literal, it is in general easy to see the reading which the translator had before him. Its use however cannot be great apart from the Samaritan text. It has but one voice in connexion with its parent. Hence the authority belonging to it resolves itself into that of the recension it follows.

The author and date of it are alike unknown. The Samaritan account is that it was made by Nathanael,* a Samaritan priest who must have lived twenty years before Christ, according to the Samaritan chronicle. This is more than doubtful. The fathers of the third and fourth centuries speak of a text they call Σαμαρειτικὸν, which shews the prior existence of our Samaritan version. Hence it was made either in the third century or more probably in the second, when the zeal for versions was so great.†

This version was first printed in the Paris Polyglott, whence it was transferred to the London with Morin's Latin translation amended. The first eighteen chapters of Genesis were separately printed at Halle 1750, 4to.

* See De Sacy's Memoire sur l'état actuel des Samaritains. Paris 1812.

† See Herbst, Einleit. vol. i. pp. 190, 191.

CHAPTER XVI.

PESHITO OR OLD SYRIAC VERSION.

BEFORE proceeding to describe the Syriac versions it may be useful to observe, that the modes of writing in Syrian books are somewhat different. The most ancient character is the *Estrangelo* (ܐܣܛܪܢܓܝܠܐ), so called according to J. D. Michaelis and Adler from the Arabic سطر *scriptura* and انجيل *evangelium*, *i. e.* the large character used in writing out copies of *the Gospel*. Asseman was probably right in deriving the name from the Greek στρογγύλος, *round*; though the conjecture has not met with much favour. Although this character is found in the most ancient MSS. till the year 800 A.D. it was not then discontinued; and it is still used, in the titles of books particularly; for which purpose its large and heavy forms are very suitable.

The *double* character which the Syrians also used in the titles of books and elsewhere is substantially the same as the Estrangelo.

After the eighth century the character called *Nestorian*, or more properly *Chaldean*, as Asseman and Wiseman term it, was introduced. It is like the Estrangelo but *smaller*. The most usual character, and that employed in our printed books is called ܣܥܡܐ *simple*. This is the smallest. It was most used by the Maronites and Jacobites, though they also fre-

quently employed the Estrangelo and Nestorian characters. There is a good table representing the different forms of the Syrian letters in Hoffmann's *Grammatica Syriaca*, table ii. p. 68.

There is a version of the Old and New Testaments commonly called the *old Syriac* or Peshito. The name Peshito (ܦܫܝܛܐ) is simply the Chaldee פְּשִׁיטָא *simple, single, i. e.* expressing the sense of the words, in opposition to *midrashim* or allegorical interpretations. We should therefore judge from the title that it is a *faithful* version.

The particular age of this translation is uncertain, though all admit that it is very ancient. Its antiquity is involved in obscurity. The first writer who refers to it is Ephraem the Syrian, who died in 376 A.D. At the time he wrote, it was current in the Syrian churches. He had it before him as the basis of his commentaries or scholia on the Bible. He refers to it by the title of *our version*, shewing that it was the authorised church version of the Syrian Christians. And then the mode in which this father made use of it evinces its antiquity. Many expressions and phrases in it were obscure. They required explanation. Accordingly he has given interpretations of various words in it, which are not always correct. The cause of this obscurity in the days of Ephraem may not however lie in the antiquity of the version, but in the circumstance of its being written in a dialect different from that which prevailed about Edessa where Ephraem resided. The dialect in which it is composed is mixed with words of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin origin—the dialect probably of western Syria; whereas that of eastern Syria was purer. We think that *both* circumstances contributed to the fact of many terms being unintelligible at the time Ephraem wrote. The version was made when the Aramaean language was mixed with many Greek words *and* in western Syria, where the dialect was always more corrupt than about Edessa.

The Syriac of the Peshito had begun to grow old in the days of this father. Hence the version must have existed a considerable period before. A century will hardly suffice for that period. The version must have belonged to the middle of the third century, according to Ephraem's mode of speaking about it and dealing with it.*

The traditional records of the Syrians themselves attribute a very high antiquity to the Peshito. Gregory Bar Hebraeus says that there were three opinions. One that the version was made in the time of Solomon and Hiram; the second that it owed its origin to Asa the priest sent from Assyria to Samaria; the third, that it was made in the days of Thaddeus the apostle and Abgarus king of Osrhoene, at which time the New Testament also was translated.†

It is obvious that the first two assumptions cannot be entertained for a moment. They savour strongly of national pride and self-complacency.

The third opinion seems to have been that held by Bar Hebraeus and Jacob of Edessa. It contains nothing very improbable, though we should hesitate to adopt it.

Jesudad B. von Hadath (in the ninth century) places a part of the version in the times of Solomon; the remainder of the Old Testament together with the New is ascribed to the apostle Thaddeus.

But though most of these traditions partake largely of the fabulous, Hävernick finds some truth at the basis of them, and concludes that the account given by Jacob of Edessa is substantially entitled to reception. We fear that it cannot be relied on in any degree. It is too suspicious.

It is of more consequence in proving the early origin of the version before us to refer to the Syriac literature current in the second century. Bardesanes, in the second century of

* Wiseman, Horae Syriacae, vol. i. p. 121, et seq. † Ibid. p. 90.

the Christian era, wrote several works in his native tongue which excited the admiration of Jerome.* Harmonius, his son, was the favourite poet of the Syrians. If therefore Syriac literature had advanced so far in the second half of the second century; if several treatises of Bardesanes had been translated into Greek by his friends; if controversial works such as those of Bardesanes against Marcion were received with applause, it is likely that a translation of the Bible existed in the national language. Thus the version belongs not improbably to the second century. The necessity of having it would be felt as early as that time.† This is corroborated by a circumstance which Moses of Chorene relates in his history of Armenia, viz. that Bardesanes came into Armenia to convert the heathen there, but failing in his attempt he went into a temple on a certain festival, read there the temple histories, and translated them into Syriac. Now if profane literature were translated from Armenian into Syriac, it is probable that the Bible had been rendered into the national language; especially as the task of translating Hebrew was easy because of the similarity of the two dialects. Thus we are brought again to the middle of the second century at least, for the first appearance of the Syriac translation.‡ Origen according to Eusebius found a copy of it with a widow, as Bar Hebraeus relates.

Michaelis, in assigning it to the first century, appeals to Melito who lived about the year 170. It appears that a scholion attributed to him has been found in his commentary on the Septuagint, Genesis xxii. 13, stating that "the Syriac and the Hebrew, Ὁ Σύρος καὶ ὁ Ἑβραῖος have in this passage the word 'hanging,' in order to render it a more conspicuous type

* De Script. eccles.

† Hug, Einleit. in die Schriften des neuen Testaments, vol. i. pp. 315, 316, fourth edition.

‡ Herbst, Einleit. vol. i. p. 195. § Wiseman, Horae Hebraicae, p. 90.

of the cross."* But there is much reason for questioning the authenticity of this marginal note. Writers of the fourth and fifth centuries refer to Ὁ Σύρος, viz. Diodorus of Tarsus, Eusebius of Emesa, and Theodoret of Cyrus, meaning, as is most likely, the Syriac version; but this scholion of Melito appears to be apocryphal. No reliance can be placed on it.

It has been debated whether the author of the Peshito in the Old Testament part was a Jew or a Christian; Simon† believed that he was a Jew; Dathe,‡ that he was a Jewish-Christian. But later writers generally have maintained that he was a Christian, relying on such arguments as the universal reception of the version among all sects and parties of Syrian Christians; the negligence observable in the enumeration of unclean animals (Levit. xi. and Deut. xiv.) where some names are omitted;§ the translation of the Hebrew word עַלְמָה in Isaiah vii. 14, by ܒܬܘܠܬܐ, while the same word in all other places is rendered ܥܠܡܬܐ; the rendering of אֵל in Isaiah ix. 6 by ܐܠܗܐ, of יְהוָה in Isaiah lii. 15, by ܡܪܝܐ, and of לְמוֹ by ܠܗ.‖ But these considerations are scarcely *valid proofs* of the position. Objections might be made to them. Still when taken together they are of some weight. The titles of the Psalms manifestly betray a Christian origin. The Syriac language appears also to have been confined to Christian writers. At least there is not the smallest trace of its use by a Jew. Besides, the simple literality of the version, unlike the manner of Aquila, speaks in favour of a Christian origin. We doubt not therefore, that the translation was made by a Christian rather than a Jew.

* Michaelis's Introduction to the New Testament by Marsh, vol. ii. pp. 29, 30.

† Histoire Critique, p. 305, ed. 1680.

‡ Praefat. ad Psalterium Syriacum, p. 23, et seq.

§ Hirzel, de Pentateuchi versionis Syriacae quam Peschito vocant indole, § 27.

‖ Gesenius, Commentar ueber den Jesaia, vol. i. pp. 85, 86.

Eichhorn endeavoured to shew from internal evidence, that there were several persons engaged in the translation,* or rather that it was put together out of the works of several Syrian translators. But his arguments are scarcely satisfactory. Yet Scholz† confidently repeats that its character impartially considered shews a plurality of persons, as if it were an ascertained thing about which there can be little or no doubt. The traditional accounts of the Syrians are favourable to a plurality of translators; but little weight can be attached to them. A remark of Ephraem has also been quoted by Hävernick, in which the Syrian father speaks of *the persons* who translated the passage into Syriac. We must confess however that this observation is weak evidence in favour of several translators. It is still probable that the Old Testament at least was translated by one person.

According to the statements of Ephraem and Bar Hebraeus it was made from the original Hebrew. This indeed is obvious to any one who reads it. It adheres closely to the original, reproducing it both faithfully and literally. In point of fidelity it is the best of all the ancient versions. Its renderings are generally happy, free from paraphrastic circumlocutions on the one hand and bald literality on the other. Occasionally the translator has given freer and arbitrary interpretations; but without introducing anything like Jonathan's or the Jerusalem Targum's insertions. Very seldom does he bring extraneous ideas into the text, seldomer perhaps than any other ancient translator.

A strong leaning to the Greek version of the Seventy has often attracted observation; and the question has been asked, whether the translator made use of the Greek version. But it is impossible to give a satisfactory answer. The circumstances of the case hardly admit of it. Gesenius has produced a number of examples from the book of Isaiah, to show that

* Einleit. vol. ii. p. 133, et seq. † Einleitung, vol. i. p. 518.

the Septuagint was followed even in free and arbitrary interpretations;* though he admits that the Syriac much more frequently departs from the Alexandrine in these cases. In like manner, Credner who has minutely examined the minor prophets, thinks that the Septuagint was employed there.† On the other hand, Hirzel who investigated the Pentateuch remarks, that the most important evidence of the translator's availing himself of the Seventy, viz. agreement in difficult passages, is wanting in the five books of Moses.‡ This remark is extended by Herbst to the other books of the Old Testament, and the position assumed that other proofs of the alleged fact are also absent. The learned professor endeavours to shew, that whereas in the historical books the Greek version has additions to the Hebrew text of greater or less extent, the Syriac wants them. On the contrary, the latter has additions and omissions which one seeks for in vain in the Seventy. In like manner he has remarked, that in the case of proper names, which presented much difficulty to the ancient translators, the Syriac departs often enough from the Alexandrine, though in the second century it was the current belief that the Greek was made by Palestinians well acquainted with places and objects mentioned in the Bible. As to the poetical books Herbst believes that the Song of Solomon is quite free from the influence of the Greek.§

But notwithstanding this line of argument, which in itself is by no means convincing, the influence of the Septuagint on the version as we now have it, is tolerably clear. It cannot well be denied. Even Herbst admits it in the case of the poetical books especially the Psalms, and in the prophetic books. But he accounts for the coincidence by *subsequent*

* Commentar ueber den Jesaia, vol. i. p. 82, et seq.

† De prophetarum minorum versionis Syriacae, quam Peschito vocant indole, p. 107, et seq. ‡ De Pentateuchi versionis, &c. § 24.

§ Herbst, Einleit. vol. i. pp. 196, 197.

interpolation. The Greek was consulted *afterwards* for the purpose of revising the Peshito. Such too is the opinion of Hävernick.* It is a bold thing to deny that the Septuagint was not consulted by the translator himself, because he frequently departs from it even in difficult cases. Surely he was capable of making a discriminating use of it, having sufficient knowledge of the Hebrew, and judgment to think for himself. It is also a bold thing to deny that interpolations out of the Greek were not afterwards taken into the text. Both may have happened; and it is likely that both did happen. But who shall now separate the passages, which, in their original form were moulded after the Alexandrine, and the passages which have been interpolated in succeeding centuries? The thing is impossible. It is probable, that in some instances in which this version agrees with the Seventy it has lost its original form. In others it has retained it, shewing that the translator did not neglect that version which was so commonly received among the early Christians. Perhaps Hävernick is correct in inferring from the example of Jacob of Edessa, that the Peshito was revised after the Syro-Hexaplar text; or that attempts were made to bring both into harmony with one another.

A similar inquiry has been instituted in relation to the Chaldee paraphrases as to the Septuagint. There is a tolerable likeness between the Syriac and Chaldee in many places. Gesenius has produced a number of examples from Isaiah to shew that the Targum was used there. Credner is of the same opinion in regard to the minor prophets.‡ But Hävernick and Herbst doubt the fact, the latter denying that the instances produced by Gesenius shew the dependence of the one document on the other.§ Hävernick thinks that the Jewish colouring is sufficiently explained by the fact that

* Einleit. vol. i. part ii. p. 93. † Commentar, vol. i. pp. 83, 84.
‡ De Prophetarum min. vers. Syr. &c. p. 107. § Einleit. vol. i. p. 197.

the current exegetical tradition lying at the basis of the Seventy and of the Targums, was Jewish.* It seems to us that original traces of the use of a Targum are too distinct to be denied, especially in the case of the prophetic books.

The text lying at the basis of the version is substantially the Masoretic one. But it departs from it in many cases and exhibits better readings. Not that these deviations should be always adopted; for they are often inferior to the Masoretic readings. Care should be taken not to convert the mistakes of the translator into various readings, or to suppose the existence of variations where there are none. A cautious and diligent examination of the version will supply some readings superior to the Masoretic; but not so many as the extent and antiquity of the version might lead one to suppose.

The Peshito contains all the canonical books of the Old Testament. It did not originally comprehend the apocryphal books; for we learn that the apocryphal additions to Daniel were wanting in the time of Ephraem, as also the books of Maccabees. In like manner Pococke, who examined MSS. of the version, formed the same conclusion from the subscriptions belonging to them. Yet most of the apocryphal books were translated into Syriac out of the Greek *very early;* for Ephraem cites them, but without reckoning them canonical.†

Gregory Bar Hebraeus says that the version before us has an impure, rude, and inelegant diction. Asseman gave passages to this effect from Bar Hebraeus's grammar,‡ to which Wiseman§ added another. In consequence of this opinion, it has been conjectured by the latter that the Peshito exhibits the impure dialect used by the inhabitants of Palestine and Libanus in contradistinction to the pure and elegant dialect which prevailed at Edessa and in all ulterior Syria.‖

* Einleit. vol. i. part ii. p. 93. † Hävernick, Einleit. vol. i. part ii. p. 96.
‡ Bibliotheca Orient. vol. ii. p. 279, et seq. § Horae Syriacae, p. 106.
‖ Ibid, pp. 106, 107.

In progress of time, when the Syrian church was divided into different sections, the version underwent various recensions. It is well known that it was highly valued by all the Syrian communities eastern and western, by Nestorians and Monophysites; and that it was adopted as their authorised translation. But though it was received by all the churches, it was not perhaps highly esteemed by all their members. Gregory Bar Hebraeus, for example, speaks of it unfavourably;* but this was probably owing to his excessive partiality for the Seventy. Historical criticism, says Eichhorn, had not then cleansed the origin of the Alexandrine from the common fables so long current; and the superstitious belief in its inspiration was fostered by the fact that the New Testament often quotes it.

The recension of the Nestorians is well known from the scholia of Bar Hebraeus. The same writer speaks of the *Karkaphensian* recension, which belonged to the Monophysites. The name which means *mountainous*, points to the place of its origin, mount *Sigara*, where there was a monastery of Jacobite Christians. Wiseman, who examined two MSS. at Rome, one in the Vatican (153), and the other in the Barberinian library (101), has shewn that this recension leans towards the Greek text, and is distinguished by a peculiar pointing, but that it does not differ essentially from the common text of the Peshito. Bar Hebraeus also mentions *oriental* and *occidental* MSS. relating perhaps to the respective recensions of the two ecclesiastical parties.†

The Old Testament part was first printed in the Paris Polyglott, under the superintendence of Gabriel Sionita a Maronite Christian. But the MS. he had was very imperfect. It was deficient not only in many passages but in whole books. These deficiencies were supplied from the Vulgate. The

* "Quassatum fundamentum."—See Wiseman, p. 90.

† Wiseman, Horae Syriacae, pp. 149-257.

learned editor furnished the text with vowel points, and gave a Latin translation, in which he adhered to the words of the Vulgate where he thought they suited the Syrian text. From the Paris Polyglott, Walton transferred it to the London, supplying the deutero-canonical books, and additions to them. Though the learned editor severely blames Gabriel Sionita in relation to the text as well as the Latin version given by the Maronite critic, and boasts of the improved condition it presents in his edition, it has been found, that he reprinted the same text and did not improve the Latin translation, but contented himself with supplying the wanting books, and placing the results of a collation of three MSS. in the sixth volume of the Polyglott made by Herbert Thornedyke. "It is usually thought that the text of Walton received some improvements from the manuscripts of Ussher and Pococke, but from an actual collation of a great part of the London Polyglott, I may venture to say this is not the case. Nor have I yet found any instance in which the Latin translation has been corrected by Walton, although he loudly complains of its inaccuracy. As regards the typography, the Paris is certainly the most correct; the only addition made by Walton was some apocryphal books."*

In modern times the British and Foreign Bible Society bore the expense of an edition of the Syrian Bible, prepared for the use of the Syrian Christians in Malabar, under the editorship of Dr. S. Lee. In this edition the first attempt was made to revise the text on MS. authority. The editor not only collated the three MSS. from which the readings are given in the 6th volume of the London Polyglott, viz. two of Ussher and one of Pococke, in the Bodleian library, but three others, viz. a Travancore one brought from India by Buchanan, containing all the Old and New Testament books except the Apocalypse; another belonging to Dr. A. Clarke, containing all the Old Testament books except the Psalms;

* Lee in the Classical Journal for March and June 1821, vol. xxiii. p. 247, note.

and a very ancient one in the library of New College, Oxford, containing the Pentateuch. In addition to these, he examined in part the commentaries of Ephraem and those of Bar Hebraeus. What influence the editor allowed these MSS. to exercise upon the text he has not said. "In my choice," says he, "of readings the greatest care was taken. To the canons of the best critics my best attention was given, and my alterations were made accordingly."*

It is pretty clear however, that though the collations in question have contributed to the production of a more correct text than that of Walton, the editor has made fewer changes than might have been expected. He has given a revised text; but it is only a small help to a better and more correct one. And it is matter of regret that he has never published his collations of Syriac MSS. A good critical edition is still a desideratum; and we understand that it is likely to be supplied by Cureton, from the very valuable Nitrian MSS. belonging to the British Museum. But Dr. Lee says, "I have seen the MSS. brought by Archdeacon Tattam from the monastery in the desert of Nitria, and although some of these are much older than those to which I had access, yet I feel strong in the opinion that nothing can be had from any of these, or from any other documents accessible to us, likely at all to restore the Syriac Peshito text of the Old Testament to what it once was."†

His edition appeared, without vowels, but with the diacritic points, in 1823, 4to, London, with the title—*Vetus Testamentum Syriace, eos tantum libros sistens, qui in canone Hebraeo habentur, ordine vero quoad fieri potuit, apud Syros usitato dispositos. In usum ecclesiae Syrorum Malabar. jussu Societat. Biblic. recognovit et ad fidem codd. MSS. emendavit, S. Lee.*

Kirsch reprinted the Pentateuch from the London Polyglott, 1787, Leipzig, 4to; while the Psalter was often printed, on Mount Lebanon, 1585, fol. and 1610; at Leyden by Erpenius, 1625, 4to; at Halle by Dathe, 1768, 8vo.

* Letter addressed to the author. † Ibid.

CHAPTER XVII.

ARABIC VERSIONS.

It is generally supposed that all versions of the Scriptures in the Arabic language are later than the Mohammedan era, when, after the conquests of the Saracens, Arabic became the vernacular language of Christian countries, and translations were consequently required. There is little historical proof of the existence of such versions before the time of Mohammed; though the Christian religion was early preached in Arabia, and worshipping societies formed who professed to believe its divine authority. The first translation of any part of the Bible was made by Warka the son of Naufel, who died three years after Mohammed set forth his claim to prophecy. He translated the gospels (the Bible) into Arabic, which accounts for Mohammed's acquaintance with it, as proved by the Koran. The passage which records that he translated the gospels into Arabic, is found in a commentary on the life of the prophet by Ibrahim of Haleb, published at Cairo in 1833.* But some doubt the truth of its statement.

The following Arabic versions have been made from the Hebrew text.

1. A translation made by Saadias surnamed *Gaon* or *Haggaon*, *the excellent* or *illustrious*, a learned Jew. According to the Jewish notices of him, the author belonged to Phithom or Faiyum in Egypt. From 927 till 934 A.D. he was presi-

* See Oriental Christian Spectator for March 1838, p. 88, where the Arabic is very incorrectly printed.

dent of the Jewish Academy at Sora or Sura in Babylonia; and died in 942.* From Saadias we have a version of the Pentateuch and Isaiah. Its character is free and paraphrastical. It is evident that the author was more intent on *the sense* than *the letter;* and therefore he has often departed from the original words, choosing more suitable ones, resolving tropes, inserting the particle of similitude. With the names of places he has taken most freedom, putting the later for the earlier, such as Paneas for Dan, Batanea for Bashan, Nablus for Sichem, &c. &c. He has done the same thing in the case of countries and nations. The present Masoretic text lies at the basis of it.†

But though it must have proceeded from Saadias in a free paraphrastic form, it is hardly allowable to infer from the present printed text that its original condition was the same. Transcribers appear to have taken liberties with it; so that if several MSS. were found, some of them would correspond more nearly with the Hebrew text. It has also been interpolated; for systematic alterations may be distinctly traced. Of these insertions, the basis is a Samaritan-Arabic version. It is scarcely possible to support by example the suspicions of some, that the Septuagint furnished contributions to its text. In consequence of its adherence to the Masoretic text and its subsequent interpolation, it is of little or no use in criticism.

The Pentateuch was first printed, with Hebrew letters, at Constantinople, 1546, folio. It was afterwards printed in the Paris and London Polyglotts. Isaiah was edited by Paulus, from a MS. in the Bodleian library, written in the year 1244 with Hebrew letters, at Jena 1790, 1791. The editor transcribed it into the Arabic character, and appended vowel points. Erpenius and Pococke conjectured that Saadias translated all the books of the Old Testament. This is very probable, because there is a translation of the Psalms and Job by him

* See Jost, Geschichte der Israeliten, vol. vi. p. 86, et seq.

† Gesenius, Commentar ueber den Jesaia, vol. i. p. 90, et seq.

among the Arabic MSS. of the Bodleian; because David Kimchi quotes his translation of Hosea; and because Haneberg has described a Munich MS. containing Saadias's version of the Psalms.

2. The Arabic translation of Joshua in the Paris and London Polyglotts has been made from the Hebrew, and is entitled to the praise of excellence. The individual who executed it had a good knowledge of Hebrew; and expresses the sense well, even in cases where others have not done so. The version is faithful and generally literal. Occasionally, it deviates from the original, as in i. 2; iii. 16; iv. 7, 8; ix. 7-15; x. 10. Additions are also found in iii. 17; iv. 6, 22, 23; viii. 19; xi. 1. Here we find the addition of the Septuagint in ix. 3. Instead of *Joshua, God* occurs, as in the Vatican MS. The author and age of the version are unknown.*

3. The Arabic version in the Polyglotts of Judges, Ruth, Samuel, Kings, and Nehemiah, has been taken from the Peshito, with the exception of 1 Kings xii.—2 Kings xii. 16; and Nehem. i.-ix. 27, which are taken from the Hebrew. According to Roediger, who was the first to point out the true sources of these books, the fragment of the books of Kings proceeded from a Jew in the eleventh century. He also attributes the version of Nehemiah to a Jew; but thinks that it was subsequently altered by Christian hands after the Peshito.†

4. The Arabic version of the Pentateuch edited by Erpenius at Leyden in 1622, was made from the original by an African Jew in the thirteenth century. It follows the Masoretic text word for word; so that the editor deemed it unnecessary to give a Latin translation. It is of little critical value.

5. An Arabic translation of Genesis, Psalms, and Daniel, exists in MS. in the British Museum (No. 5503) by Rabbi

* Hefbst, Einleit. vol. i. pp. 213, 214.

† De origine et indole Arabicae librorum V. T. Historicorum interpret. Halis, 1829, 4to.

Saadias Ben Levi Asnekoth, a learned Jew of Morocco belonging to the first half of the seventeenth century. As might be expected, it seldom departs from the Masoretic text, and gives the Rabbinical significations of words. Criticism can derive no assistance from it. It was described by Doederlein.*

6. Among Pococke's MSS. preserved in the Bodleian is one containing an Arabic Psalter, of which Schnurrer published xvi. xl. cx. in Hebrew characters. Criticism need not expect much from it.

7. In the library at Mannheim there is also an Arabic version of Genesis with an interlinear version in the Malay language. Judging from the specimen of it given by Rinck, it is of no importance to criticism.†

8. After the Samaritans had lost their ancient tongue, and adopted in common life that of their Arabian conquerors, they must have felt the want of an Arabic version of their sacred writings. For a time they used the translation of Saadias Gaon; but it fell into disfavour very soon. Saadias had been a Jew; and besides, he translated from the copy of the Jews, not from the Samaritan Pentateuch. The manner too in which he translated must have appeared awkward to them. Hence *Abu Said*, one of themselves, undertook a new version for the benefit of his brethren. Six MSS. of it are known to be now in Europe; but only portions have been printed from them. Genesis has been recently printed entire for the first time, from three MSS. by Kuenen, at Leyden. One of the six MSS. is at Rome accompanied by the Samaritan original and the Samaritan version, written in Samaritan letters, commonly called the Barberinian Triglott.‡ Blanchini§ and

* Repertorium, Theil ii. p. 153, et seq.

† See Eichhorn's Bibliothek, vol. x.

‡ See Adler's Biblisch-Kritische Reise, p. 137, et seq.

§ Evangeliarium quadruplex, part ii. p. 614.

Hwid* gave specimens of it. Two are in the royal library at Paris, written in Arabic letters. These were described, and specimens given by De Sacy.† Two others are in the Bodleian at Oxford, the one written in Samaritan, the other in the Arabic character, from which Castell gave some passages in the sixth volume of the London Polyglott. The sixth MS. in Arabic letters is at Leyden, and has been accurately described by Van Vloten,‡ who has also given copious extracts from it.

It is evident that this version follows the Samaritan Pentateuch because it agrees with it where the Hebrew copy differs. It is plain also that the translator had the version of Saadias before him, and made considerable use of it, as well as of the Samaritan version. Aided by these works, and possessing a good knowledge of Samaritan-Hebrew, Abu Said produced a faithful and very literal version; the language being good, intelligible, and even ornate. In preparing a critical edition of the Samaritan Pentateuch it may be of use; but in other respects, the critic can derive no assistance from it. It is considered of great value in the history of the Samaritan Pentateuch, because comparatively few sources exist for the emendation of that ancient copy. The author, like a true Samaritan, has carefully sought to remove from his book everything which appeared to him derogatory or unsuitable to the divine Majesty. Hence *angels* or *an angel* are often introduced instead of *Jehovah.* The version is accompanied with scholia or notes paraphrasing or justifying its renderings, explaining obscure passages, combating the Jews, &c. The author must have lived between the middle of the tenth and the commencement of the thirteenth centuries. This follows from his having used the work of

* Specimen ineditae versionis Arabico-Samaritanae Pentateuchi, &c. 1780, Romae, 8vo.

† In Eichhorn's Allgemeine Bibliothek, vol. x. p. 1, et seq.

‡ Specimen Philologicum continens descriptionem codicis MS. bibliothecae Lugduno-Batavae, &c. Lugduni, 1803, 4to.

Saadias, who died in 942; and from the fact that the greatest part of the Barberinian Triglott was written in 1226. Bauer* places it in the year 1070; on what authority it is impossible to discover, for the author may have belonged to the twelfth as well as to the eleventh century.

PERSIAN VERSIONS.

It is probable that the Scriptures were early translated into the Persian language. Chrysostom† and Theodoret‡ speak of a Persian version; and the Pentateuch existed in Persia long before Mohammed, according to Maimonides.§ The translation of the Pentateuch printed in the London Polyglott is of later origin than the false prophet. This is clear from Babel (Gen. x. 2) being rendered Bagdad, and from the internal character of the version itself. It was made by a Jew, Rabbi Jacob the son of Joseph Tawus. The sense of *Tawus* is obscure; some, as Lorsbach,‖ taking it to be a proper name signifying in the Persian tongue *peacock;* while others, as Rosenmüller,¶ refer it to his birthplace *Tus*, a city of Persia. Its age is uncertain. Rosenmüller places it in the ninth century; Lorsbach in the sixteenth. As to the character of the version it is very literal, so much so as to violate the Persian idiom by retaining Hebrew words and even entire sentences. It cannot be of any use in criticism. It was first published in the Polyglott Pentateuch of Constantinople in Hebrew characters; whence it was transcribed, chiefly by Hyde, into the Arabico-Persian character, and the deficiencies supplied by a translation of Hyde's own, for the purpose of being printed in the London Polyglott.

* Critica Sacra, p. 334. † Homil. ii. in Joannem.

‡ De curando Graecarum affectionum.

§ See Zunz's Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge, p. 9, note *a*.

‖ In the Jena Allgem. Literatur Zeitung for 1816, p. 459.

¶ De versione Pentateuchi Persica Commentatio, Lipsiae, 1814, 4to.

CHAPTER XVIII.

LATIN VERSIONS.

It is now impossible to discover when and by whom the Old Testament was first translated into Latin. It has often been inferred, chiefly from the words of Augustine, that many* Latin versions existed in his time, and that one among them held a principal place called by that father *versio Itala*, *the Italic version*.† But on this point much misapprehension has prevailed. In the first place Augustine is speaking of the New Testament alone, and therefore nothing can be deduced from his language in regard to the Old. There is also good ground for believing that his expressions are hyperbolical and inexact. And in the third place, all the remains of the Latin Old Testament which can be collected from every quarter shew a substantial identity of version. The traces of the Latin which exist in the writings of the most ancient fathers who used it and in ancient MSS. evince one translation with a varying text. Conjectures have been made for the purpose of altering *Itala* in Augustine, as

* "Qui enim Scripturas ex hebraea lingua in graecam verterunt linguam, numerari possunt: latini autem interpretes nullo modo; ut enim cuivis primis fidei temporibus in manus venit codex graecus, et aliquantulum facultatis sibi utriusque linguae habere videbatur, ausus est interpretare." De doctr. Christiana, Lib. ii. c. 11.

† "In ipsis autem interpretationibus *Itala* caeteris praeferatur: nam est verborum tenacior cum perspicuitate sententiae." Ibid, c. 15.

though the word were a mistake; but none of them has found much favour. Thus Bentley thought it should be *illa;* Potter *usitata.* Both must be rejected; especially as another passage in Augustine favours the usual reading.* When Jerome speaks of the *vulgata editio, communis editio, vetus editio,* he means the Septuagint, as has been shewn by Leander Van Ess,† not the old Latin version of which Augustine called some copies *Itala.* In like manner, Augustine uses the phrase *interpretatio usitato,* but what it means is difficult to ascertain.‡ It is useless at the present day to controvert the opinion that only one Latin version existed in early times. Eichhorn§ was right in trying to shew that there was only one definite, distinct translation; and Jahn,‖ Hug,¶ Van Ess,** are wrong in maintaining the opposite view. It is likely however that different parts of the Old Testament were translated by different persons and at different times, and that there were a great many varieties of reading in them, because each reader freely corrected the Latin interpretation or corrupted it in his own way. We must not conclude from the different expressions used in citing the same passage by the Latin fathers, that there were *so many different versions,* an error into which Herbst†† among others falls. All such differences resolve themselves very much into various readings of the text *in one and the same version.* It is probable

* "Ita si de fide exemplarium quaestio verteretur, sicut in nonnullis, quae paucae sunt et sacrarum litterarum notissimae sententiarum varietates vel ex *aliarum regionum codicibus unde ipsa doctrina commeavit,* nostra dubitatio dijudicaretur: vel si ibi quoque codices variarent, plures paucioribus, vetustiores recentioribus praeferrentur; et si adhuc esset incerta varietas, praecedens lingua, unde illud interpretatum est, consuleretur." Contr. Faust. xi. 2.

† See Pragmatisch-kritische Geschichte der Vulgata, § 2, p. 24, et seq.

‡ De consensu Evangell. Lib. ii. 66. § Einleit. vol. ii. p. 401, et seq.

‖ Einleit. vol. i. p. 216, et seq. ¶ Einleit. vol. i. p. 403, et seq

** Pragmatisch-kritische Geschichte der Vulg. p. 19, et seq.

†† Einleitung, vol. i. pp. 237, 238.

that only one, in different pieces and from more sources than one, had come into public use, which individuals meddled with very arbitrarily.

The first certain traces of the vetus or old Latin are found at the close of the second century. Tertullian quotes or refers to it. Some time therefore must have elapsed from its origin till it came into general circulation. Hence it may be dated in the last half of the second century.

As to its birth-place history is silent. It is probable that it was made in Africa, as Eichhorn rightly conjectured. There the Latin language was current in the earliest times of Christianity. In Italy Greek had taken the precedence of Latin in many quarters. Beyond a doubt this version had been altered and corrupted in many ways, so that Jerome affirms, "every one has at pleasure added or omitted according to his own judgment."* In this respect he refers especially to the copies which were circulated at Rome. It appears to have adhered literally to the Greek, from which it was made.† We find in it all the mistakes that disfigured the Septuagint before Origen's recension; for it followed the κοινή or *ante-hexaplaric* text. Hence it may be usefully applied to the emendation of the Seventy.

All the fragments of the old Latin version that could be discovered were published at Rome by Flaminius Nobilius under the sanction of Sixtus in 1588 folio. Afterwards, Sabatier collected and published a more copious work of the same kind, at Rheims, 1743, in three folio volumes, copies of which with a new title page were also issued at Paris, 1749-1751. The title will shew the extent and nature of the work:—*Bibliorum Sacrorum Latinae versiones antiquae; seu vetus Italica*

* "Maxime cum apud Latinos tot sint exemplaria quot codices, et unusquisque pro arbitrio suo vel addiderit vel subtraxerit quod ei visum est." Praefat. in Josua.

† Eichhorn, Einleitung, vol. ii. p. 407, et seq.

et ceterae quaecunque in codd. MSS. et antiquorum libris reperiri potuerunt: quae cum vulgata Latina et cum textu Graeco comparantur, &c. The first two volumes contain the Old Testament; the third the New, with an appendix from the Roman edition, containing the third and fourth books of Esdras, and Manasseh's prayer. An important supplement to this edition was furnished by Münter in *Fragmenta versionis antiquae latinae antehieronym. Prophetarum Jerem. Ezech. Dan. et Hoseae*, Hafniae 1819, in the Miscellanea Hafniens, vol. i. fascic. 1. This was taken from a rescript MS. at Wirceburg.

In order to remedy the confusion introduced into the text of this version by a variety of causes, Jerome undertook to revise and amend it about A.D. 382, at the request of Pope Damasus. He began with the New Testament. After this he proceeded to revise the Psalter while he was at Rome. This revision, like that of the New Testament, was a hasty one,* in which the grossest mistakes alone were rectified. Subsequently he again revised the Psalter, after it had become as corrupt as it was before, more accurately and critically than formerly, conformably to the Hexaplar text of Origen with the obeli and asterisks. The former revision was called the *Roman Psalter*, because it was used in the Romish Church; the second, the *Gallican Psalter*, because it was afterwards adopted in the churches of Gaul. The latter was made by him at Bethlehem between 384 and 390 or 391 A.D.

In the same manner did he proceed gradually with all the books of the Old Testament, with Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Chronicles, correcting their text by the Hexapla. In his Apology against Rufinus he speaks merely of these six books. Hence it has been conjectured by some, that he revised no more.† In confirmation of this it has been stated that

* "Psalterium Romae dudum positus, emendaram, et juxta lxx. interpretes, licet *cursim*, magna tamen ex parte correxeram." Praefat. ad Edit. poster. Psalmorum.

† De Wette, Einleit. p. 82.

double prefaces exist only to these.* But that is an error, for there are not double prefaces to Proverbs and Canticles. Judging from Jerome's own language we should infer that he revised *all* the canonical books of the Old Testament.† Most of them however were lost by the treachery of some person to whom he had committed the MS.‡ Only two books, Psalms and Job have descended to us. The translation of the Psalms as hastily revised by Jerome is embodied in the Romish missal, or rather in that copy of it which is used at St. Peter's at Rome only; for the *Gallican* Psalter is contained in the ordinary Romish Psalter.

While Jerome was engaged in correcting the old Latin translation, he began to make a new version from the Hebrew. To this undertaking he had been prompted by the request of various friends. He had also in view an important object, viz. to assist Christians in their controversies with the Jews. The treachery of a friend had not extinguished his literary ardour. It merely served to stimulate him to higher exertions in the cause of sacred criticism. He resolved no longer to remain contented with revising the translation of a translation, for such in reality was the old Latin version of the Bible, but to undertake the more difficult task of rendering the Old Testament at once from the Hebrew into Latin. About the year 385 he began the work with the books of Samuel and Kings, which were followed by the greater and lesser prophets, the writings attributed to Solomon, Job, the Psalms, Ezra, and Nehemiah, Chronicles, the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, and Ruth, Tobit, Judith, and Esther, all in the order now given.§ There can be no doubt that Jerome was the most competent

* Eichhorn, Einleit. vol. ii. p. 421.

† See Epist. ad Augustin. 71. In Titum, c. 3.

‡ "Pleraque enim prioris laboris fraude cujusdam amisimus." Epist. 79 ad Augustin. Opp. vol. iv. p. 644, ed. Benedict.

§ See Hody, De Bibliorum textibus originalibus, &c. p. 356, et seq.

man of his day for the work in question. He was no novice in translating. He had been exercised in that department. He had been taught Hebrew by learned Jews, of whose assistance he gladly availed himself. Hence he was well acquainted with the exegetical tradition of the Rabbins. He consulted extant translations, and deferred much to them. He followed correct principles. He was familiar with the scenes of Scripture history. And then his industry and carefulness were very great. In short he united in himself more qualifications than any other of his contemporaries. With such mental furniture he produced a work superior to all former versions, both in giving the sense of the original, and in appropriate expressions. The translation of the historical books, especially of Judges, Samuel, and Kings, is remarkably good. So also is that of Job and the minor prophets. But the work was not free from defects. Many circumstances contributed to make it less correct and valuable than it might have been. Jerome had not the benefit of a *pointed text*, which is of great use in shewing the meaning of the original. He was but slightly acquainted with the Arabic and Syriac languages, cognate as they are to the Hebrew and throwing much light upon it. He had also to abide by the established current version of the time as much as possible, so as to avoid offending the prejudices of its admirers. Hence he sometimes corrects his own translation in his commentaries. He could not therefore freely follow his own independent judgment by departing widely from established interpretations. Besides, he proceeded in his work with considerable haste. He did not spend much time over parts of it at least; and perhaps could not do so from the peculiar circumstances he was placed in. Thus we are told by himself:—"Itaque longa aegrotatione fractus, ne penitus hoc anno reticerem, et apud vos mutus essem, *tridui* opus nomini vestro consecravi, interpretationem videlicet trium Salomonis voluminum," &c.* And in another place:—"Quia vicina est

* Praef. in libb. Salomonis.

Chaldaeorum lingua sermoni Hebraico, utriusque linguae peritissimum loquacem reperiens, *unius diei* laborem arripui, et quidquid ille mihi Hebraicis verbis expressit, hoc ego, accito notario, sermonibus Latinis exposui."* We need not therefore be surprised at mistakes in his translation here and there, particularly in the Proverbs.

Notwithstanding the timid and cautious procedure of Jerome, the work excited the opposition of many. An excessive and superstitious veneration for the Septuagint and the *vetus* made from it prevailed at that time, so that any one who departed from them could not hope to escape animadversion. Calumnies were freely uttered against the laborious translator. He was pronounced a heretic. Detraction and opposition befel him. Even Augustine joined partially with his accusers, not daring to go against the stream of popular opinion, though he had at first hailed the work with joy. He advised Jerome not to proceed with it, telling him of a late occurrence in Africa as a warning to desist. A bishop there had introduced the new version into his church; but when the people heard another name given to the gourd of Jonah, they were excited and refused obedience till the old Bible was restored.† The new translation was said to be a falsification of the Word of God. Its departures from the current Greek version and from the old Latin version taken from the Greek, were seized upon as proofs of the danger accruing from the new work. Accordingly it was reserved for the more correct judgment of posterity to appreciate the merits of Jerome as a translator. His contemporaries condemned when they ought to have approved and applauded. The numerous passages in which he alludes to the unjust treatment he met with, have been collected by Van Ess,‡ and form a melancholy exhibition of the unreasonable, injurious prejudices to which good men are exposed in an evil world.

* Praef. in Tobiam. † August. Ep. 88. Opp. iv. 2, 610.

‡ Geschichte der Vulgata, u. s. w. pp. 118-126.

The following paragraph will shew the general deviation of the new translation from the old Latin one current before Jerome :—

The Old Version (Isaiah lii. 13, &c.)

Verse 13. Ecce intelliget puer meus, et exaltabitur, et gloriabitur valde.

14. Sicut stupebunt super te multi, sic ingloria erit ab hominibus species tua, et gloria tua a filiis hominum.

15. Sic mirabuntur gentes multae super eo, et continebunt reges os suum : quia quibus non est annuntiatum de eo, videbunt ; et qui non audierint, intelligent.

Liii. 1. Domine, quis credidit auditui nostro ? et brachium domini cui revelatum est ?

2. Annuntiavimus quasi parvulum in conspectu ejus, sicut radix in terra sitienti : non est species ei neque gloria ; et vidimus eum, et non habebat speciem neque decorem.

3. Sed species ejus inhonorata, et deficiens prae filiis hominum ; homo in plaga, et sciens ferre infirmitatem : quia aversa est facies ejus, despecta et non reputata.

4. Iste peccata nostra portat, et pro nobis dolet ; et nos reputavimus eum esse in dolore, et in plaga, et in afflictione.

5. Ipse autem vulneratus est propter peccata nostra, et infirmatus est propter iniquitates nostras ; disciplina pacis nostrae super eum, livore ejus sanati sumus.

6. Omnes quasi oves erravimus, homo in via sua erravit : et dominus tradidit eum propter iniquitates nostras.

7. Et ipse propter afflictionem non aperuit os suum : sicut ovis

Jerome's Version.

Verse 13. Ecce intelliget servus meus, exaltabitur, et elevabitur, et sublimis erit valde.

14. Sicut obstupuerunt super te multi, sic inglorius erit inter viros aspectus ejus, et forma ejus inter filios hominis.

15. Iste asperget gentes multas, super ipsum continebunt reges os suum ; quia quibus non est narratum de eo, viderunt ; et qui non audierunt, contemplati sunt.

Liii. 1. Quis credidit auditui nostro ? et brachium domini cui revelatum est ?

2. Et ascendet sicut virgultum coram eo, et sicut radix de terra sitienti ; non est species ei, neque decor ; et vidimus eum, et non erat aspectus, et desideravimus eum ;

3. Despectum et novissimum virorum, virum dolorum, et scientem infirmitatem ; et quasi absconditus vultus ejus et despectus, unde nec reputavimus eum.

4. Vere languores nostros ipse tulit, et dolores nostros ipse portavit ; et nos putavimus eum quasi leprosum, et percussum a Deo et humiliatum.

5. Ipse autem vulneratus est propter iniquitates nostras, attritus est propter scelera nostra ; disciplina pacis nostrae super eum, et livore ejus sanati sumus.

6. Omnes nos quasi oves erravimus, unusquisque in viam suam declinavit ; et posuit dominus in eo iniquitatem omnium nostrum.

7. Oblatus est, quia ipse voluit et non aperuit os suum ; sicut ovis

The Old Version (Isaiah liii. 1, &c.)

ad victimam ductus est, et sicut agnus coram tondente mutus, sic non aperuit os suum.

8. In humilitate judicium ejus sublatum est; generationem illius quis enarrabit? quia tollitur de terra vita ejus: ab iniquitatibus populi mei ductus est ad mortem.

9. Et dabo pessimos pro sepultura ejus, et divites pro morte illius; quia iniquitatem non fecit, neque dolum in ore suo.

10. Et dominus vult mundare eum a plaga; si dederitis pro peccato, anima vestra videbit semen longaevum, et vult dominus.

11. Auferre de dolore animam ejus, ostendere ei lucem, et formare intelligentiam, justificare justum bene servientem multis: et peccata eorum ipse portabit.

12. Propterea ipse possidebit multos, et fortium dividet spolia, pro eo quod contaminata est in morte anima ejus, et cum iniquis reputatus est: et ipse peccata multorum suscepit, et propter iniquitates eorum traditus est.

Jerome's Version.

ad occisionem ducetur, et quasi agnus coram tondente se obmutescet, et non aperiet os suum.

8. De angustia et de judicio sublatus est; generationem ejus quis enarrabit; quia abscissus est de terra viventium; propter scelus populi mei percussit eum.

9. Et dabit impios pro sepultura, et divitem pro morte sua; eo quod iniquitatem non fecerit, neque dolus fuerit in ore ejus.

10. Et dominus voluit conterere eum in infirmitate; si posueirit pro peccato animam suam, videbit semen longaevum, et voluntas domini in manu ejus dirigetur.

11. Pro eo, quod laboravit anima ejus, videbit et saturabitur; in scientia sua justificabit ipse justus servus meus multos, et iniquitates eorum ipse portabit.

12. Ideo dispertiam ei plurimos; et fortium dividet spolia, pro eo, quod tradidit in mortem animam suam, et cum sceleratis reputatus est; et ipse peccata multorum tulit, et pro transgressoribus rogavit.

But there were a few discriminating scholars who perceived the value of Jerome's version, and used it in their own works. Thus they prepared for its general adoption at a subsequent period. To them is due its universal acknowledgment at a later time. We refer to such as Sophronius, who translated the Psalms and Prophets into Greek from the Latin of Jerome; and to Lucian Baeticus, also belonging to the east; in the west, to Joh. Cassian, Prosper of Aquitain, Eucherius of Lyons, Vincent of Lerins, Coelius Sedulius, Claudian Mamertus, Salvian of Marseilles in part, &c.

To Pope Gregory *the Great* it mainly owed its public ecclesiastical reception. He recommended it to the people as

the more faithful, explained the book of Job chiefly from its text, in preference to the older Latin, praised it in his dedicatory epistle to Leander of Seville, and affirmed that the holy see made use of both versions.* Soon after Jerome's was preferred to the older one in Spain; and in the seventh century we learn from Isidore that it was universally adopted there.† Thus the new version came to be adopted gradually and by tacit consent, rather than by the authority of a public synod or decree in its favour. Towards the close of the seventh century, it was freely admitted into all the Latin churches and soon displaced the ancient one.

The custom of many readers to use both versions was very unfavourable to their purity; for when numerous copies began to be required, transcribers *corrected*, as they thought, the one by the other, chiefly however Jerome's by the older. It has been stated by Horne, that Cassiodorus was the principal cause of this confusion, having ordered them to be written in parallel columns, but we have searched in vain for proof of such statement. Interpolations were also made in the Hieronymian version out of various writers who were supposed to have used it; out of liturgical books; and even from Josephus. The increasing ignorance and barbarism of the times contributed greatly to the corruption of the text; the officious, uncritical zeal of half-learned monks correcting and altering freely where it did nothing but corrupt the genuine text.

In this corrupt state the text of the version was found by Charlemagne, who observed the differences in the lessons which were read in the churches. Wishing to restore the

* In Job, lib. xx. cap. 23, and Praef. expos. in Job, ad Leandrum Episcop.

† "De Hebraeo autem in Latinum eloquium tantummodo Hieronymus Presbyter Sacras Scripturas convertit; cujus editione generaliter omnes ecclesiae usquequaque utuntur, pro eo quod veracior sit in sententiis; et clarior in verbis." De divinis officiis, lib. i. cap. 12.

text, he issued repeated orders to the effect that care should be taken to have genuine copies of the Bible throughout the churches. About the year 802 A.D. he entrusted his friend Alcuin with the commission to amend the Old and New Testaments, which was done accordingly. The improved edition was introduced into France, and contains the text which was current in the western church under the title of *the Vulgate* down to the Council of Trent. The work consists of the Old Testament according to the version of Jerome, with the exception of the Psalter and the deutero-canonical books Baruch, Jesus Sirach, Wisdom, the two books of Maccabees, which were derived from the vetus.

It is not easy to ascertain the principles on which Alcuin proceeded in this revision. They do not seem to have been sound and genuine ones. According to Marsh,* he revised the Vulgate from the Hebrew in the Old Testament, and the Greek in the New; but this is very unlikely. Hody † thinks that he made use both of the original languages and the better class of MSS. But we agree with Porson,‡ who thinks that he employed MSS. alone. It is improbable that he knew Greek. Alcuin prefixed the prologues or prefaces of Jerome to the books.

Baronius§ speaks of a copy being in the library at Vallicella, *i. e.* in the library of the church of the oratory of St. Philip Neri at Rome, where the MS. is still kept. Blanchini gives a facsimile of it. It is also spoken of by Birch on 1 John v. 7. This is not the same with Alcuin's or Charlemagne's Bible in the British Museum, the latter being that described by Hug as belonging to M. Speyer of Basel (vol. i. p. 417). Of this one it is alleged, that it was presented to him by his own hand. Sir F. Madden thinks it probable that it was the copy so pre-

* Lectures on the Criticism and Interpretation of the Bible, p. 75, ed. 1828. † De Bibliorum textibus originalibus, &c. p. 409.

‡ Letters to Mr. Archdeacon Travis, p. 145.

§ Annales ecclesiast. ad annum 778.

sented, but doubts whether it was *the autograph* of Alcuin himself. He is inclined to believe that it is one of the MSS. prepared by students in the school belonging to the monastery at Tours, and *superintended* by Alcuin.*

The text current in England was as corrupt as that on the continent, and equally needed revision. Hence the task of revising it was undertaken by Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the eleventh century. In the following century (A.D. 1150) Cardinal Nicolaus finding the copies very corrupt (pene quot codices tot exemplaria reperirem), made it his study to amend the text.

In the same century appeared what were termed *Correctoria* or *Epanorthotae*, viz. revised biblical texts with critical remarks in the margin, resembling the Hebrew Masorah. These proceeded from learned or religious associations who got biblical MSS. revised for their use. The person who undertook the revision compared other MSS., preceding *correctoria*, if such there were, the works of the fathers and others, and from these sources noted in the margin of the copy to be revised various readings, with the grounds why he adopted one and rejected another. He also appended other sorts of remarks on peculiarities of language, on interpunction, &c. &c.

The theologians of Paris were the first of the religious corporations which had such a work made. This was followed by the correctorium of Hugo a St. Caro about 1236. Other correctoria of the Dominicans are mentioned. Hug† speaks also of a correctorium of the Carthusian order, relying on a passage of Wilh. Lindanus, but the passage does not justify the existence of such a work.‡ Many of these corrections were condemned by Roger Bacon in his letter to Clement IV.

* Alcuine's Bible in the British Museum, by Sir F. Madden, Knt. 1836, 8vo.

† Introduction to the New Testament translated by Fosdick, p. 278.

‡ Van Ess, Geschichte, u. s. w. p. 164.

He looked on the prevailing evil with the eye of a philosopher. It is certain that they did not contribute to the production or maintenance of a pure text, but rather the contrary; although they were not without value. They were more *exegetical* than *critical*, and had therefore little influence on the text itself. Besides, they were constructed on an erroneous principle; for the makers of them, instead of comparing the oldest and purest of the Alcuinian copies, and applying good critical canons in judging of various readings, consulted some favourite father and adopted his reading of a passage. It is easy to see, how a great number of foreign elements found their way into the version, so that copies differed so greatly from one another as to excite the attention of all who had an opportunity of seeing more than one. Only one correctorium was printed, viz. at Cologne, 1508 8vo, from which Carpzov gave a specimen.*

From this history of the unprinted Vulgate it may be inferred, that the old MSS. had far more variations than are to be seen in any critical edition of the Vulgate afterwards printed; and that the text has passed through so many circumstances as make it a hopeless task to bring it back to what it was at first. It cannot but be corrupt now, whatever be the labour expended in restoring it.

It was not till after the invention of printing that the state of the text appeared in all its confusion. As soon as printed editions came into the hands of readers, it was discovered how much they differed among themselves; and anxieties about the matter were increased when editions were furnished with a number of various readings, and editors complained in their prefaces of the incorrectness of the text as it existed in MSS.

After the invention of printing, the Vulgate issued from the press many times without date and place. It was the first book ever printed. The first *that had a date* was published at Mainz 1462. This was followed by many others, at Rome 1471; Nürnberg 1471, 1475, 1478, 1479, 1480; Piacenza

* Critica Sacra, p. 686.

1475; Paris 1475; Naples 1476; Venice 1475, 1476, &c. all in folio, except that of Piacenza.

The first attempt to give a critical text deserving mention, was made by Cardinal Ximenes, who began in 1502 to improve the Vulgate by a comparison of various MSS., and occasionally the Hebrew and Greek originals. But this edition in the Complutensian Polyglott was far surpassed by that of Robert Estienne or Stephens, who published in 1528 folio an edition of the entire Vulgate, from MSS. and the Complutensian Polyglott. In 1532 appeared another and improved edition, and a third in 8vo in 1534. The fourth edition published in folio, 1540, was much superior to the preceding ones. For it he compared fourteen of the best and oldest MSS. with three printed editions of the Vulgate, whose variations are noted in the margin. The fifth edition appeared in 1545, large 8vo.; the sixth, which is a mere reprint of the fourth, in 1546 folio; the seventh in 1555 8vo, with the division of verses introduced for the first time into the Old Testament as well as the New. This seventh impression was printed at Geneva, whither the learned printer had fled from the persecutions of the Paris theologians, to whom his labours were obnoxious. The eighth edition appeared at Geneva in two vols. folio, 1557, with Vatablus's remarks on the Old Testament and Beza's on the New.

After the Council of Trent had declared the Vulgate *authentic* a new and more correct edition was also prepared by John Hentenius and other Louvain divines, and published in 1547 folio. Old Latin MSS. were collated for it; so that it is an edition of considerable importance. It was several times reprinted, in 1559, 1561, 1563, 1570, 1572, at Antwerp, in various sizes. But the Louvain divines did not rest contented with what they had done at first. They compared new MSS. and issued their chief edition in 1573 at Antwerp, three volumes 8vo and 12mo. Here the readings of their MSS. are marked in the margin, as also the deviations of the Hebrew

text, the Chaldee paraphrases, the Septuagint; and in the New Testament the variations of the Greek text and the Syriac version. The edition was repeated in 1580, 1583, 1587, 1590. It is most important in criticism. But it never obtained ecclesiastical authority generally, though it had a degree of authority for twenty years, till Sixtus V. forbad the collecting of critical materials lest the authenticity of the version should be undermined. After the Sixtine decree critical editions with various readings ceased among Roman Catholics.

The following do not truly belong to a history of the Vulgate, though sometimes given with it:—

In 1542 an edition was published by Isidore Clarius, a Brescian monk, in small folio, at Venice. The title shews its character. "Vulgata editio Veteris et Novi Testamenti, quorum alterum ad Hebraicam, alterum ad Graecam veritatem emendatum est diligentissime, ut nova editio non facile desyderetur, et vetus tamen hic agnoscatur," &c. The text was corrected after the Hebrew and Greek originals. This edition was put in the index of prohibited books at Rome as not exhibiting the text of the Vulgate edition, and with reason.

The editions of Andrew Osiander sen. (1522 Nürnberg) and Luke Osiander (1574-86 Tübingen) who were Protestants, were also corrected so much from the originals as not to exhibit the proper Vulgate. The edition of Paul Eber and George Major, published at Wittenberg in 1565 4to, ten volumes or parts, with Luther's German translation, has the Latin so much altered and interpolated as to present a different version from the Vulgate.

In 1546 the Council of Trent pronounced the Vulgate version *authentic*, and decreed that "hereafter sacred Scripture, but especially this ancient and Vulgate edition itself, shall be printed as accurately as possible."* What was meant by the

* "Insuper eadem sacrosancta synodus considerans non parum utilitatis accedere posse ecclesiae Dei, si ex omnibus latinis editionibus

appellation *authentic* has been disputed. It probably signifies no more than that it should be used as *the authorised version* of the Catholic Church in all public lessons, disputations, preachings, and expositions. The most intelligent Romanists explain it to mean a *faithful version* containing nothing contrary to faith and morals, not *infallibly correct.* It was to be *the standard* version of the church, to which appeal should be made and which none should dare to reject.† Roman Catholic writers have tried to shew that the church had no hostility to the Bible in the original tongues when this decree was passed; and that it was not intended to check literary activity in publishing the original text and other ancient versions.‡ But this is by no means apparent. Surely the council knew that by enacting such a decree, free inquiry into the doctrines of the church would be repressed. In elevating this version into the sole and ultimate standard of appeal in all public ecclesiastical matters, the original was certainly depreciated.

It was the intimation given at the end of the decree that stimulated Hentenius and the Louvain divines to prepare after MSS. that new edition which appeared the following year. But we have seen that the Papal see did not adopt or sanction it; but instituted measures of itself for obtaining such an edition of the Bible as the Council of Trent intended. The work was begun under Pius IV. and continued under Pius V.; but it would appear that the theologians to whom the task had been committed did not prosecute it to any great extent.

quae circumferuntur, sacrorum librorum, quaenam pro authentica habenda sit, innotescat, statuit et declarat, ut haec ipsa vetus et vulgata editio, quae longo tot saeculorum usu in ipsa ecclesia probata est, et in publicis lectionibus, disputationibus, praedicationibus et expositionibus pro authentica habeatur, et ut nemo illam rejicere quovis praetextu audeat vel praesumat . . . . . decrevit et statuit, ut posthac sacra Scriptura, potissimum vero haec ipsa vetus et vulgata editio, quam emendatissime imprimatur."

† Van Ess, § 17, p. 401, et seq.

‡ See Van Ess, Geschichte der Vulgata, 1824.

Sixtus the Fifth applied himself to it with vigour, bringing together a number of learned men to labour at it incessantly. He himself chose the readings to be adopted where there were several in one passage; and read over the printed sheets once at least.* The volume was printed in 1589, but not published till the following year 1590 in folio.† In the papal bull or constitution which begins on the fourth page, the text of the edition is pronounced *the true, legitimate, authentic text;* ‡ and all persons who should presume to alter it are threatened with the indignation of Almighty God §. The entire *constitutio* is given by Van Ess, ‖ and is of a very stringent character.

After the printing of the entire work was finished, Sixtus undertook to read it over again before it should be *published.* This is expressly stated by Angelus Rocca, who had good opportunities of knowing the truth, because he was secretary of the congregation. In this last revision slips of printed paper were pasted over mistakes, containing the right readings; and other errors were corrected with the pen. It is highly probable that a copy thus amended with his own hand was given to the printing-office by Sixtus, with the injunction that no copy should be sent forth without the same corrections. With so many other pressing occupations, and in the short space of two months, as Rocca says, the entire work could not be very accurately revised. The context of the passage already quoted from the preface shews that *the correction of the sheets* is there

* "Novam typographiam exstruximus, ut in ea emendatum jam bibliorum volumen excuderetur; eaque res quo magis incorrupte perficeretur, nostra nos ipsi manu correximus, si qua praelo vitia obrepserunt, et quae confusa, aut facile confundi posse videbantur, ea intervallo scripturae a majoribus notis et interpunctione distinximus."—Praefat.

† Van Ess, p. 266. ‡ "*Vera, legitima, authentica et indubitata.*"

§ "Si quis autem hoc attentare praesumpserit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei, ac beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum ejus se noverit incursurum." ‖ P. 269, et seq.

alluded to by Sixtus; not *this final* revision. Copious examples of these corrections are given by James* and Van Ess. They differ of course in different copies.

Soon after it was published the pontiff died, and the discontent with which most of the Romish theologians had received the work found a ready utterance. They endeavoured to suppress the work entirely and substitute a new edition in its stead. Urban VII. who succeeded Sixtus V. lived only twelve days; but after him Gregory XIV. commissioned two of his cardinals to make a new revision of the Vulgate, who with the assistance of various learned men, compared the printed text in the Sixtine edition with the original texts; in the Old Testament with the Septuagint, and with several old Latin MSS. It is surprising that they spent but nineteen days upon the work. Gregory did not live to see it finished; Innocent IX. who lived but two months after his election, seems to have taken no part in it; and Clement VIII. assigned the completion of it to three cardinals, under whose care it was published in 1592 folio, with the two titles, *Biblia Sacra Vulgatae editionis Romae Ex Typographia Apostolica Vaticana* MDXCII.; and, *Biblia Sacra, Vulgatae editionis Sixti Quinti Pontif. Max. jussu recognita atque edita.* This new edition was also declared authentic, and accompanied with similar threats of excommunication against any who should presume to alter its text. Bellarmine prefixed a preface in which however he says nothing of the way followed by himself and his associates in revising the text. It is a very unsatisfactory statement that the text was altered in some places, in others that it was left unchanged, though it needed alteration. It is said in the preface, which is given entire by Van Ess, that Sixtus discovered so many errors of the press in his edition after it was published, that he resolved to recal it and issue a new one. But that being prevented by death from

* Bellum Papale, sive concordia discors Sixti V., &c. Lond. 1600, 4to.

fulfilling his purpose, Gregory XIV. attempted to carry out the intention of Sixtus, but did not live to complete it. Neither did Innocent IX. It was not till Clement VIII. that the work which Sixtus had intended was finished. It is well known however that this transference of the blame to *the printer* was an expedient of Bellarmine's to save the credit of the Sixtine edition. This is admitted by Roman Catholics themselves, by Hug, Herbst, Van Ess. The first says,—"There was however a great difficulty to surmount. Was it expedient to depreciate the Sixtine edition by declaring it faulty? Both the new work and the Papal authority would certainly gain nothing by this in public estimation. Should it be pronounced correct? Why then prepare another? In this dilemma Bellarmine is said to have found out a middle course, and to have proposed that all the blame should be laid upon the printer, so as to vindicate the reputation of Sixtus and his successors. . . . . Bellarmine was the author of the preface, and it is said to have been the cause of his canonization."* In like manner Van Ess does not hesitate to call the assertions of Bellarmine on this point "*lies and pious frauds.*"† When therefore it is alleged by Bellarmine or any other Romanist that the intention of Sixtus was merely fulfilled by his successors, in sending forth a revised edition, the allegation is simply incorrect. An examination of the prefaces and texts in both editions is sufficient to shew that Sixtus never intended a second edition; and that Clement's is a very different impression. Sixtus could not have thought of suppressing his, because after it was printed he took great pains with the text. Now had he designed to cancel the whole, and prepare another in its place, he would not have corrected it with such minute labour. The old and the new edition differ in many places where there was no error of the press in the former. Clauses

* Hug's Introduction translated by Fosdick, p. 281.

† Geschichte der Vulgata, u. s. w. p. 324.

found in the one are omitted in the other. There are additions in the one to the other. They even contradict one another in various passages. They differ in more than two thousand places.

These important diversities between editions issuing from the same infallible see, have not escaped the notice of Protestants, as furnishing a powerful argument against the unerring character of the Romish church. The discrepancies were industriously collected by James,* and Prosper Marchand.† In consequence of the argument thence derived against the popes, Baldwin the Jesuit boldly affirmed that Sixtus's edition was never published.

The few following examples may serve to shew their diversities:—

Exod. xxiii. 18.	
Non immolabis super fermento sanguinem victimae *meae*. Ed. Clement.	. . . . . victimae *tuae*. Ed. Sixt.
Exod. xvi. 3.	
Cur *eduxitis* nos in desertum istud. Ed. Clement.	Cur *induxitis* nos, &c. &c. Ed. Sixt.
Numb. xxx. 11.	
Uxor in domo viri *cum se voto constrinxerit et juramento, si audierit vir et tacuerit nec contradixerit sponsioni reddet quodcunque promiserat; sin autem exemplo contradixerit, non tenebitur promissionis rea: quia maritus contradixit et dominus ei propitius erit* si voverit et juramento se constrinxerit. Ed. Clement.	Uxor in domo viri si voverit et juramento se constrinxerit. Ed. Sixt.
Ep. ad. Hebraeos, v. 11.	
Grandis sermo et *ininterpretabilis* ad dicendum. Ed. Clement.	*interpretabilis*, &c. Ed. Sixt.

The Sixtine edition is very scarce, probably because it

* Bellum Papale, sive concordia discors Sixti Quinti, &c. Lond. 1600, 4to.

† In Schelhorn's Amoenitates Litterariae, vol. iv. p. 433, et seq.

was suppressed as much as possible, and because few copies were published.

The text of the Clementine edition approaches to the modern form of it as corrected by Alcuin. Hence in the Old Testament it comes closer to the Hebrew; and resembles the Louvain edition more nearly than any other. There can be little doubt that the corrections were chiefly made from the Louvain theologians.

In this Clementine edition a great number of typographical mistakes were afterwards corrected by printing on them or over them. The pen was also employed in correcting the text.

A list of the most important words and passages so corrected is given by Van Ess, by the side of the corresponding text of the Sixtine edition.*

Looking at this list of mistakes, it can hardly be said that the text of the Clementine is more correct than that of the Sixtine edition. *The later* has almost as many errors which affect the sense as *the earlier* one. It is also certain that the very same errata which appear in the Sixtine have been retained in the Clementine.

Thus it is notoriously contrary to fact when Bellarmine says in the preface that the utmost endeavour was made to print the restored text as accurately as possible (ut *quam emendatissime* imprimeretur). As to the character *of the text itself*, he does not assert its immaculateness. He says in the preface—"alia quae mutanda videbantur, consulto immutata relicta sunt, tum quod ita faciendum esse ad offensionem populorum vitandam," &c. In like manner he writes to Lucas Brugensis (Dec. 6, 1603)—"Scias velim, Biblia Vulgata non esse a nobis accuratissime castigata, multa enim de industria justis de causis pertransivimus, quae correctione indigere videbantur."

In 1593 Clement VIII. published another edition, in 4to, which differs very considerably from the preceding. It vir-

* Geschichte, p. 366, et seq.

tually exhibits a new revision of the text. Bukentop the monk industriously compared it with the edition of 1592. But though it was given out as the most correct, it has an appendix containing many typographical errors. In 1598 a third edition was published in small quarto at Rome from the second Clementine one. It was very carelessly edited, and contains a great number of errata, most of which are enumerated by Van Ess.* It is accompanied however with a *correctorium* to those of 1592, 1593 and itself.

It is astonishing to observe how many differences exist between these three editions. They are considerable in number and importance. They cannot well be regarded as mere typographical errors or trifling mistakes. And if we should be asked which is the *standard* Clementine text, justice and charity require that the edition of 1598 ought to be selected, with its *correctorium*. It is both wrong and unfair to take the impression of 1592 and pass by the two subsequent ones.

In 1599 Moret, who got from Clement the exclusive privilege of printing the authentic Vulgate out of Italy for ten years, issued an edition in 8vo and 4to at Antwerp. This too differs from the Clementine in many places; though the command was, that it should be an exact copy of it.

All subsequent editions take the Clementine text for their basis, chiefly the one of 1598, and are of little importance to the critic. The most convenient manual edition for common use is that published by Leander Van Ess in 8vo, at Tübingen and Leipzig, 1822, 1824, 1835.

The Vulgate consists of the following parts. It is not all Jerome's version from the originals. It is made up of portions belonging to the vetus, to the Hexaplar-Latin version improved by Jerome, and of his own translation made directly from the Hebrew.

To the old Latin belong Baruch, the Wisdom of Solomon, Sirach, and the two books of Maccabees.

* Geschichte, p. 373, et seq.

To the old Latin corrected by Jerome from the Hexaplar text of the Seventy belongs the Gallican Psalter, but without the obeli and asterisks which he put originally after the example of Origen.

The other books of the Old Testament were translated by Jerome from the Hebrew. The New Testament part is his revision of the vetus from the Greek.

Tobit and Judith he translated in one day by the help of a Jew who gave a Chaldee paraphrase of them, which he put into Latin.

The apocryphal additions to Esther, Daniel, and Jeremiah were retained from the vetus.

This version has been unduly commended by Romanists. Very few of them however professed that it is now or ever absolutely was exempt from error. John Morin himself, although he asserts oftener than once, that the author was a prophet and was guided by a special influence of the Spirit, does not say that he never made a mistake.* Nor do others who speak of the translator being guided by the Spirit hold that he fell into no error. Some indeed assert that the author made no mistakes; among whom are Titelmann, Lippomann, Grysald, Gretser, Tirinus, and others.† Among the Romanists themselves there has been *a diversity* of opinion about the value of the version. Such as maintained that it was made under the influence of the divine Spirit, or held that the translator had been kept by a singular providence from every error, were the least learned writers of the church, chiefly Spanish monks, who certainly were the more numerous party at the time of the Council of Trent, and afterwards in Spain. Others took a more moderate view, and admitted the existence of mistakes.‡

The version was unjustly depreciated by many of the

* See Hody, p. 445. † See Van Ess, p. 211, note.

‡ Ibid, p. 210, et seq.

older Protestants. Few competent critics will hesitate to admit its value. It is a very ancient witness of *the text* at an early period, as well as of the sense in which it was understood. But it has unfortunately descended to us in a very imperfect state. It has been so much corrupted by various causes, that criticism cannot restore it to its pristine state. There is no ancient document that more needs revision. It ought therefore to be examined and corrected from all ancient sources now available; so that Jerome's own may be separated from later readings. In most cases we fear that this will be a hopeless task, because of the comparative age of the extant MSS. and the early period in which corruptions were introduced. It is certain that the printed copies of the Vulgate do not give Jerome's text in a large number of places; but it is not so easy to prove what he *did* read in them. Nor is it always safe to rely on Jerome's commentaries where they differ from his version, because we know that he did not depart from current interpretations so far as he would have done in other circumstances. He did not always give the translation he preferred in deference to prevailing prejudices. His writings express his real opinion much better than his Latin translation; but we want the text *as he left it;* not as he thought it should be, or as he himself may have elsewhere given it. The text of the Vulgate agrees generally with the Masoretic Hebrew. This was to be expected from the Jewish preceptors of Jerome. In most cases too the marginal Jewish readings have been followed in preference to the textual, as is done by the Jews themselves.

At present it must be used with great caution in correcting the Old Testament text. In some places the collations of Kennicott and De Rossi have confirmed its readings; but it would be a hazardous step to admit a reading into the text on the sole authority of the document. The version however, like most others, is of far more use in an *exegetical* than a *philological* view.

CHAPTER XIX.

REMARKS ON ANCIENT VERSIONS GENERALLY, AND THEIR APPLICATION TO CRITICISM.

It might be supposed beforehand that the ancient versions of the Bible which have come down to our day, would shew the state of the Hebrew text in the early centuries preceding the labours of the Masoretes upon it, and consequently prior to all existing MSS. And they do without doubt render this important service *partially*. Their use in the criticism of the Old Testament is great. We have no other aids of equal value provided they be rightly employed. Yet they do not give *an exact* or *complete* view of the original text as it was at the time of their origin. They do not yield that important service to sacred literature which they might have done.

Had their authors possessed an adequate acquaintance with the Hebrew language, and applied themselves to the task with all the diligence and industry it required, their works would have been of far higher value. But this cannot be said of them. They often mistook the sense through ignorance of Hebrew phraseology. They assigned significations to words from probable conjecture founded on the context or etymology. They were led into mistakes by the similitude of letters, the indistinctness of the writing, or other causes. They frequently translated freely. They paraphrased, or

added explanatory clauses. Sometimes they omitted words and clauses from ignorance of the sense belonging to them, or from accident. They also endeavoured to correct some things which they looked upon as erroneously written in the text before them.

Besides these *original* defects, all ancient versions contain many grievous errors *subsequently introduced.* Much remains to be done in purging them, so as to restore them to their original purity as nearly as possible. They have not been critically sifted and purified. They are still far from being as correctly edited as we could wish. It is not easy to obtain what may be called *a good edition* of each.

The first thing is to procure the best text. The most correct edition of each version should be employed in criticism. But no one edition can be safely relied on, in consequence of the corrupt state they now present. The safest course is to employ more than one edition of each where that is possible, especially those editions which exhibit the best collection of various readings from good MSS.

The next advice to be given is, to consult and employ the text itself of these versions, not the Latin translations by which they may be accompanied. It is well known that a Latin translation is added to the Oriental and Greek versions contained in the Polyglott Bibles. In like manner, Montfaucon has given a Latin version in his edition of the Greek Hexapla. But these Latin translations are not literal or faithful. They should not be trusted, else they will often mislead. The critic should be able to consult the text of a version—the fountain itself—instead of resorting to a translation, which may be turbid when the source is pure. To inexperienced critics the Latin translations may afford some aid; but he who can do without them should not depend on them. Though they proceeded from learned and skilful men, sufficient pains were not bestowed on them.

Again, *primary* versions, *i.e.*, such as were made from the text of the Old Testament itself, furnish the principal sources of criticism. Secondary ones, or such as have been made from other versions, are of very inferior value. They are only applicable remotely. They may be safely neglected by the critic. Whatever utility they afford in purifying the texts of the versions whence they were taken, their value is small in *direct* application to the Hebrew. They bear upon it in an *indirect* mode.

The principal versions of the Old Testament at the service of the critic are, the Septuagint, the fragments of the other Greek translators, the old Syriac or Peshito, the Latin of Jerome, the Targums especially those of Onkelos and Jonathan, and the Arabic of Saadias Haggaon.

The value of these versions depends in part on their antiquity, and in part on the fidelity and literality of their character. The more ancient an interpreter is, the more ancient the codex he employed. But antiquity alone does not determine critical value. *The nature* of the version is of high importance. The nature taken in connexion with antiquity fixes the value.

The oldest of all is the Septuagint. In point of age it holds the foremost place. But it can hardly be called a faithful or excellent version, with the exception perhaps of the Pentateuch. It is often unintelligible or at least obscure.

Next to this, the fragments of the other Greek translators are to be reckoned, chiefly those of Aquila who adhered very closely to the Hebrew text. The old Syriac is generally faithful and simple; but it has not escaped the influence of other versions, particularly the Septuagint. It has been altered after the Hexaplaric text.

The Targums are too paraphrastic. That of Onkelos is the most valuable for criticism. The Latin version of Jerome is very good, giving a fair representation of the Hebrew text in his day; but it has suffered greatly in its transmission to us.

Let us suppose that the critic has procured the text of a version such as it originally stood, as far as the means hitherto employed or the sources within reach can warrant the supposition. He has got it as pure as possible. What then?

Every difference of interpretation in an ancient version must not be accounted as indicating a real or certain variety of reading in the Hebrew text at that time. Many circumstances may have led the translator into error. Hence he may appear to us now to have read differently from the real reading. Ignorance, inadvertence, accident, contributed to the results which his work presents.

Again, allowance must be made for the peculiarities that distinguish each version. Its genius should be perceived before it can be safely and surely applied in criticism. The peculiarities of a translation may be otherwise mistaken for actual varieties of reading. In a great number of cases it is by no means easy to tell with certainty the words which a translator had in the text before him; and when they are discoverable they may be of more use in interpretation than the department now before us. In all versions there are additions to the Hebrew text, from which it should not at once be inferred that the latter is imperfect. There are also omissions which must be put to the account of the translators' own will, not to the redundancy of the Hebrew. Such explanatory clauses and apparent omissions belong to the genius of versions. They constitute some of the peculiarities by which they are distinguished. They arise out of the nature of the versions themselves; or rather they go to form that nature.

A few examples will serve to illustrate these observations. In Gen. iii. 15, the Vulgate translates the Hebrew pronoun הוּא by *ipsa*. This mistake however should not be attributed to Jerome himself, but to subsequent corruption of the text of his translation; since we find in his *Hebrew Questions*, "*ipse* conteret," &c. The same version has in Genesis viii. 7,

egrediebatur et non revertebatur, which is quite opposite to the present Hebrew. In xviii. 28, where the Hebrew has *five* the Vulgate expresses *quadraginta quinque*. Where the original has *three thousand* in Exod. xxxii. 28, the Vulgate has *viginta tria millia*. And in the same book, for the Hebrew word *seventy*, the version puts *septuaginta duo* (xxxviii. 29). In all these examples an error must be assumed. It would be unwarrantable to attribute the readings to the Hebrew MS. or MSS. from which Jerome translated. Probably the passages as they now stand in the Clementine editions were altered since the days of the learned monk. A pure text therefore should not exhibit the readings in question. They should be absent from a good edition of the Vulgate.

In Gen. xi. 4 the Hebrew פֶּן *lest* is rendered *antequam*. This is incorrect; but it is likely that it proceeded from Jerome himself. No other Hebrew word was so translated. The present conjunction ought not to be disturbed, though represented by *antequam*.

A few errors in the Septuagint may also be given here. In Gen. xxxi. 7, for "ten *times*," מנים, the Greek has δέκα ἀμνῶν, "ten *lambs*." Here it is all but certain that μνῶν stood at first in the translation. The translator took the Hebrew word for מָנִים plural of מָנָה, *a coin*, instead of מְנִים *times*. Hence he fell into error.

Psalm lxxxvii. 5. In this place we find μήτης Σιὼν ἐρεῖ. This is simply a mistake. It should be μήτι or μὴ τῇ. The translator did not render it μήτης, as Jerome testifies.

In Psalm xxxiii. 7 God is said to gather the waters of the sea *as an heap*, כנד. Here the Seventy have ὡσεὶ ἀσκόν, *like a bag*. They confounded נֵד and נאד. We must not suppose, with Cappell, that they had the latter in the Hebrew text before them.

Again, in Psalm lxxv. 10 the Septuagint has ἀγαλλιάσομαι as the representative of אַגִּיד, *I will declare*. This is not a correct

version; but it must not therefore be inferred that they found אגיל in the text, as Cappell imagines.

In like manner, the mistakes of Onkelos must not be taken for various readings. Thus in Gen. xlix. 5, instead of כְּלֵי חָמָס מְכֵרוֹתֵיהֶם, *instruments of violence are their swords*, the Targum has תוֹתָבוּתְהוֹן *of their sojourn* for the present Hebrew word מְכֵרוֹתֵיהֶם. Here there is some error. It is more likely that Onkelos had the word we now have, in his copy, and failed to perceive that it was Greek, than that he had מְגֻרוֹתֵיהֶם *their habitations*, as Cappell supposes.

In Gen. xlix. 24, we read, "from thence is the shepherd, the stone of Israel;" but for this Onkelos has, "who by his word nourished *fathers* and *sons*, the seed of Israel." The translator erroneously divided the term אֶבֶן *stone* into the two words אָב and בֵּן.

With respect to Jonathan on the prophets, he renders מַכְשֵׁלָה by מַנְבִּירָה, Isaiah iii. 6. He had the reading ממשלה, which was either in his copy by mistake, or which he erroneously took to be there. In either case, there is no proper various reading. There is merely an error.

In Isaiah iii. 12, Jonathan renders נשים by מָרֵי חוֹבָא. This is an error. He took the word to be נשים instead of נָשִׁים.

In Pseudo-Jonathan on the Pentateuch the Hebrew אלון is rendered אוחרן, Gen. xxxv. 8. The translator mistook it for the Greek ἄλλον. In like manner, in Gen. xxxvi. 20, 21, הַחֹרִי is translated גנוסיא. This is a mistake. The translator thought that the Hebrew word was written in the Chaldee form for החרים.

We come to the Peshito for similar examples, and we find in Gen. xlix. 22, that the adverb עלי *upon* is rendered ܣܩܝ *go up*. Here a various reading must not be assumed. The translator made a mistake. In Isaiah xxviii. 26, the representative of יוֹרֶנּוּ is ܢܫܒܚܝܘܗܝ, *he praises him*, shewing that the translator took the original word for יוֹדֶנּוּ. Here there is an error.

Sufficient examples have been given to shew that due allowance must be made for errors committed by the translators, or errors subsequently introduced into their works. Various readings may be derived from these versions which do not properly come under that appellation. *The peculiarities* of versions may be mistaken for varieties of reading. Errors may be converted into the same things. Hence arises the necessity of caution and discrimination on this point.

Some critics notwithstanding have recommended, that words which merely exemplify the characteristic features of one or more versions should be admitted into the sacred text, as if they formed an original part of it. To this class belong almost all the Samaritan Pentateuch readings which have been adopted as genuine. And many of the Septuagint varieties are of the same kind. Thus in Exod. vi. 20, after the words, "She bare him Aaron and Moses," the Septuagint adds, "and Miriam their sister." The Samaritan Pentateuch has the same clause, as also the Syriac version, probably through the influence of the Septuagint upon it. But the clause must be rejected. It was not taken from corresponding words in Hebrew by the original copyists of the Samaritan Pentateuch. It was of later origin than the Samaritan text. Similar peculiarities both in the Septuagint and Samaritan frequently occur. They belong *to the nature* of these documents themselves rather than that of *various readings proper* which alone present a fair claim to notice, and are worthy of consideration whether they were at first in the text of the Bible.

After due care has been taken to get at *various readings* properly so called in ancient versions, it may be laid down as a rule, that a reading which they all reject *independently* is incorrect, though it be found in all Hebrew MSS. of the Masoretic recension. This indeed occurs but rarely. Yet there are cases where the thing happens. Thus in Obadiah, 16th verse, the word is תָּמִיד *continually;* whereas in many docu-

ments there is instead סָבִיב *round about.* MSS., with hardly an exception have the latter. But all the ancient versions have the former, and it is the right word. In 2 Chron. x. 14, we read at present אָבִי הִכְבִּיד, *my father made heavy.* But in most MSS., and those the oldest and best, we find, אַכְבִּיד, *I will make heavy.* All the ancient versions, besides many MSS., favour the former. It must therefore be retained.

Again, the true reading may exist in a single version only. This is also a rare case; but examples of it may be found. They should not be increased without extreme caution. In his valuable commentary on the books of Samuel, Thenius has greatly erred on this point. He has assigned excessive weight to one version, viz. the Septuagint. As a *right* instance of the rule we take 1 Sam. xxv. 1, where occurs the word פָּארָן, for which the Greek version has Μαων. Looking at the circumstances of the case, and the context, it is tolerably certain that the Septuagint is right. Hence the Hebrew should have מָעוֹן, *Maon.* It is fortunate that we are not left to the guidance of a single version. In nearly all cases several are available for the purposes of criticism. Here however the difficulty of deciding rightly is felt. When the ancient versions disagree in testimony, which of two or more readings should be preferred? How should we fix upon the true one?

Ceteris paribus, the majority should determine. But *mere majority* can hardly be a safe criterion. *The character* of the witnesses must be consulted, as well as their number. Above all, *adaptation of context* should be looked at. The mode in which each reading *affects the sense* is of primary importance.

We may select as an example Jerem. li. 19, "He is the former of all things and the rod of his inheritance." Here the Vulgate has, "et Israel sceptrum hereditatis ejus." The Chaldee also has *Israel.* Other versions want it. The parallel in x. 16 has the same word in the text. Amid such diversity

of testimony, we cannot follow the Vulgate and Chaldee paraphrase, and say that the true reading is with *Israel* in the text. *Israel* must be supplied indeed in translating the passage, as the context clearly points out; and accordingly our modern versions, intent upon the sense, do supply it; but it is another thing to infer that *Israel* stood at first in the Hebrew text. The probabilities are all against its originality.

But we are never shut up to the testimony of versions alone. If we were, it would be very difficult to decide on the comparative value of conflicting readings. We should be at a loss which to prefer.

When a reading supported by ancient translations has the concurrence of Hebrew MSS. it is of great weight. The greater the number of *different* witnesses to any various reading, the more strength belongs to the united evidence. This is especially the case if there be no room for suspecting mutual correction on the part of the versions presenting the same reading; and if the Hebrew codices have undergone no change derived from the ancient versions, or *vice versa*.

Of course, the greater the number of MSS. supporting a reading of the ancient versions, the greater is its authority. When *all* MSS. agree, the value of it becomes very high. And if to MSS. be added the testimony of other sources of emendation, the authority of the reading is increased. In this manner it may be supported by all sources of emendation except one, when it is certainly the true reading, unless the remaining source against it have strong circumstances in its favour, or be attended with such peculiarities as are sufficient to overbalance the mass of external evidence.

CHAPTER XX.

PARALLELS OR REPEATED PASSAGES.

CERTAIN sections, longer or shorter, are repeated in the Bible, which have given rise to various readings, and are a mean of discovering and correcting mistakes which have got into the text. These may be divided into three classes.

I. Historical sections repeated.

II. Laws, poems or odes and oracles, which appear twice.

III. Sentiments, propositions, proverbs, &c. which are repeated.

I. To this head belong *genealogies* such as,

Genesis	v. 3-32	compare	1 Chron.	i. 1-4.
	x. 2-4	„	„	i. 5-7.
	x. 8, 13-18	„	„	i. 8-16.
	x. 22-29	„	„	i. 17-23.
	xi. 10-26	„	„	i. 24-27.
	xxv. 2-4	„	„	i. 32, 33.
	xxv. 13-16	„	„	i. 29-31.
	xxxvi. 10-14	„	„	i. 35-37.
	xxxvi. 20-28	„	„	i. 38-42.
	xxxvi. 31-39	„	„	i. 43-50.
	xxxvi. 40-43	„	„	i. 51-54.
2 Sam.	xxiii. 8-39	„	„	xi. 10-47.
Ezra	ii. 1-70	„	Nehem.	vii. 6-73.

In like manner narratives belong here, such as, a considerable part of Genesis, and the following :—

1 Sam. xxxi. 1-13	compare	1 Chron. x. 1-12.
2 Sam. v. 1-3	„	„ xi. 1-3.
v. 17-25	„	„ xiv. 8-16.
vi. 1-11	„	„ xiii. 5-14.
vi. 12-16	„	„ xv. 25-29.
vi. 17-19	„	„ xvi. 1-3.
vii. 1-29	„	„ xvii. 1-27.
viii. 1-18	„	„ xviii. 1-17.
x. 1-19	„	„ xix. 1-19.
xi. 1 ; xii. 30, 31	„	„ xx. 1-3.
xxi. 18-22	„	„ xx. 4-8.
xxiv. 1-25	„	„ xxi. 1-27.
1 Kings iii. 5-13	„	2 Chron. i. 7-12.
vi. 1-3	„	„ iii. 1-4.
vi. 19-28	„	„ iii. 8-13.
vii. 15-22	„	„ iii. 15-17.
vii. 23-26	„	„ iv. 2-5.
vii. 38-51	„	„ iv. 6 ; v. 1.
viii. 1-11	„	„ v. 2-14.
viii. 12-50	„	„ vi. 1-39.
viii. 62-66	„	„ vii. 4-10.
ix. 1-9	„	„ vii. 11-22.
ix. 10-23	„	„ viii. 1-10.
ix. 26-28	„	„ viii. 17, 18.
x. 1-29	„	„ ix. 1-28.
xii. 1-19	„	„ x. 1-19.
xii. 21-24	„	„ xi. 1-4.
xiv. 21, 29-31	„	„ xii. 13-16.
xv. 1, 2, 7, 8	„	„ xiii. 1, 2, 21, 23.
xv. 9-15	„	„ xiv. 1-3, 16-18.
xv. 16-24	„	„ xvi. 1-6, 11-14.
xxii. 2-35	„	„ xviii. 1-34.
xxii. 41-50	„	„ xx. 31-37 ; xxi. 1.
2 Kings viii. 16-24	„	„ xxi. 5-10, 19, 20.
viii. 25-29	„	„ xxii. 1-6.
xi. 1-3	„	„ xxii. 10-12.
xi. 4-40	„	„ xxiii. 1-21.
xi. 21 ; xii. 21	„	„ xxiv. 1-27.
xiv. 1-6	„	„ xxv. 1-4.
xiv. 8-14, 17-20	„	„ xxv. 17-28.
xiv, 21, 22 ; xv. 2-7	„	„ xxvi. 1-4, 21-23.
xv. 32-38	„	„ xxvii. 1-9.
xvi. 1-20	„	„ xxviii. 1-27.

2 Kings	xviii. 1-3	compare	2 Chron.	xxix. 1, 2.	
	xviii. 13, 17-37	„	Isaiah	xxxvi. 1-22.	
	xix. 1-37	„	„	xxxvii. 1-38; 2 Chron. xxxii. 1-21.	
	xx. 1-11	„	„	xxxviii. 1-8.	
	xx. 12-21	„	„	xxxix. 1-8; 2 Chron. xxxii. 24-33.	
	xxi. 1-9	„	2 Chron.	xxxiii. 1-9.	
	xxi. 17-26	„	„	xxxiii. 18-25.	
	xxii. 1-20	„	„	xxxiv. 1-28.	
	xxxiii. 1-3	„	„	xxxiv. 29-32.	
	xxxiii. 21-23	„	„	xxxv. 1, 17-19.	
	xxiii. 29, 30	„	„	xxxv. 20-24; xxxvi.1	
	xxiii. 30-37; xxiv. 1-6	„	„	xxxvi. 2-8.	
	xxiv. 8-17	„	„	xxxvi. 9, 10.	
	xxxiv. 18-20; xxv. 1-30	„	Jerem.	lii. 9, 10; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 11-21.	
2 Chron.	xxxvi. 22, 23	„	Ezra	i. 1-3.	

II. Laws, poems and oracles, which appear twice :—

Exodus	xx. 2-17	compare	Deuteron.	v. 6-21.	
Levit.	xi. 2-19	„	„	xiv. 4-18.	
Psalm	xviii. 2-50	„	2 Sam.	xxii. 1-51.	
	cv. 1-15	„	1 Chron.	xvi. 8-22.	
	xcvi. 1-13	„	„	xvi. 23-33.	
	cvi. 47, 48	„	„	xvi. 35, 36.	
	xiv. 1-7	„	Psalm	liii. 1-6.	
	xl. 13-17	„	„	lxx. 1-5.	
	lvii. 7-11	„	„	cviii. 1-5.	
	lx. 5-12	„	„	cviii. 6-13.	
	lxxx. 3, 7, 19	„	„	cvii. 8, 15, 21, 31.	
	cxv. 4-8	„	„	cxxxv. 15-18.	
Isaiah	ii. 2-4.	„	Micah	iv. 1-3.	
	xv. 5	„	Jerem.	xlviii. 5.	
	xvi. 6, 7	„	„	xlviii. 29-31.	
	xxiv. 17, 18	„	„	xlviii. 43, 44.	
	lii. 7	„	Nahum	i. 15.	
Jerem.	x. 25	„	Psalm	lxxix. 6, 7.	
	xxvi. 18	„	Micah	iii. 12.	
	xlix. 14-16	„	Obadiah	i. 4.	
	xlix. 27	„	Amos	i. 4.	
Habbak.	iii. 18, 19	„	Psalm	xviii. 33.	
Zeph.	ii. 14	„	Isaiah	xlvii. 8.	

III. Sentences, propositions, and proverbs are repeated, as—

Numb. xxiv. 3, 4	compare	Numb. xxiv. 15, 16.
xxiv. 9	„	Gen. xlix. 9 ; xxvii. 29.
Isaiah v. 25	„	Isaiah ix. 12, 17, 21 ; x. 4.
xxxv. 10	„	„ li. 11.
Jerem. ii. 28	„	Jerem. xi. 13.
vii. 30, 31	„	„ xxii. 34, 35.
vii. 33	„	„ xvi. 4 ; xix. 7 ; xxxiv. 20.
vii. 34	„	„ xvi. 9 ; xxv. 10.
xv. 2	„	„ xliii. 11.
xv. 13, 14	„	„ xvii. 3, 4.
xxi. 19	„	„ xxxviii. 2.
xxiii. 5, 6	„	„ xxxiii. 15, 16.
xxxiii. 7, 8	„	„ xvi. 14, 15.
xxix. 5	„	„ xxix. 28.
xxx. 10, 11	„	„ xlvi. 27, 28.
xlviii. 40, 41	„	„ xlix. 22.
xlix. 19-21	„	„ l. 44-46.
Ezekiel i. 15-21	„	Ezekiel x. 8-17.
iii. 17-19	„	„ xxxiii. 7-9.
xi. 18-20	„	„ xxxvi. 25-28.
xviii. 25	„	„ xviii. 29 ; xxxiii. 17-20.
Habbak. ii. 8	„	Habbak. ii. 27.
Zech. iv. 5	„	Zech. iv. 13.
Prov. viii. 8	„	Prov. xx. 22.
xx. 16	„	„ xxvii. 13.
xxi. 9	„	„ xxv. 24.
xxii. 3	„	„ xxvii. 12.

There can be no doubt that these parallels have given rise to many various readings, as Cappell long ago endeavoured to shew.* But they did not cause so much corruption in the text, as either he or his editor Vogel supposed. And in using them as sources for correcting the text, greater caution must be applied than such critics as Kennicott and Eichhorn employed. It is a most difficult problem to handle them properly. In all departments of sacred criticism but here specially, care should be taken not to meddle with what is already right.

* Critica Sacra, vol. i. cap. iii. ed. Vogel.

The first thing to be observed is, whether both parallels proceed from the same writer. In several instances the sacred authors repeated the same things, either in the same book, or in different treatises. At other times later writers imitated the sentiments and adopted the language of earlier ones. They reproduced statements in similar phraseology. In both cases it is unreasonable to bind down the writers to the very same phraseology. The Old Testament authors were not thus constrained by the influences operating on their minds. They were allowed much of the freedom of ordinary authors, who vary their expressions at different times and under different circumstances, even when they give utterance to the same ideas. In like manner, one writer did not think it necessary to copy another. He *imitated* him, without being an exact or slavish *copyist*. Hence care must be taken not to reduce parallels in the same writer, or in different ones, to absolute uniformity, without a very strong reason for imagining that originally they wrote certain passages *exactly alike*.

Unfortunately, transcribers often proceeded on the erroneous assumption that many parallels were originally alike, and corrected accordingly. This is the reason why so many varieties of reading now occur in them, in MSS. and in versions. So great corruption has been introduced, that the difficulty of restoring various places to their pristine state is very considerable at the present day.

It has been propounded as a rule, that in such passages as those enumerated above, where there is a difference in numbers or names, the text is erroneous, and ought to be corrected. But the rule is apt to mislead. It does not hold good in many cases. Persons and places may have often had two names, one of them being used by one writer, and the other by another; or even both being employed by the same writer at different times. It is certain that this was the case. Thus Jacob and Israel, Edom and Esau, Jethro and Hobab, Gideon

and Jerubbaal were names belonging to the same persons. In like manner, Daniel one of the sons of David (1 Chron. iii. 1) is called Chileab (2 Sam. iii. 3). Amminadab (1 Chron. vi. 22) is termed Izhar (1 Chron. vi. 2). Uriel and Zephaniah are appellations of the same person (1 Chron. vi. 24, 36). Jediael (1 Chron. vii. 6) is called Ashbel (Gen. xlvi. 21). In 1 Chron. xi. 29, Ilai is identical with Zalmon in 2 Sam. xxiii. 28. So also Hashem (1 Chron. xi. 34) is called Jashen (2 Sam. xxiii. 32).* Thus wherever a person or place had two appellations, the critic or transcriber correcting the one by the other mistook the fact, and corrupted the text. Even in the case of numbers, the same mistake has been committed; for unless both numbers be applied exactly to the same things, and be meant to include objects precisely identical, they may have properly stood differently in the original text. Thus in 2 Sam. xxiv. 13, we have *seven years of famine;* whereas in 1 Chron. xxi. 11, there are but *three years' famine.* The Greek translator, thinking them irreconcileable, made both alike, by reading *three* in both places. But it appears from 2 Sam. xxi. 1, that there had already been a famine of three years; and the prophet asks in the former place, "shall seven years' famine" (*i. e.* three in addition to the three that had been already, with the present year included) "come unto thee in thy land?"

Another rule has been proposed in relation to this subject which is also fallacious. It has been said, that where there is more than a verbal difference in records of the same transaction, the text is erroneous and ought to be corrected. But there may be and doubtless are important differences in records of the same transaction, where the text is right in both instances. *Contradictions* there cannot be perhaps without corruption in the text; but the same event or transaction may be described from various points of view, and with various pur-

* Cappelli Crit. Sac. vol. i. pp. 99, 100, ed. Vogel.

poses, giving rise to more than *verbal* differences, while the writers are honest, truthful, and correct in every particular.

It has been farther alleged, that when there is even a verbal difference in copies of the same prayer or speech in the printed text, it ought to be corrected. This rule is as little to be relied upon as the rest; for there may be and are exceptions to it which render its application of no use. It is true that the same prayer or speech spoken but once by the same person consisted of certain words and *none other;* but it is still to be considered whether a sacred writer were prompted to utter the *ipsissima verba* the second time, or thought it necessary to do so when he gave the message or speech twice over. Did he not, at least occasionally, express *the meaning* of the speech or prayer, producing it in *substance* and *sense*, without the very terms in which it was clothed by the speaker? We think it adventurous, as well as unreasonable, to confine the sacred writers within the strict enclosure of the rule given; especially as there are examples indicating that they did not act so in point of fact. Thus Moses, in repeating the Decalogue, did not give the very words before expressed. The reasons annexed to the various commandments are not identical in the fifth chapter of Deuteronomy and in the twentieth of Exodus. The words of *the commandments themselves strictly so called*, are not always the same; nor should they be corrected to make them so.

The condition appended to the three rules now stated does not recommend them to general adoption, viz. that the differences occur in the printed text, and not in MSS. or versions. The condition is too vague to be of much use. From how many MSS. and versions must the differences in question be absent? From all? From some? From a few? If from all, there is more probability that the text is erroneous, but there is not *certainty*, because all existing MSS. are comparatively recent, and versions themselves have descended to us

in a corrupt state. There are errors which none of them touches or alludes to—errors palpable to the most cursory reader. Hence it does not follow, that because a printed passage presents one form, and all known MSS. and versions another, it is necessarily erroneous. *Many* circumstances must be taken into account before a correct judgment can be formed.

With regard to these parallel passages or repetitions, we are satisfied that no general rule can be laid down. The common principles of criticism must be carried into them; but each one has a specialty about it that modifies those principles. It needs to be looked at in its object and origin, in the bearing of its readings, its relation to the context, and the general nature of the book to which it belongs. Hence every parallel place calls for a special criticism. Special rules arise out of itself. Thus prose parallels in historical books should be treated somewhat differently from poetic parallels in other kinds of composition.

A few examples will shew the improper way in which many critics have acted in relation to parallels; and the extreme caution necessary to be observed in each separate case. On comparing the eighteenth Psalm with the twenty-second chapter of the second book of Samuel, there are many verbal differences—nearly one hundred and thirty. Here *transcribers* are blamed for the most part. Many of them, it is said, are plain corruptions; and many are removed by the authority of MSS. Yet all are not set down to their account; for Eichhorn gives a long list where *designed* alterations appear, and is in doubt whether they belong to David himself or to a contemporary.* But the line drawn between the differences belonging to transcribers, and to David himself is an imaginary one. Design may be traced throughout. Nor can any reason be given for believing that many of them have been owing to

* Einleitung, vol. i. p. 404.

copyists and critics. In 2 Sam. xxii. 11, the Masoretic text has וירא, "*And he was seen* upon the wings of the wind;" whereas the Psalm has וידא "*He did fly.*" The former is pronounced flat and wrong by Gerard.* But the reading may be suitable. It refers to *the appearing* of God in contrast with *his concealment* in the heavens.

Again, in 2 Sam. xxii. 12, "He made darkness . . . . . pavilions round about him;" which is pronounced defective in metre, and so written as if something were wanting. The Psalm has "darkness *his secret place* (סִתְרוֹ), his pavilion dark waters. But though סִתְרוֹ be wanting in 2 Samuel, and סְכֻּת stands there for סֻכָּתוֹ, the abbreviation was intentional and the metre is complete.

In 2 Sam. xxii. 13, we read, "Through the brightness that was before him," which is also pronounced defective in metre. The Psalm has, "his thick clouds passed," which is declared to be right. But the sense is complete in 2 Samuel; for there we read, "out of the brightness before him coals of fire burned." The variation is too great to be explained otherwise than by design. The Psalm has immediately after "hailstones and coals of fire." This is pronounced abrupt; and 2 Samuel, where we read, "they were kindled into coals of fire," is declared to be right. But the clause "hailstones and coals of fire," stands as an exclamation. In the thirteenth verse of the Psalm an irregularity has been found, because there are three hemistichs. Hence the last, "hailstones and coals of fire," is reckoned improper, and thought to be taken from the preceding verse; especially as a few MSS. with the Septuagint and Old Latin versions omit the clause. But the hemistich depends on the verb יִתֵּן, and is quite appropriate, as may be seen by comparing it with Exod. ix. 23. "The repetition," says Hengstenberg, "is the more in its place, as the coals of fire, or the lightning and the hail, are the very things by

* Institutes of Biblical Criticism, p. 149.

which the enemies of the Psalmist were annihilated; the rest were but the circumstantials which rendered the annihilation scene more frightful."*

In Psalm xviii. 16 we now read, מִגַּעֲרָתְךָ יְהוָה מִנִּשְׁמַת רוּחַ אַפֶּךָ. In 2 Sam. xxii. 16 the corresponding clause is בִּגְעָרַת יְהוָה מִנִּשְׁמַת רוּחַ אַפּוֹ. Here Vogel† boldly asserts that one text or the other has been changed; that of the Psalm as he conjectures. The suffix ךָ is arbitrarily appended to the word בִּגְעָרַת or מִגַּעֲרַת, and then אַפּוֹ, as the connexion seems to require, is made אַפֶּךָ. Now it is all but certain that the texts are correct in both cases; though they proceed from the one writer. In the Psalm, there is a sudden transition from the third person to the second, as is suited to the nature of poetry; but in the book of Samuel the address to Jehovah is laid aside in conformity with the context before and after. On examining all the various readings in Psalm xviii. and 2 Sam. xxii. it appears to us that the one should not be corrected by the other, and least of all, the former by the latter. The former was the original, the latter a later revision by David himself. In like manner the variations of Psalms xiv. and liii. belong to David himself, not to transcribers nor to the compilers of the books. The one should not therefore be corrected by the other.

In the case of 2 Kings xviii. 13—xx. 19, and Isaiah xxxvi.-xxxix, the one section has been copied from the other. Which is the original we need not now investigate, as Gesenius has done it with much skill and ability.‡ It is therefore unreasonable to suppose that exact verbal agreement should be found between them. There are omissions, abbreviations, additions, and alterations, which shew that the later writer did not implicitly and minutely copy his predecessor. All admit this. But in their present texts occasional corrections

* Commentary on the Psalms, vol. i. p. 301, English translation.

† Ad Cappelli Crit. Sac. vol. i. p. 49.

‡ Commentar ueber den Jesaia, vol. ii. p. 932, et seq.

have been made by Houbigant, Lowth, and other critics, on the ground that several words occur which make no sense, or at least a sense not adapted to the context. Finding that by a little alteration arising from similarity of letters in form and sound, the same words might easily pass into others suited to the connexion, and that ancient versions seem to have read the same word in both places, Lowth and others have inferred that the words were originally identical in both parallels, and have corrected one text accordingly. But they have proceeded rashly and unwarrantably. The proposed emendations or conjectures have not commended themselves to the best critics. Nor ought they. They are blundering and unsuccessful attempts. There is nothing against the supposition that the same words may have stood originally in both parallels—and it is quite reasonable to think that a word giving no sense, or one quite inappropriate to the context, should be changed into another especially when ancient versions point to another—but Lowth has often proceeded on the assumption that a word gives no sense where it does; or that it is *unsuitable* where it is *appropriate*. He has not been cautious at first, and therefore he has attempted to amend what needs no correction. Thus in Isaiah xxxvi. 7, we read וְכִי־תֹאמַר; whereas in 2 Kings xviii. 22 it is וְכִי תֹאמְרוּן. And because the latter is more suitable than the former, both have been made alike; the supposed corruption being charged to the account of transcribers. This is favoured by the fact that two ancient MSS. have the singular verb of Isaiah in the plural; and so the Septuagint and Chaldee versions.* But all this forms no good reason for inferring that at first the verb was the same in both places. As the singular verb now stands in Isaiah, and the plural verb in 2 Kings, they were originally. No change has passed over them. In the same way Micah has repeated the prophecy contained in Isaiah ii. 2-4, with a few

* See Lowth's Note on Isaiah xxxvi. 7.

variations. There is no presumption that he intended to use the same words as his predecessor, and therefore there is no reason for correcting either. But Lowth and Houbigant have attempted to do so. Isaiah has עמים, Micah has גוים. Isaiah has ונשא, Micah ונשא הוא. Isaiah has כל הגוים, Micah עמים. Isaiah has לעמים רבים "many peoples;" Micah, עצמים לגוים עד רחוק, "strong nations from afar." We must not revise the one text by means of the other; or bring them by force into exact conformity.

On the whole, we feel confident that the number of parallels originally the same in words, is not so great as is commonly supposed. Speaking generally, one writer did not commonly repeat himself in so many words; nor did a writer copy another exactly. There must be some necessity for making two passages exactly agree. It will not do to infer corruption in one of them without weighty authority either external or internal to justify the inference. When the sense is manifestly contradictory, there must be corruption. That is the only absolute canon which can be laid down.

Other canons have been furnished by Houbigant which cannot be received. In correcting parallels, he says that the emendation should be guided by the passage where the transaction is more fully narrated. But the reverse would oftener agree with reality. The rule therefore is more liable to mislead than to guide rightly. Again, the same critic affirms, that in correcting parallels the emendation should be guided by the passage with which others in Scripture are more accordant. Here there is a vagueness which renders the rule of little value. As far as it appears of any practical utility, it is also liable to mislead. For the more difficult reading is likely to be the true one; and transcribers often tried to make such readings easier by conforming them to other places. The converse of the canon is as often true as the canon itself.

De Rossi propounded another rule. When two passages

are really parallel, and present varieties sanctioned by MS. authority, the reading of the first writer and the more ancient book should be preferred. But who does not know that the later writer of the two generally departed in some particulars from the earlier? And is any one so ignorant as to assume, that transcribers could not have as readily erred in copying the earlier as the later work?

As to *the rule* that when one reading might have arisen from the other by a natural mistake it should be adopted as authentic, it can scarcely claim the character, or maintain the authority of one. *Along with other things*, it is a consideration not to be overlooked, and we follow it in certain circumstances; but much seldomer than other critics have done.

Nor will it do to rely on the consideration, that when one reading is contradicted by copies or versions, it must be corrected by the parallel one; because internal evidence may suffice *of itself* to shew that they were originally different. So also external evidence alone may prove the original dissimilarity of two passages. And the converse is equally true. Internal evidence may of itself suffice to shew that two passages were originally alike; but it must be urgent and palpable. So with regard to external evidence alone. But in all cases where one kind of evidence is relied on, it must be palpable and weighty. It must press itself on the observation even of the less discerning critic.

We believe that the present source of emendation is a legitimate and useful one, but it ought not to be pressed too far, as it has often been. In some hands it becomes dangerous. The judicious critic will manage it with *extreme* vigilance; but the innovator and the novice will employ it in doing injury to the text. The books of Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah need its application greatly. The Pentateuch too may be benefited by it. The prophetical writings and the Psalms may also gain from its operation; though in a much

less degree. But the Chronicles as compared with other books urgently demand its aid. Their text will be purified and corrected by means of it. Let it be first considered in all cases where the writers may be supposed to have consulted public or private records, genealogical registers, anthologies, or annals; whether they simply followed the sources before them; or whether they made them exact and accurate at the time of using them. The point deserves attention *before* a reforming hand be applied.

CHAPTER XXI.

QUOTATIONS FROM THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE NEW.

ANOTHER source of emendation is that which consists of quotations in the New Testament from the Old.

There are many such citations, which have been the cause of varieties in the text, and may be employed to correct it.

The New Testament writers usually quote from the Septuagint version, not from the Hebrew itself. Hence their citations are of more use in amending the text of that version than the original Hebrew.

These citations might be divided into the following classes:—

1. Such as exactly agree with the Greek version, comprehending—
   (*a.*) Those which agree exactly with the Septuagint where it literally corresponds with the Hebrew; and
   (*b.*) Those agreeing exactly with the Septuagint where it slightly deviates from the Hebrew.
2. Citations taken from the Greek version with slight variations.
3. Quotations taken from the same source, where it differs considerably or materially from the Hebrew.
4. Citations agreeing exactly with the Hebrew where it does not strictly correspond to the Greek.

5. Citations made from the Hebrew rather than the Greek.
6. Quotations agreeing neither with the Hebrew nor the Greek.

In the case of 1 (*a.*) there is nothing to be looked for in the way of amending the Hebrew, because it is right. The same may be said of 1 (*b.*), where it were idle to suspect the Hebrew corrupted, when the character of the Septuagint is so well known.

In the case of No. 2 no emendation is required, because the New Testament writers making immaterial changes in the text of the Septuagint had not regard to the original in so doing.

In the case of No. 3 it may be supposed that criticism will reap advantage. The Greek translators, where they differ considerably or materially from the present Hebrew text and are followed by the New Testament, *may have had* a Hebrew text before them varying from the Masoretic one; but an examinatian of the passages belonging here will shew, that in *very few* cases can this be inferred. We doubt whether it could be *proved* in a single instance.

In relation to No. 4 emendation is out of the question. So too with No. 5.

As to No. 6, criticism may perhaps use them with profit.

The source of emendation before us has been abused. It has been applied where it should not. Its importance has been over-estimated. We are persuaded that very few corruptions of the Hebrew text can be detected by its means; and that very few can be corrected by it. *Practically* it is of little value. Many circumstances conspire to render it so. The text of the Septuagint is at present in an incurably corrupt state. Hence criticism must employ it, directly or indirectly, with extreme caution. And then the New Testament writers quoting from it were satisfied with it if it gave the sense. They did not care much about *the letter* of Scripture. They were intent on

the general sense of a passage, and not the *ipsissima verba.** Besides, it is by no means likely that they made their quotations with the Septuagint version before them. In some cases they may have done so; but not generally. Familiarity with the Greek version led them to trust to memory. They cited from recollection.

It is natural to suppose, that where the Greek did not give the sense, the New Testament writers resorted to the Hebrew. Then only did they quote from it. But they did not bind themselves to a literal rendering of the Hebrew words. They gave the sense correctly, which was all they wanted. Besides, the text of the Greek Testament itself in many cited passages presents diversities of reading—a fact which adds to the difficulty of amending the Hebrew text from the source before us. These and other circumstances detract much from the utility of quotations in criticism. But they have not had their due weight and proper influence allowed them. They have been much neglected; and therefore critics have set about correcting the Hebrew where it needs no correction. Perhaps an example or two may serve to put the reader more plainly in possession of the thing asserted. In the following passages, we are told that the Hebrew appears to be corrupted.

Micah v. 2	compared with	Matth. ii. 6.
Malachi iii. 1	„	Matth. xi. 10; Mark i. 2; Luke vii. 27.
Psalm xvi. 8-11	„	Acts ii. 25-28.
Amos ix. 11, 12	„	Acts xv. 16, 17.
Psalm xl. 7-9	„	Heb. x. 5-7.
Habbak. ii. 3, 4	„	Heb. x. 37, 38.

Matth. ii. 6.—This quotation does not exactly agree either with the Seventy or the Hebrew. The Septuagint coincides

* "Ex quibus perspicuum est, apostolos et evangelistas in interpretatione veterum scripturarum sensum quaessisse, non verba: nec magnopere de ordine sermonibusque curasse, dum intellectui res pateret."—Hieronymus, ep. 47 ad Pammach.

more nearly with the Hebrew than with the words of Matthew. The negative particle is wanting in both. Some think that the negative particle μή originally belonged to the Greek version, thus preparing the way for another assumption, viz., that the negative לֹא originally belonged to the Hebrew, which having been dropped, the Greek version was altered accordingly. It is quite arbitrary to suppose that the negative belonged originally to the Hebrew text. The passage should be read interrogatively: "And art thou Bethlehem-Ephratah little among the thousands of Judah? Out of thee shall come forth to me one who is to be ruler in Israel." The question proposed by the prophet is answered by the evangelist in the negative.

Malachi iii. 1 is supposed to be corrupt in consequence of Matth. xi. 10; Mark i. 2; Luke vii. 27.

Here the Hebrew text has been followed, but not closely. The chief difference between the citation and its original in the Old Testament is the change of person from the first to the second. In this respect it is at variance both with the Hebrew and the Septuagint. "There is great reason to suspect," says Dr. H. Owen, "that the Hebrew was first corrupted, and that the Greek was afterwards adjusted to it."* But there is no reason whatever to suspect corruption. Though the person be different in the Hebrew and the evangelists, the sense is the same. Because a different person is introduced as speaking, there must be a corresponding variance; but that does not affect the meaning.

Acts ii. 25-28.—This quotation agrees with the Septuagint and was taken from it. But it differs from the Hebrew in various respects. Yet these differences do not alter the sense. The general meaning is the same. As to the singular number *thy holy one*, corresponding to the plural *holy ones* in

* The modes of quotation used by the evangelical writers explained and vindicated, p. 34.

the Masoretic text, it is likely from the nature of the evidence that the singular stood in the Hebrew text. There is no ground for thinking that שִׂבַּע was at first אֶשְׂבַּע, which the Septuagint translated according to the sense, and which Luke gives *πλησώσεις με*.

Amos ix. 11, 12 quoted in Acts xv. 16, 17.

This passage is quoted by Luke from the Septuagint rather than the Hebrew. But on comparing the citation with the original, one clause is very different, viz.—*ὅπως ἂν ἐκζητήσωσιν οἱ κατάλοιποι τῶν ἀνθρώπων, that the residue of men may seek after the Lord;* for which the Masoretic text has יִירְשׁוּ אֲדוֹם שְׁאֵרִית־אֶת לְמַעַן. The Septuagint and New Testament coincide here. Hence we must suppose that the Hebrew has been corrupted since the Septuagint was made, or else the Greek version has been adapted to the New Testament reading. The former is more probable. The Hebrew had at first ידרשו not יירשו; and אדום not אדם. For את stood אותי, or perhaps אתי, the *yod* being an abbreviation of יהוה. It is remarkable that no Hebrew MSS. give these readings.

Psalm xl. 7-9, quoted in epistle to the Hebrews x. 5-7.

In another work,* this quotation has been fully examined, and it has been shewn that the sense is substantially the same as the present Hebrew text. There is no good reason for believing that the Hebrew text was otherwise at first. There is no corruption in it.

Habbak. ii. 3, 4, compared with the epistle to the Hebrews x. 37, 38.

In regard to this quotation also, we have shewn† that the Hebrew text has not been corrupted. The general meaning of the Hebrew, of the Septuagint, and of the Greek Testament in this place is the same.

In the following passages also, a different reading in the Hebrew has been suspected, but mostly without reason:—

* Sacred Hermeneutics, p. 460, et seq. † Ibid, p. 438.

Isaiah lxi. 1, 2.	Luke iv. 18, 19.
„ liii. 7, 8.	Acts viii. 32, 33.
Habb. i. 5.	„ xiii. 41.
Psalm x. 7.	Rom. iii. 14.
„ xix. 5.	„ x. 18.
Isaiah lix. 20, 21.	„ xi. 26, 27.
Deut. xxxii. 35.	„ xii. 19.
„ xxxii. 42.	„ xv. 10.
Isaiah lxiv. 3.	1 Cor. ii. 9.
„ xxviii. 16.	1 Peter ii. 6.

The following too which differ from the Hebrew but agree with the Septuagint, have sometimes been suspected of corruption in the Hebrew; or at least a few of them:—

Isaiah xxix. 13.	Matth. xv. 8, 9.
Amos v. 25-27.	Acts vii. 42, 43.
Isaiah lv. 3.	„ xiii. 34.
Prov. iii. 34.	James iv. 6.

A few others have been thought corrupt, as Matth. xxi. 5, compared with Zech. ix. 9 and Isaiah lxii. 11.

Here it has been thought that Matthew and the Septuagint read עני *meek*, instead of עני *afflicted*. But this is unnecessary, for the latter adjective also denotes *lowly*.

All the quotations in the New Testament have been fully given and minutely examined by the writer in another book, and therefore he will not dwell farther on them at present. There the fullest and most complete list has been given which exists any where, amounting to 255, drawn out in four parallel columns, exhibiting the Septuagint, the Greek Testament, the Hebrew, and the received version of the Hebrew, with copious annotations and remarks; no fewer than 182 octavo pages being occupied with the subject.*

* Sacred Hermeneutics, p. 334, et seq.

CHAPTER XXII.

QUOTATIONS FROM THE RABBINICAL WRITINGS.

AMONG the sources of various readings and the means of restoring the authentic text, are the Talmud and other writings of the learned Jews.

The oldest part or text of the Talmud, viz the Mishna is generally supposed to have been written towards the close of the second century. It consists of six parts or divisions called *sedarim*, סדרים, each of which is subdivided into various tracts or treatises *massictoth*, which are again divided into chapters or *perakim*.

It might have been expected that many various readings should be found in this work, since it has so many quotations from or references to the Old Testament text. But there are very few in the printed editions. Frommann, who examined it for the purpose, found no more than the following, and yet he consulted three printed editions:—Isaiah x. 13, שׁוסתי; Numb. xxxii. 29, אליהם with *yod*; Numb. xxxii. 22, נקיים; Malachi iii. 23, הנכי for אנכי, הנה and אליהו for אליה; Psalm lxviii. 27, יהוה for אדני; Prov. xxii. 28, גבול עולים; Deut. xxiv. 19, בל תשוב; Job i. 1, וישר ירא, without the copulative; Joshua viii. 33, ושטריו; 2 Chron. xxviii. 15, הלבישום; Lev. xxv. 36, בל תקח ממנו for אל תקח מאתו; Ezek. xlvi. 21, ארבע מקצעות instead of ארבעת מקצותי.*

The poverty of this collection is surprising. But it ceases

* Frommanni Opuscula, p. 1-46.

to be so to those who know that editors of the Talmud have not rigidly and closely adhered to the MSS. of it, but have altered it after the Masorah. Each successive editor applied his hand in rendering the text more agreeable to the Masoretic one; so that the quotations from it are generally the same with the original. Thus in the Frankfort edition of the Mishna, Josh. viii. 33, and 2 Chron. xxviii. 15, agree with the Masoretic text; and in the edition of Menasseh Ben Israel, Ezek. xlvi. 21 coincides with the same text. The older the printed edition of the Mishna is, the more departures has it from the present text.*

The Gemara or commentary on the Mishna made at Jerusalem, was compiled about 370 A.D.;† and the Babylonian Gemara was completed at a later period, about 500 A.D.

These also furnish various readings, and may be serviceable in correcting the text. The commentaries in question contain many more deviations from the present text. Both Talmuds, the Jerusalem and the Babylonian, were collated by Dr. John Gill for Kennicott's edition, and are given under No. 650. He found about 1000 various readings, most of them trifling. We know nothing of the way in which he proceeded, or the editions he used; but there is reason to believe that he increased the number by injudiciousness. He has given as various readings what are not really such. Hence his quotations exceed those of Frommann in the Mishna.

In collating the Talmud for a critical purpose, it is necessary to bear in mind that the Talmudists sometimes exhibit an allegorical play upon words in a passage, and turn it in many ways to suit their fanciful trifling. In these cases there is a liability of being led astray, and supposing that real variations of the Biblical text are meant. It is not difficult

* Eichhorn, Einleitung, vol. ii. p. 453.

† According to Moses Maimonides, Abarbanel, Simson Mikkenon, and Elias Levita. See Wolfii Biblioth. Hebr. vol. ii. p. 683.

however to discriminate between such allegorical plays and true variations; since the former are mostly preceded by the formula אל תקרא כן אלא תקרא כן, *do not read so, but so.* This formula however is not always a sure test; because it sometimes stands before actual variations. The collator must look to the connexion of the place in which such allegorical turnings appear; and to all other circumstances that discover the genius of various readings.

Again, the Talmudists sometimes quote loosely and from memory. Here no reliance can be placed on their citations. Or, they merely allude to expressions in the Old Testament, without formally adducing them. In other cases, they adduce just so many terms as are necessary for their purpose. Sometimes they refer to the passage they quote by adducing the first words only, leaving the reader to supply the remainder. And sometimes something is added to a cited passage for explanation. Hence every discrepancy from the Masoretic text is not at once to be considered a various reading. It may be so only *in appearance.* Yet generally speaking, the citations of the Talmud are exact and literal; and therefore they may be properly applied in criticism. They are older than the Masorah, and consequently much older than existing MSS. Their testimony is equivalent to that of MSS. of the same age, *i.e.*, of about the fourth century. Wherever such quotations agree with ancient versions against the Masoretic text, great value belongs to them. We might hope to derive from them important aid. But few comparatively are of importance. They relate to minor points of orthography and the like. Doubtless their number would have been greater and their internal character far different in value, had the editors of the Talmud followed their MSS. and not altered according to the Masorah. If therefore a greater number of good readings from this source be wanted, manuscript copies must be sought out and examined. It is true that they too may have been occasionally

altered; yet they must have undergone much less correction. But we have little hope that this work will ever yield many important readings to assist in restoring the original text; though it be explored with the greatest diligence.

The Masorah has been already described. It contains a number of critical observations which are useful in shewing the true reading. Most of our editions however are now conformed to the Masorah.

The פֵּירוּשִׁים or *commentaries* of the Rabbins which belong here, are those of Rabbi Salomon Ben Isaac or *Rashi*, as he is usually called by abbreviation, and sometimes *Jarchi*, who is of very great repute among the Jews as an interpreter of Scripture. But his style is obscure and difficult. He was a native of France, and belonged probably to the twelfth century. There are also the commentaries of Rabbi David Ben Joseph Ben Kimchi or *Radak*, a Spanish Jew belonging to the end of the twelfth century, who occupied himself chiefly with grammar; of Rabbi Moses Bar Nachman or *Ramban*, belonging also to Spain, but to the thirteenth century, whose commentaries are both cabbalistic and practical; of Rabbi Levi Ben Gerson or *Ralbag*, a Spaniard belonging to the fourteenth century, who was addicted to philosophical speculations, and has been accused of naturalism; of Rabbi Abraham Ben Meir *Abenezra*, a native of Toledo who lived in the twelfth century, highly esteemed by Jews and Christians for his literal mode of interpretation; of Rabbi *Saadias* Gaon, an Egyptian Jew belonging to the tenth century, who translated the Pentateuch into Arabic; and of Rabbi Moses Ben Maimon or *Rambam*, a very learned writer of the twelfth century, who though born in Spain, lived for the most part in Egypt. Among the numerous works written by Maimonides on many subjects, the chief is his פֵּירוּשׁ הַמִּשְׁנָה or *commentary on the Mishna*, written in Arabic and translated into Hebrew. Six prefaces prefixed to parts of this work were translated into Latin and published

with the original Arabic (in Hebrew characters), by Pococke under the title of *Bava Mosche, Porta Mosis* (Oxford, 1655, 4to). He also composed יָד חֲזָקָה, *Manus fortis, strong hand*, a sort of abridgment of the Talmud, consisting of four parts and fourteen books; each book containing a number of tracts or treatises.

His מוֹרֶה נְבוֹכִים, *Moreh Nebocim* or *Teacher of the perplexed*, explaining the reason of the Mosaic precepts, is perhaps best known.

Bruns* asserts, that David Kimchi adduces the variations of MSS. more than other Rabbins. The older Jews such as Rashi and Abenezra, adduce some; Maimonides the fewest. The various readings however which are found in all their writings, as far as their writings have been examined for the purpose, are neither numerous nor important. They lived and wrote at a time when the Hebrew text had been already fixed by the Masorah. Hence their citations agree with modern MSS., over which they have merely the advantage of age. As far as we yet know, this source is of little benefit to criticism.

But it has not been properly examined. Greater attention should be paid to it. Perhaps more advantage might arise from it than what is supposed. One thing should be done, viz. MSS. of Rabbinical writings, and not printed editions, should be employed in collation; because many alterations have been made after the printed Hebrew text. This is apparent from Kimchi's *Liber radicum*, in which the Hebrew text is often quoted differently from the printed one, as is seen from Latiph's edition published at Naples A.D. 1490. The editor carefully collected all the variations occurring in the work and placed them in an appendix, warning the reader against the supposition of their being typographical *errata*. But succeeding editors of the work quietly corrected the variations after

* In the Annal. Litterar. Helmstad. for 1782, p. 104.

printed editions of the Hebrew text; and omitted Latiph's most valuable appendix. Various readings out of Rabbinical writings are given by Tychsen* and Bruns. Some of them at least are mistakes of memory. Criticism need hardly expect much benefit from this source, however carefully explored.

The commentaries of other Rabbins, the books Zohar, Bahir, and Cosri, the various Rabboth, Midrashim, &c. are later, or less important, or very difficult to read, exhibiting little relative to the present subject. Even if they were minutely explored, which their intrinsic value scarcely justifies, they would furnish nothing at all proportionate to the time and labour expended.

General Observations on this Source.

The Talmud and other Rabbinical writings are not important as sources of various readings and of emendation. Few valuable quotations from the Old Testament are found in them.

The first thing is to consider, whether such authors really *mean to quote Scripture.* Not unfrequently they refer to it from memory, or in so cursory a way as gives no definite idea of the original words. Hence it is important to attend to their modes of quotation and reference. The *Mishna,* as far as it has been yet examined, contains no valuable readings. It is however the most ancient and best part of the Talmud; and readings found in it are of proportionably greater weight. The *Gemara* is later, and quotations in it may be regarded as of equal value with various readings derived from Origen and Jerome's works; whereas those taken from the Mishna are of the same authority with such as are found in Aquila, Symmachus, the Chaldee paraphrases of Onkelos and Jonathan, and the old Syriac version. Where the text is carefully ex-

* In his Buetzowischen Nebenstunden, and in the Repertorium für biblisch. und morgendl. Litteratur, Theil i.

plained in the Talmud; where a passage is repeated in the same words; and an appeal made to MS. copies, the work is an important witness in a critical view. In other respects, it must be employed with great caution.

The latter Rabbins are of less value in this respect. They did not often quote exactly. Where they take pains to explain a passage and refer to MSS., they should be attended to; but where they cite partially, loosely, and from memory, they are worthless. Those who have written commentaries on separate books of Scripture, especially literal commentaries, deserve to be consulted. They cite accurately the words of the original for the purpose of explaining them. Sometimes too they adduce various readings found in collated copies. From such commentators numerous varieties of reading may be extracted, especially from MS. copies of them. In their printed state, they have been corrected in many places after the Masoretic text. Abarbanel and Jarchi may be mentioned as among the best commentators of this class. Though Kimchi in his *Book of Roots* quotes many passages, he must have trusted largely to memory, because no such words as he gives are found in the Bible. On the whole, we do not expect that much critical benefit will be got from this source. Besides, the works of the commentators are too recent to exhibit a text older than the Masoretic. As they lived in the tenth, eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, the varieties of reading they furnish are equal in value to the readings of MSS. bearing the same age.

Philo quoted from the Septuagint, and therefore he scarcely belongs to our present purpose. Josephus too used the same version more than the original Hebrew. It is difficult, however, to get any real readings from this writer. He took great liberties in narrating things from the sacred books. It is not easy to say what he found in his copy, so inexact is he.

CHAPTER XXIII.

HEBREW MSS.

ANOTHER source from which a pure text is obtained is contained in Hebrew manuscripts. These are divided into two classes. The first consists of *synagogue rolls* or sacred copies; the second, of *private copies* made for common use.

1. The synagogue rolls contain the Pentateuch; the *Haphtaroth* or sections of the prophets appointed to be read; and the book of Esther. The three however are never put together, but form separate rolls. In consequence of the Mosaic books being reckoned the most important and sacred by the Jews, a synagogue roll is usually styled by them תּוֹרָה (*Torah*) or סֵפֶר תּוֹרָה (*Sepher torah*) *the Law*, or *Book of the law*. It is also called מְגִלָּה *a roll*, from its form.

As to *the material* of these rolls, Jewish superstition has defined it very minutely. The parchment must consist of the hides of clean animals, prepared by a Jew precisely for this purpose, and joined together with thongs of the same material. Every skin must have a certain number of columns, which columns are equal throughout the whole. The length and breadth of these columns is accurately determined. They are not to have fewer than forty or more than sixty lines.

The entire roll must be ruled with regular lines, and if more than three words are written without a line, the entire manuscript is rejected. Black ink alone of the purest kind

must be used; not red, green, or any other colour. A particular receipt is given for preparing the ink. Soot, charcoal, and honey are mixed up together into a sort of paste, and allowed to harden. Before being used this is dissolved in water, with an infusion of galls. The transcriber must follow an *authentic* manuscript, adhering to it so closely as to write nothing not even a *yod* from memory; but in every case looking first into the original before him.

The roll must be written with the square character, the seven consonants שעטנזבץ being furnished with their *coronulae* or *apices* called *taggin*. In proper places are to be put *the extraordinary* points, and consonants of unusual figures. No vowels or accents are to be written, and no soph-pasuk at the end of verses. Words must not be divided at the end of lines; and the two poems Exod. xv. and Deut. xxxii. must be arranged in hemistichs, as the Talmud directs.

A certain space is directed to be left between each consonant, word, and *parshiah* or section. Between every *book* three lines must be left. And the fifth book of Moses must terminate exactly with a line; though the others may close in the middle of one.

Nor are these the only prescriptions to which the scribe must slavishly attend. He must sit in his full Jewish dress; and as often as he has to write the name of God must purify himself and wash the whole body. Besides, his pen must not be dipped into the ink immediately before writing the sacred name, but the ink is to be taken into it when transcribing the preceding word, so that the letter immediately going before should be marked with it. And such must be his devotion of mind and attention, that should a king address him when writing this name, he must take no notice of him till after its transcription.

The revision of the roll must be undertaken and completed within thirty days after it has been finished. Three mistakes

on one page or column are allowable; but four vitiate the whole. In like manner, if there be a mistake in the sections *open* or *closed*, or in the two songs already specified which are written as verse, the copy is rejected. Whether a mistake committed in transcribing the sacred name renders the roll unfit for synagogue use, is disputed among the Jews themselves. Should there chance to be a word with a deficient or redundant letter, or should one touch its neighbour, &c. &c. the entire manuscript is spoiled. After being pronounced fit for use in the synagogue, the two ends are properly fastened to two cylinders, that it may be conveniently rolled up and unrolled again.

Such is a specimen of the minute, irksome, and absurd regulations laid down by the Jews in respect to their synagogue rolls. The scribe who does not feel them to be an almost intolerable yoke, must possess uncommon patience. They are minutely laid down by the author of the *Massichta Sopherim* annexed to the Talmud, which was probably written in the sixth century. They must therefore have been observed in the preceding century, or perhaps two centuries before. But there is no doubt that they were subsequently enlarged, as is evident from Maimonides.* Out of these sources Shickhard reduced them to order.† Such superstitious regulations have been productive alike of advantage and disadvantage. The Mosaic books have been preserved to us by this means in a more accurate state than other parts of the Old Testament. None dared to alter the words in the least particular; or to tamper with the text in the smallest point. They have been kept remarkably free from error. Yet it cannot be denied that disadvantages have arisen. The text has been kept too much conformed to the one unvarying type, and that not the original one, as may be inferred with probability. For many of the

* Halich. Teph.

† Jus Regium Hebraeorum, ed. Carpzov, Lipsiae, 1674, 4to.

rules, perhaps most of them, are of an origin too late to maintain the true archetypal text approaching very nearly to the autographs. The Masoretic text has been stereotyped in a measure by these rules. Hence criticism gets comparatively few valuable readings from them; except in cases where the copyist and reviser have been somewhat careless in attending to the established prescriptions.*

Few synagogue rolls fall into the hands of Christians. When no longer fit for use they are buried in the earth, in a place called *Gheniza;* or put away where profane hands are not likely to come in contact with them.

2. *Private* or *common* manuscripts are either written in the square character like that of the rolls; or in the Rabbinical. Let us attend to those of the former sort.

Such private MSS. as have the square character are in folio, quarto, octavo, duodecimo. Even at the time when the Talmud was written, these different sizes existed.† Their material is parchment, cotton paper, or paper of an inferior quality. On the former sort of paper is cod. 33 of Kennicott; on the latter 11, 25, 35, &c.

The consonants are commonly written with black ink prepared much in the same way as that used in the synagogue rolls; but for the vowel points and the smaller marginal writing another kind of ink is used. A finer pen is also employed for the latter. In consequence of the large, thick form given to the consonants, and the very black ink used in writing them, they continue distinct and clear for a long time; while the slender and fine forms of the vowels added to the ink used in writing them, fade much more quickly. Their colour becomes reddish by degrees, and vanishes so as to render them undistinguishable. Yet there are exceptions to this rule; for the consonants and vowels are occasionally alike

* See Eichhorn's Einleitung, vol. ii. p. 456, et seq.

† Bava Bathra, fol. 13, c. 2, &c.

black. In certain cases, the ink of the latter exceeds that of the former in blackness.

In many of them the initial letters and words are adorned with gold and variegated colours. One manuscript at Leyden containing the Psalter is known to have the vowels and accents written in red ink.*

The pages are carefully prepared and divided, so that everything on them may have just proportions. Columns, lines, consonants, outer and inner, upper and lower margins occupy due space, and are regulated with a view to mutual adaptation. The number of the columns on each page of folio and quarto manuscripts depends on the breadth of the copy itself and the opinion of the transcriber. No page however exhibits more than four. The same number is not always retained throughout. Poetical portions and books usually written in hemistichs, and consequently in small lines, occasion alterations in the number of columns. These columns contain either the Hebrew text alone, or more commonly with a version. Sometimes the text is put twice in two adjacent columns, first in its pointed, then in its unpointed state, as in cod. 325 of Kennicott. The Chaldee paraphrase is the version generally affixed, which occupies either a peculiar column of itself; or is inserted between the text, so that the text and version follow each other like two successive verses. In cases where the latter could not be written verse by verse after the Hebrew text, as in poetry where hemistichs are employed, ex. gr. in Exod. xv. and Deut. xxxii. it is in the outer margin in smaller letters. And where lists of proper names occur or Chaldee portions, the Hebrew text is written twice with great exactness. The Chaldee version like the text is furnished with vowels and accents. Occasionally the transcriber spared himself the labour of accentuation; putting merely a *silluk* at the end of every verse.

* See Wolfii Bibliotheca Hebraea, vol. iv. pp. 93, 94.

Some MSS. have an Arabic version written in the manner of the Chaldee one. Others have the Hebrew text, the Chaldee and Arabic translations written after each other in each successive verse. Others have the Vulgate in a column adjacent to the original text. Rarely is a Persian version found, as in cod. 324 of Kennicott.

The length of the lines is indefinite, and consequently the number of consonants in each. The breadth of the MS. and the arrangement of columns must determine the lines. The number of lines in each page also varies according to the size of the MS. itself.

As to *the character* of the letters it is what is called *the square* or Chaldee. All MSS. present it except the few written in what is called the *Rabbinical.* This character varies very little. With the exception of a few inconsiderable little curves, elongations, abridgments, and ornaments it is the same. It has undergone no material change in the progress of centuries. The middle ages have affected it very slightly. It is therefore sufficiently correct to affirm that the Hebrew consonants exhibit one character, viz. the square, in all synagogue rolls and the great majority of private MSS. Some distinctions however have been made in it, of which we shall speak hereafter.

The initial consonants of books or sections have been made larger in many copies, and ornamented in various ways with pictures, trees, flowers, and animals. Sometimes they are surrounded with part of the Masorah. Hence they were not always written by the scribe at first, especially as a particular pen was kept for them; but an empty space was left for their insertion. In consequence of occasional accidents they are either wanting altogether, or exist only in faint outline. Other MSS. have the initial letters of the same size as the rest, without illumination or painting of any kind.

In regard to the vowel points in MSS. it may be useful to mark the following peculiarities:—

Kametz is not put into the body of *caph final* but under it, either below or by the side of the long stroke.

Chirek often stands under a movable yod, as in שַׁדַּי.

Cholem does not very often coincide with the diacritic point of *Shin*, but appears thus מֹשֶׁה, מֹשֶׁה, מֹשֶׁה.

In the name יְהוָֹה, *Cholem* is seldom put over *vaw*.

Kametz is very frequently furnished with *Sh'wa* (ְ), that it may be the more easily distinguished from *Kametz long*.

Sh'wa is generally put *under caph* final, not in the body of it. Other consonants, besides *caph*, are often furnished with *sh'wa* at the end of a word; *vaw* most frequently. Thus we find עָלָיו and עָלָיוּ.*

Compound *sh'wa* is separated, *sh'wa* being put into *the body of the consonant* to which it belongs, and the vowel *under* the consonant; and *vice versa*. Thus we have אַחֲרֵי or אַחְרֵי.

With regard to the *diacritic points and accents*, *Mappik* is not put *into* ה, but for the most part under it (הִ).

Sh'wa often occupies the place of *patach furtive* רָקִיעַ.

Raphe which is seldom used in printed editions, is very common in MSS.

A kind of *Dagesh* also is used which is neither *lene* nor *forte*. The figures of the *accents* deviate in many ways from those used in printed Bibles.†

The *extraordinary points* (puncta extraordinaria) which appear over some words even in our printed Bibles, were taken from MSS. In the latter however they have not always the form of simple points, but also of little circles, and of perpendicular strokes.

The *Piska* or empty space found in printed editions is variously marked in MSS. Sometimes a marginal annotation is given and not the empty space; sometimes *piska* is denoted by the omission of a whole line or half a line; sometimes by a marginal annotation besides.

* Schiede, Observ. Sacr. biga, § xix. p. 88, et seq.

† Ibid, § xxi. p. 93, et seq.

Abbreviations are seldom introduced into the text; for the most part in words well known; or in such as are repeated in the vicinity. The mark of abbreviation is a little stroke after the last consonant, as ישר׳ for ישראל.

Rarely is the sacred name יהוה abbreviated *in the text;* though Kennicott says that cod. 36 has it twice ״. In *the margin* it is abbreviated in various ways.

Jewish transcribers never divide a word between two lines; nor do they ever write beyond the point at which the line terminates. But they do not leave an empty space at the end of the line, lest the beauty of the writing should be marred. In order to fill it, they abbreviate words as well as single consonants, or put so called *custodes linearum*, *line-keepers.*

If the empty space were *considerable*, they resorted to various expedients. They wrote in it as many letters of the word following as it would contain, and then put the entire word in the new line. It is sufficiently indicated that they were supernumerary letters by the fact that the vowels were not affixed to them. Sometimes, in addition to this mark, they put only half of the last consonant, as הש for השמים; at other times they completed the imperfect word with a peculiar figure resembling more or less nearly one of the letters. Again, they put into the space in question all sorts of favourite consonants.

If the empty space were *inconsiderable*, it was filled up either with the first letter of the following word, or with another favourite letter, or a small line, or with a figure like the capital Greek *tau.* Sometimes the deficient letters were put in smaller form over the line, on the margin.

Other expedients still were resorted to besides these, such as placing before the word which was insufficient to fill out the line one or two little points; at the end of a verse repeating *soph-pasuk* two or three times, or putting a little stroke resembling *vaw* or *yod.*

Every line also began at the very point intended for it. If

it did not so through some oversight, the little empty space was filled out with a stroke or a figure.

The spaces between the lines were kept as clean and free from marks of any kind as possible, for the sake of the calligraphy. Yet this did not prevent the insertion of corrections between them. The most usual of these smaller emendations consist of the *matres lectionis* in words written defectively. We have also seen, that over the line, at its termination, were written in smaller characters letters for which there was not room in the line itself. A few MSS. have a Latin version between the lines, which must have been added by a Christian.

With respect to the space between single books, the Jewish rule was, that at the end of every book written by Moses five lines; of every greater prophet four; of every minor prophet three lines, should be left. But the precept was not strictly observed. The space left between books is not always empty. The number of verses in the book is stated; or small sentences are given. In regard to these separate books, MSS. do not agree with printed editions; for the two books of Samuel read as one, without any division between them. The books of the Chronicles are also one. So too Ezra and Nehemiah. Daniel Bomberg separated them in his edition of the Bible, agreeably to the Vulgate.

The *Parshioth* and *Haphtaroth* are carefully separated. Thus the initial word is often written with large consonants and vowels, a space being left before it. In this empty space are written פפפ or פ; or סתם and ס provided it be a close section; indicating the commencement of the *parshiah*. These letters are occasionally ornamented. The commencement of the smaller sections is indicated by a small open space. In a few MSS. the distinctions of *Parshioth* and *Haphtaroth* are not made.

The upper and lower margins which are occupied by the greater and lesser Masorah, contain more or fewer lines accord-

ing to the nature of the Masorah itself. The usual number is three lines in the upper and three in the lower; though of course there are many exceptions. This Masorah is formed into various figures, of animals, &c. Jewish prayers, psalms, sections from the law are occasionally found in the same place; which are also shaped into curious figures. Sometimes the commentary of a Rabbin occupies the upper and lower margins. In rarer cases, the titles of the *parshioth* are given in the upper margin; and words of ominous import appended beneath the column which closes in a melancholy mood.

The outer margin of MSS. is filled with various matters. Ordinarily corrections of the text are placed there, omitted words supplied, and words incorrectly written rectified. It is also used for Rabbinical commentaries; for palaeographical, critical, and exegetical scholia; for noting the *Haphtaroth* and *Parshioth;* for indicating in the case of Haphtaroth and Parshioth which section out of the law is to be associated with a particular section out of the prophets on the Sabbath, and *vice versa;* for pointing out the middle of books; for collections of various readings; and for all sorts of figures, which are made up of various materials. And when the upper and lower margins do not contain all the text intended for them, what is left is given on the external margin. Hence the latter occasionally exhibits fragments of the great Masorah, Rabbinical comments, &c.

The inner margin between the columns has the *K'ris* and lesser Masorah. But sometimes the revisers of MSS. put their corrections into it.

In regard to the arrangement of the books it was twofold, one prescribed by the Talmud, the other by the Masoretes. According to the Talmudic order, the Pentateuch was followed by Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah, the twelve minor prophets, Ruth, Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon, Lamentations, Daniel, Esther,

Ezra, Chronicles. The Masoretic order puts Isaiah before Jeremiah and Ezekiel. German MSS. follow the Talmudic; Spanish, the Masoretic arrangement. In German MSS. the Hagiographa stand thus:—Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Song of Solomon, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Daniel, Ezra, Chronicles. But in Spanish MSS. they appear thus:—Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ruth, Solomon's Song, Ecclesiastes, Lamentations, Esther, Daniel, Ezra. Many MSS. depart from both arrangements. In like manner the order of *Haphtaroth* is different among the German and Spanish Jews.

In almost every MS. there are certain subscriptions different in position and kind.

Subscriptions at the end of *single books*, give the number of verses contained in it; and sometimes the name of the transcriber, with an edifying Rabbinical proverb.

Subscriptions at the end of *the whole MS.* give the name of the scribe; sometimes the names of the punctuator and Masorah-writer besides; the year of the world; occasionally the name of the person for whom the copy was written; to which were subsequently appended the names of the possessors into whose hands it came. Such subscriptions are valuable parts of the MS., because by their means critics may be helped in determining its age, country, and quality. It is to be regretted however, that comparatively few copies have such subscriptions. Doubtless they were commonly affixed at first; but various causes have contributed to their disappearance. The MSS. to which they belonged were separated into various parts, some of which were scattered and lost. Nor is it always easy to find the subscription belonging to a MS. It may be concealed among the Masorah; or in some isolated place; or twisted into a figure. There is considerable difficulty in making a proper use of these subscriptions because of their peculiarities and ambiguities. Thus there may be a mistake in the number of the year; or uncertainty may arise from the

omission of the era whence the year is dated, as in 332 of Kennicott.* Sometimes hundreds are left out; again, thousands. Where the mere name of the copyist is given, unless he be a very celebrated person, the name is of no use. Sometimes consonants stand for unusual numbers. Sometimes the number is concealed so artificially, that it can be arrived at only by a lucky guess. It is also certain that the possessor of a MS. when he wished to sell it, occasionally altered its age to enhance the value. He gave it another subscription, or altered the old one, or erased, or retouched. This is exemplified in cod. 611 of Kennicott.† In certain cases also, we find MSS. represented in their subscriptions as *younger* than they really are. If every Jew, according to the Talmudic regulation, was bound either to write a MS. himself, or get one written, he was tempted to alter the subscription of one which he may have inherited from his ancestors, to make it appear that he had either written it himself, or caused it to be made at his own expense.

Most MSS. have passed through several hands, such as the writer of the consonants or *sopher*, the punctuator or *nakdan*, the reviser, the Masorah-writer, the scholiast, the freshener or retoucher. All these were seldom employed on one and the same manuscript. Some had to do with one copy, others with another.

Occasionally the scribe or *sopher* after writing the consonants appended the vowels and Masorah. Beauty and correctness were the chief things at which he aimed in writing the consonants. The vowels and accents were not put till after the letters had all been written. The latter work was finished before the former commenced; each having a peculiar ink and pen for itself. Various particulars leave no doubt of the fact that the *sopher* and punctuator were generally different

* See Schnurrer's Dissertationes Philologico-criticae, § 7, p. 15, et seq.

† Ibid, § 4, p. 7, et seq.

persons, and that they followed exemplars which did not always agree with one another in their readings.

Most of these scribes were Jews, as is shewn by the subscriptions, and by the peculiar figure of the consonants in those which have no subscriptions. Whether some of them were Christians has been disputed. Tychsen argued* that many MSS. proceeded from the hands of Christian scribes; but Eichhorn examined and refuted most of his arguments.† It is certainly incorrect to affirm, that all MSS. which have the Masorah painted in the margin with the figures of dragons, sphinxes, lions, bears, &c., were not written by Jews but by monks; for Rabbi Jacob Ben Chayim and Elias Levita looked on them as the work of Jews.‡ Christian monks would have used *crosses* and other such figures. It is likely that proselytes wrote some of the MSS. which have been supposed to betray the hand of a Christian. Perhaps those written from left to right, such as 28, 71, 73, 77 of Kennicott, proceeded directly from Christian copyists. Bruns conjectures§ that No. 649, and Eichhorn admits that 392 of Kennicott, appear to be of the same origin.

The vowels and accents proceeded from the same person. Some MSS. have a subscription from his own hand, giving his name. When the scribe was not the punctuator too, if the subscription do not give the names of both, we must judge of their diversity by the want of agreement between the vowels and consonants. Generally speaking, all words reckoned right by the punctuator were furnished by him with vowels. But it must not be inferred of necessity that because occasional words and even lines are left without such appendages, they were condemned in his judgment. Where words were

* Tentamen de variis Codd. Hebr. generibus, p. 9, et seq.

† Eichhorn, Einleitung, vol. ii. p. 529, et seq.

‡ Schnurrer, Dissertationes, &c. pp. 26, 27.

§ Dissertatio Generalis, p. 527.

well known, or the same lines had already occurred in the immediate vicinity, it was deemed unnecessary to furnish them again with their appropriate vowels. In several instances the vowel pointing stops in the middle of the MS.—a circumstance which may have arisen from various causes. Where passages of the same MS. exhibit two or more modes of pointing together, it may be inferred that a reviser compared it in whole or in part with another MS.

The *K'ris* in the margin were usually written by the punctuator. In this way he corrected the text.

In many cases he also prevented mistakes in the letters of the text, where they were apt to be mistaken. Thus in letters of the same shape, by adding or leaving out a *dagesh lene*, or by the use of *Raphe*, he clearly shewed what he took the consonant to be.

The *reviser* coincided with the scribe when the latter wrote not only the consonants in the text but also the vowels. But the punctuator acted generally as the chief corrector of the copy. When he left words without vowels, substituting for them in the margin other words with smaller consonants and the vowels; when a word twice written appeared once without vowels; when he erased the consonants in any way, or altered them by some condemnatory mark with which the vowels agree; in such cases he who put the vowels acted as the corrector of the MS. It is evident however that many MSS. have passed through the hands of a corrector different from the punctuator. This is deducible from the fact of the vowels disagreeing with the emendation attempted in the consonants; from a twofold pointing in the same word; from a difference between the consonants in the margin in respect to tracing and ink as compared with the ink and tracings of the punctuator in the *K'ri* on the margin.

Occasionally the writer of the Masorah corrected the text in order to make it conformable to his Masorah.

These remarks shew that many MSS. have passed through the hands of various revisers. And the number of such persons may be determined by a minute examination of the text, if they have not expressly subscribed their names.

Care was taken not to lessen the beauty of the copy, and so impair its value by leaving the corrections or making them apparent. Hence everything was not altered which was seen to be incorrect. The marks of correction were also drawn into beautifying strokes; or so minutely and delicately made that the elegance of the copy was not lessened.

As to the *Masorah-writer*, it is obvious from the preceding remarks that he is often identical with the scribe and punctuator; or where these do not coincide, with the latter alone. But when, as in other cases, the Masorah proceeded from a separate person, it is difficult to ascertain the fact. If he gives his name as distinct from the others, the thing is obvious; or if he occasionally finds fault in his marginal annotations with the scribe and punctuator because they did not adhere more closely to his Masorah, the individuality is clear. There are other ways in which it may be discovered that the Masorah-writer was a different person from the other two, as Schiede has pointed out in his description of the Cassel MS.* It is unnecessary to allude again to the fantastic and artificial forms which his remarks were made to assume externally.

A *scholiast* or *critic* has been distinguished from the reviser or corrector; critical remarks on the margin of copies leading to the existence of a person who did not revise in silence but ostensibly and openly, because he finds fault with the scribe and punctuator. The name of the scholiast is seldom given; and when given, it is concealed in isolated places, monograms, and in other words.

Besides such critical remarks on the margin, there are

* See Observationum Sacrarum biga, p. 42, et seq.

sometimes scholia and glosses of a grammatical and exegetical kind, proceeding from a particular individual who had nothing else to do with the entire copy. Indeed the scribe himself occasionally put scholia in the margin, notifying mistakes which he had made in copying, and which he had observed before the MS. was finished.

The *freshener* or *retoucher* was he who went over anew with ink passages which had become faded or illegible from various causes. Unfortunately, many an old reading has been lost through this process. *

We have said that the square character appears in all Hebrew MSS. with the exception of those written in Rabbinic. The Jews however speak of a twofold kind of writing in the square character itself, the *Tam* and the *Velshe* character.

The Tam character is distinguished by sharp pointed corners, and finely drawn *coronulae* or *taggin* on the consonants which take them. The author is supposed to have been *Tam* the grandson of Rashi, in the twelfth century. It is usual in the synagogue rolls, especially those belonging to German and Polish Jews. An approach to this character is made by the Hebrew letters which appear in the editions of the Bible that issued from the press of Froben at Basel.

The *Velshe* character, according to the Jews, is of greater antiquity than the *Tam*. It is said to be usual among the Spanish and Oriental Jews, in their synagogue rolls and other copies. The writing is rounder than the other; and the *coronae* of the consonants end in a thick point.

The *character* of the MSS. has been also distinguished into Spanish, German, and Italian.

The Spanish is perfectly square, simple, and elegant. The types employed in the Hebrew Bibles of Robert Stephens and Christopher Plantin approach to it.

* See Eichhorn's Einleit. vol. ii. p. 467-551.

The German is rude, crooked, and sharp pointed, like the types in the Basel editions of Munster's Bible.

The Italian character is intermediate, being rounder than the German, but not so square or well formed as the Spanish.

Sometimes the character is of a mixed nature, the same letters having somewhat various shapes in different places, so that the prevailing type is uncertain. The Spanish character also in the most ancient MSS. is less elegant, and approaches near what is termed the *Italian*. Thus the lines between the three are not always distinctly marked.

The *country* of MSS. has been determined in various ways. Thus *the character* just mentioned has been supposed to indicate it. The Spanish Jews made use of the *Velshe* character, it is said. But as the character cannot always be ascertained, especially in the case of *the most ancient* Spanish MSS. which are so like Italian ones in this respect, it is not a safe mark of country. Besides, Germans and Italians may have imitated the more beautiful Spanish character, to enhance the value of their manuscripts.

In Spanish MSS. the initial letters are commonly of the same size with the rest. But this does not always hold good.

It is also alleged, that the Spanish MSS. are written with simplicity, without ornament, flourish, or any little superfluous curve. But surely German calligraphers may have copied MSS. in the same manner.

Nor can Spanish copies be determined merely by the order of *Haphtaroth;* because copyists in no country adhered to any *one* order of them.

Another mark of country, which is by no means a safe criterion, is, that Spanish copies have the Targum at the side of the text and in smaller character; not along with the text itself or single verses.

The Spanish Jews are also said to have followed the Maso-

retic order of the books. But we know that no one order is followed by any class of MSS. They depart both from the Masoretic and Talmudic arrangement.

It is also supposed that the Spanish copies follow the Masoretic text more closely than others, because the writers were more critically inclined than the German Jews. Hence it is said that they revised them, compared the text with other copies, and put critical remarks in the margin. One thing is certain that Spanish MSS. are most esteemed by the Jews, being pronounced more accurate and better than all others. The most ancient of them however depart from the Masorah in many instances. Other modes of distinguishing these MSS. are still more ambiguous. Thus Michaelis asserts, that the vowel point ֻ is used in them not only for *Chatuph Kametz*, but for *Kametz Chatuph*, a thing which occurs in very many other copies.

Certain readings are also said to characterise Spanish MSS. such as in Exod. xv. 31, תיעשה, written without the yod תעשה by the Spanish; and in Numb. xxiii. 2, דכה is said to be the Spanish reading, while others have דכא. But the Spanish copies do not adhere to these readings.

Again, Spanish MSS. are said to exhibit the hemistichs in Exod. xv. in a peculiar manner. But all transcribers have not been alike in this respect; and German copyists may have imitated the peculiarities of Spanish MSS. which fell into their hands.

We are also informed, that Spanish MSS. contain *Oriental* readings, but German *occidental* ones. But whoever compares MSS. throughout will soon find that Oriental and occidental readings are mixed together in them all.

Nor can it be inferred with truth that Spanish MSS. furnish all words with vowel points, those for example in Levit. vii. 18-38, while the German copies leave them unpointed. This were to make the Germans uniformly desirous to save

themselves the trouble of writing the vowels, and the Spanish uniformly industrious and painstaking. Industry does not depend on country.

On the whole, the criteria for determining Spanish MSS. are uncertain. Where there is a clear subscription indicating the country, the matter is clear; but where there is no such evidence, other internal phenomena are indefinite.*

With regard to German MSS. they are said to be written in the *Tam* character; with the German order of *Haphtaroth;* in an artificial way with figures of various sorts, and little ornamental hooks on the consonants—the initial letters being usually larger than the rest and ornamented; with the Talmudic order of the books; and with the western readings, so that in this respect they agree more with the Samaritan and the ancient versions, and differ from the Masoretic. They have also the Chaldee paraphrase in alternate verses; while the *matres lectionis* and the *full* letters are more frequent. Still the possibility, not to say probability, of a German copyist procuring a Spanish MS. and following it very closely suggests itself to the mind of the critic.

The considerations lying against the certainty of these criteria will be obvious from the remarks made on Spanish MSS. None of them affords a good or safe index of country.

But though none of the *criteria* alleged can of itself determine the country to which MSS. belong, probability can be reached by the coincidence of the majority of them. When we find all or most of such marks uniting in the case of a single copy, it becomes highly probable that it belongs either to Spain or Germany. The presumption becomes stronger in proportion to the number of the single circumstances which unite in any given MS. Hence the rules in question are not useless or valueless. Little worth as they are apart, their united force deserves attention. Far from being useless, they may be pro-

* Eichhorn, Einleit. vol. ii. p. 551, et seq.

perly employed in determining the country of MSS. provided they are not unduly pressed, or made to give a testimony apart which cannot safely be elicited from them. In this respect Kennicott and De Rossi have not been very judicious. Much as they had to do with Hebrew MSS., it may be questioned whether their rules for judging of them are in many cases the best or safest. But the field was comparatively new; and they ought not to be hastily censured. They could not do all things equally well.

In determining Italian MSS. there is little else to rely on than the character itself towards a knowledge of their country. Sometimes the manuscript itself specifies the country where it was written. But in most, subscriptions of this kind are wanting.

Bruns has been more successful in his determination of the country of MSS.; and we should be more disposed to rely on his method of ascertaining it. The marks which he employs for the purpose are the following: Spanish MSS. are written with paler ink than German ones. In them the pages are seldom divided into three compartments. The Psalms are written like the thirty-second chapter of Deuteronomy, as it is in most editions of the Bible. The Chaldee text does not alternate with the Hebrew in single verses, but occupies a peculiar position at the side of the Hebrew text, in smaller character. In like manner the Spanish scribes arrange the Hagiographa after the Masoretic rule, and never put Jeremiah before Isaiah. The lines always end with an entire word; to effect which the letters are sometimes put more closely together, and sometimes farther apart. Sometimes an empty space is left between the closing words of a line, or it is filled with particular signs. Sometimes the last letters of the closing words run beyond the line. The half of a book is not marked in the text itself; still less with the usual letters. The initial words of the *parshioth* are not larger, and not set apart from

the rest. Figures, ornaments, and little decorative flourishes are wanting in Spanish MSS. The beginning of *parshioth* is signified in the margin פרש with small letters. A threefold ב at the beginning of a *parshiah* is not found in the text. Every book does not end with a חזק. Books are separated by a space of four lines. *Metheg* and *Mappik* seldom appear; but *Raphe* or a peculiar stroke over the *undageshed* consonant is frequent. These criteria along with the Spanish character will determine, in Bruns's opinion, a Spanish copy.*

The age of MSS. is difficult to be determined. There are no palaeographical and critical marks, such as lead scholars to infer the age of MSS. belonging to the Greek Testament with tolerable certainty. The most direct and certain way of discovering it is by the subscriptions. Even they however do not always afford clear indications, because they did not in all cases proceed from the hand of the first copyist, or because there are mistakes in the number of years, or the era is left out, or the name of the copyist is unknown.

It is to be regretted that so few MSS. have subscriptions. In their absence various particulars have been supposed to point to age. Here however Hebrew palaeography is indefinite. Conjecture must be chiefly employed. When that conjecture is directed and guided by an extensive acquaintance with MSS. it need not in general be far astray. A comparison of such copies as can be assigned with certainty to their proper period with those whose age is indeterminate, and long familiarity with their characteristics, will be of much service.

Formerly the age was derived from such marks as these: The elegance and simplicity of the written character. When it was free from little hooks, twisted ornaments, pictures, and such artificial appendages, it was thought to be of considerable

* See Praefat. ad Kennicott, Dissert. Gen. pp. 11, 12, and the Neues theologisch. Journal of Ammon, Haenlein, and Paulus, vol. vi. pp. 755, 756. See also Eichhorn, Einleit. vol. ii. pp. 555-557.

antiquity. A MS. was also judged to be old, if it had little or no Masorah; if it wanted emendations and critical interpolations; if the vowel points were absent; if the letters were obliterated in many places and written over again; if there was but a sparing use of letters with unusual forms such as larger and smaller ones; if the Mosaic books were written continuously without spaces between each section; if יהוה were generally used for אדני; if the Talmudic order of the books were followed; if the poetical books were divided into hemistichs; if the parchment were yellow, thick, and coarse; if the ink of the consonants were black and that of the vowels pale and faded. But it has been shewn by Tychsen, Schnurrer, and Eichhorn, that such marks are doubtful. The text itself of a particular MS. must always and chiefly be consulted for this purpose. If it contain frequent characteristic departures from the Masoretic text which agree with the ancient versions except the Targums, there is a strong presumption that the text of it is ancient. When to this are added the most reliable of the preceding marks, viz. no vowel points and no punctuation throughout, because when the vowel system was generally introduced it was not common to write unpointed copies in the square character; retouched words and letters with the ink pale, and that of the consonants paler than the vowels—the probability of antiquity in a MS. is greatly increased. No one consideration should be depended on by itself. The greater the number of such criteria as have been mentioned, though they are singly of no value in determining the antiquity of MSS., the more likely is the copy in which they meet to be an ancient one. But in every case, it is a most difficult thing to fix on the particular century or part of a century in which an ancient MS. wanting a subscription should be placed.

When we speak of a Hebrew MS. being *ancient*, it should not be younger than the thirteenth century. Those belonging to

the twelfth century have a fair claim to the epithet; but such as are older than that are very ancient, and so far most valuable. Yet there are exceedingly few which can be put earlier than the twelfth century.

The goodness of a MS. depends on its *antiquity*, it being a natural conclusion that the older it is, the nearer it approaches the text of the original. But this very natural inference is discountenanced *by fact* in so many cases, that the rule ceases to be of much use. It may happen that a MS. 600 years old may be transcribed from one of 700, while a MS. of 500 may be transcribed from one of 800, or from a copy which had better readings. In determining therefore the goodness of a MS., it is necessary to judge it by its own text, according to the acknowledged rules of criticism. Its readings must be examined fairly and impartially, and its value be fixed accordingly. Apart from that course, there is no other safe way of arriving at a general estimate of its merits. It is true that rules have been proposed for determining the goodness of a MS., but like those relating to age, they are fallacious. Thus it has been affirmed that Spanish copies are the best. Next to them are the French and Italian; the German being the worst of all. It is certainly true, that the Spanish character is the most beautiful. The calligraphy of Spanish copies is unquestionably the finest. They are elegantly written. And the Rabbins have always praised them, giving them a decided preference over all others. But it is easy to see how a copyist studious of elegance and neatness, would be less disposed to correct mistakes, lest the appearance of his MS. should be marred. All that can be said with truth is, that Spanish copyists have bestowed greater pains on their MSS. than others, so that on the whole, *the class* is more accurate. Yet there are exceptions. Hence every copy must be judged apart by its own text. Again, it has been said that the goodness of a MS. may be inferred from the learning of its copyist. Pro-

ceeding from a learned transcriber, it is more valuable than if it came from the hand of an ignorant one. But this is a very uncertain mark; for a learned man is more prone to deviate from the original. An ignorant transcriber will generally adhere the most scrupulously to the copy before him; while another may forsake it. It has also been thought that a copy made for the use of the synagogue, or that of a Rabbin, is likely to be good. But this criterion is also doubtful. Again, if a MS. has been *accurately lined*, it is highly valued. This belongs to calligraphy rather than to the text itself on which all the value depends.

With regard to the *classification* of MSS., they have been variously divided.

They have been distributed into (1.) synagogue rolls, of which but a small part is in the hands of Christians; and (2.) private MSS. in folio, quarto, octavo, which were never used in the synagogue. The latter again have been divided into *Masoretic* and *unmasoretic*, pointed and unpointed, corrected and uncorrected, mixed and pure, oriental and occidental, *cabbalistic* or *midrashitic*.

None of these classifications is pertinent or useful, because founded on intangible, insecure premises. And yet it is necessary for the criticism of the Old Testament to have a good classification of MSS. founded on the internal state of their texts. If there be, as is probable, a similarity of characteristic readings among them, there should be *recensions* of the text. But it is certain that there cannot be such recensions or families as are made in the MSS. of the New Testament, unless a very different class of copies from any now existing be discovered. Taking *recension* in the sense it bears in the criticism of the Greek Testament, there is but one recension of Hebrew MSS.; for by far the greatest part of them are of European origin, and consequently belong to the recension of Aaron Ben Asher which was spread over the countries of Europe.

The division into Masoretic and unmasoretic is perhaps the most approved one. Yet it is of small value. There are no copies which agree in all respects with the Masorah. The Jews have not been able to produce a single copy exactly conformable to the Masorah. And on the other hand, the unmasoretic copies embrace all existing ones, if by the epithet be meant such as do not everywhere coincide with the Masorah. The deviations from it are greater or less in them all.

As to corrected and pointed, uncorrected and unpointed MSS. they are one and the same.

Pure MSS. are such as have the Hebrew text in Hebrew letters; *mixed*, those which have the text written in Arabic, Syriac, Greek, Latin, Samaritan characters. The objection to this division is, that there are scarcely any Hebrew MSS. which are not in the Hebrew character.

As to Cabbalistic MSS. we know of none. The term is used by Tychsen.

Oriental MSS. comprehend such as were written in Egypt and the East; *occidental* such as were produced in Spain, France, Italy, and Germany. Among the older Jews, Babylonian MSS. were sometimes called Eastern, in contradistinction to Palestinian which were termed Western.

3. MSS. written in the Rabbinical character.

The so called *Rabbinical* is a sort of cursive character, and differs somewhat in different copies. Sometimes it is the complete Rabbinical character; in other copies it approaches to it. Rabbinical MSS. are written on paper, and are all comparatively modern. Most of them have no vowel points or Masorah. They have many abbreviations of words; and various consonants can hardly be distinguished from one another. Sometimes they are accompanied with an Arabic version. Critics assign little value to these Rabbinical copies.

CHAPTER XXIV.

DESCRIPTION OF SEVERAL HEBREW MANUSCRIPTS.

We shall now select a few of the oldest and best Hebrew MSS. that have been collated, for the purpose of giving a brief description of them.

1. Cod. 634. De Rossi, in quarto.

   This is but the fragment of a MS. containing Levit. xxi. 19—Numb. i. 50. It is on parchment, without the vowel points, Masorah, and K'ris. It has also no interval between the *parshioth* or sections. Sometimes however there are points between the words. It is the opinion of De Rossi that it belongs to the eighth century. It was taken from the Gheniza—or place in which the Jews bury their synagogue rolls lest they should fall into profane hands—at Lucca, and is corroded by age. The character is intermediate, approaching the German. It belonged to the private library of De Rossi.

2. Cod. 503. De Rossi, in quarto.

   This is a manuscript of the Pentateuch on parchment, and is made up of different pieces. It begins with Gen. xiii. 14 and ends with Deut. xv. 12. There is a chasm in it from Levit. xxi. 19—Numb. i. 50, because De Rossi separated this portion, thinking it to be older than the rest, and characterised it as an independent fragment by the preceding number (634). The vowel points are attached to it, but not throughout; and they were evi-

dently put by the same hand as that which wrote the consonants. There are no traces of the Masorah or K'ris. Sometimes there is a remarkable agreement between its readings and those of the Samaritan text and ancient versions. De Rossi places the various pieces of which it is made up in the ninth and tenth centuries. It was found in the same Gheniza with the preceding.

3. Cod. 590. Kennicott, in folio.

This manuscript contains the Prophets and Hagiographa, and is on parchment. The text has the vowel points, but apparently from a later hand. The margin does not exhibit the Masorah, but variations are noted here and there. Some books have the final Masorah. But the separate books have no titles, and they are arranged in the oldest order, Jeremiah and Ezekiel coming before Isaiah, and Ruth before the Psalms. According to the date in the subscription, it was written A.D. 1019, or 1018 by another reckoning. Hence it belongs to the beginning of the eleventh century. The MS. is preserved in the Imperial library at Vienna.

4. Cod. 1. Kennicott, in folio.

This manuscript is of parchment, and is preserved in the Bodleian library at Oxford. It contains the entire Old Testament beginning with Gen. xxvii. 31. At first it was furnished with the final Masorah; but the letters are greatly faded and in many places they have been renewed. The manuscript differs very remarkably from the Masoretic text, and agrees with ancient versions. Kennicott assigns it to the eleventh, but De Rossi to the twelfth century.

5. Pentat. Hebraicus convolutus.

A rolled manuscript of the Pentateuch formerly in the Duke of Sussex's library. Mr. Pettigrew thinks* that

* Bibliotheca Sussexiana, vol. i. part 1, p. 5.

it is the most ancient and most perfect MS. of the Pentateuch in England. It is written on 79 brown African skins, and measures 23 inches in breadth, 144 feet in length. There are 263 columns, each of which contains 42 lines. The square character of it is very ancient, and the ink with which it is written is beautifully black. There are no capital letters, no accents or vowel points. There are also no marginal corrections, but there have been erasures and alterations. The text is said to be very correct. It was brought from Senna in Arabia to Amsterdam, and thence into this country. As far as we know, no person has collated it.

6. Cod. 536. Kennicott, in folio.

This manuscript is of parchment, and contains the Pentateuch, the Haphtaroth or prophetic sections, and the five Megilloth. It begins with Gen. ii. 13, is without the Masorah, and has at the commencement and end several leaves of a later date. Here and there on the margin variations are marked. According to De Rossi it is of great value, and belongs to the end of the eleventh century, with which opinion Kennicott agrees. Deposited in the Malatestian library at Caesena.

7. Cod. 162. Kennicott, in quarto.

This manuscript is of parchment, containing Joshua, Judges, and Samuel, but defective till Joshua vi. 20; from 1 Sam. i. 1—1, 10, and from 2 Sam. xxiv. 10 to the end. In many places the letters have been renewed, and some words have been changed in the process of renewing. It belongs to the eleventh century, and is now in the Medicean library at Florence.

8. Cod. 262. De Rossi, in folio.

This manuscript is of parchment, containing the Pentateuch, Megilloth, and Haphtaroth. It has the vowel points which appear to have been written by the copyist.

The Masorah and K'ris are wanting. Its readings often agree with the Samaritan text and ancient versions. According to De Rossi it belongs to the eleventh century. It was in his private library.

9. Pentat. Hebraicus convolutus Chethamiensis.

This is a rolled MS. of the Hebrew Pentateuch in the library of Chetham College, Manchester. It is written on 45 brown African skins, and measures in length 106 feet, in breadth 20 inches. There are 204 columns, each column having 48 lines. The breadth of each column is about four inches. The letters, which are of the modern square character, are black and well preserved, and the text without points, accents, or marginal annotations. There are some few erasures and corrections; and some parts of the MS. are blackened but not illegible. The largest erasure and correction is at Exod. xxxviii. 24, where three lines are blotted. The usual seven letters have the coronulae (or *Taggin*), and there are the great and small ones in common with other copies. The last word in Deuteronomy is wanting. No person has collated it, nor is anything known of its history. The donor's name was Byron. It is of comparatively late date.

10. Cod. 10. De Rossi, in quarto.

This manuscript is of parchment, containing the Pentateuch and Megilloth, without Masorah and K'ris. It begins with Gen. xix. 35, the preceding portion being absent. It has the Targum. De Rossi places it in the end of the eleventh century or the beginning of the twelfth. It was in his private library.

11. Cod. 349. De Rossi, in quarto.

This manuscript is also of parchment, containing the book of Job. It wants the Masorah, and has but one K'ri added by the person who put the vowel points. De Rossi

assigns it to the end of the eleventh or the commencement of the twelfth century. It was in his private library.

12. Cod. 379. De Rossi, in folio.

This manuscript is of parchment, and contains the Hagiographa. At the beginning and end it is defective, for it commences with Psalm xlix. 15 and ends with Nehem. xi. 4. It wants the Masorah and K'ris. The poetical books are arranged in hemistichs. It is one of the most important Hebrew MSS., and is of the same date as the preceding, or somewhat earlier. It belonged to De Rossi.

13. Cod. 611. De Rossi, in octavo.

This manuscript is also of parchment, containing the Pentateuch, without the Masorah, and with a few K'ris. The writing is much faded. It is defective till Gen. i. 27. De Rossi assigns to it the end of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century.

14. Cod. 4. Kennicott, in folio.

This manuscript is of parchment, and contains all the Old Testament. It is defective like many others, for it does not begin till Gen. xxxiv. 21, and terminates with 2 Chron. ix. 5. Jeremiah and Ezekiel precede Isaiah according to the most ancient arrangement. It belongs to the twelfth century and is of special value. The Bodleian library possesses it.

15. Cod. 154. Kennicott, in folio.

This manuscript is of parchment, containing the prophets with the Targum written between the lines. It is defective from Joshua x. 12-32 and 1 Sam. xii. 21—xvii. 1. No manuscript has as many variations from the Masoretic text as this one. The subscription, which proceeded from the copyist himself, states that it was written in the year of the world 4866 that is, A.D. 1106.

Both Kennicott and De Rossi value it highly. Formerly it belonged to Reuchlin; but it is now in the public library at Carlsruhe.

16. Cod. 193. Kennicott, in octavo.

This manuscript is of parchment, containing the Pentateuch, without the Masorah and the vowel points. The first chapters of Genesis, the last of Leviticus, and the part of Deuteronomy from v. 26, proceed from a later hand. At the end we find from the hand that wrote the termination of Deuteronomy a subscription stating that it was written in the year of the world 5047, *i.e.* A.D. 1287. This must be regarded only as the date of the supplied part. The remainder belongs to the twelfth century. It has many erasures and alterations, yet it contains many remarkable deviations from the Masoretic text. It is evident that the author of the MS. was a Christian, because words are divided at the end of lines, because dagesh forte is expressed by the doubling of the letter, and also because the name Jehovah is written with three *vaus*. It is now in the Ambrosian library at Milan.

17. Cod. 201. Kennicott, in folio.

This manuscript is of parchment, containing the Prophets and Hagiographa. It is defective in many parts, till 1 Sam. xx. 24; from Ezek. xi. 19 till Isaiah xli. 17; from Esther ix. 16 till Ezra ii. 69; from Ezra viii. 24 till Nehem. i. 5; and from 2 Chron. xix. 6 till the end. After the second book of Samuel the remaining portions are arranged in a very unusual order. Thus Jeremiah follows Samuel, then the books of Kings, then Ezekiel and Isaiah. After Esther follow Ezra and Nehemiah. The margin has extremely few Masoretic annotations. According to Kennicott it belongs to the beginning of

the twelfth century. It is now in the Ebnerian library at Nürnberg.

18. Cod. 210. Kennicott, in quarto.

This parchment manuscript contains the whole of the Old Testament. It wants the Masorah, and has but a few K'ris. It is rich in good readings. Both Houbigant and Starck speak in praise of it. It belongs to the twelfth century. The royal library at Paris possesses it.

19. Cod. 224. Kennicott, in folio.

This manuscript is of parchment, and contains the Prophets and Hagiographa. But it is defective in various parts, viz. till Joshua vi. 16; from Ruth i. 1 till ii. 4; from 2 Chron. xiv. 10 till xix. 8; and from 2 Chron. xxxiv. 22 till the end. The books are arranged in the most ancient order, Ruth preceding the Psalms, Jeremiah and Ezekiel preceding Isaiah. The three poetical books are arranged in hemistichs. This manuscript has many readings agreeing with the ancient versions. It is assigned to the beginning of the twelfth century, and is now in the royal library at Königsberg.

20. Cod. 366. Kennicott, in quarto.

This parchment manuscript contains the prophets. It is mutilated however from Jerem. xxix. 19 till xxxviii. 2; and from Hosea iv. 4 till Amos vi. 12. Isaiah follows Ezekiel; and the MS. belongs undoubtedly to the better class. It was written at the beginning of the twelfth century, and is now in the St. Germain library at Paris.

21. Cod. 216. Kennicott, in octavo.

This manuscript is on parchment, containing the Psalms and Proverbs. It is without the Masorah. The Psalms are written in hemistichs. Starck assigns it to the tenth century. But it is thought by Kennicott and De

Rossi that the Proverbs proceeded from a later hand; and they agree in attributing them to the fourteenth century, while they place the Psalms in the twelfth. The MS. is in the Sorbonne library at Paris.

22. Cod. 293. Kennicott, in folio.

This parchment manuscript contains the Pentateuch and the Megilloth. The text is much effaced owing to its antiquity. It is apparent, however, that it was written with great care. In the most remarkable readings it coincides with the Samaritan text and ancient versions. The book of Esther from vii. 6 has been supplied by a recent hand. According to the subscription, the MS. was written in the year A.D. 1144. It belongs to a private library at Toledo.

23. Cod. 531. Kennicott, in folio.

This parchment manuscript contains the Prophets and Hagiographa. It belongs to the year A.D. 1193, and is in the library of St. Saviour's at Bologna.

24. Cod. 326. Kennicott, in quarto.

This very elegantly written parchment manuscript contains the Hagiographa, Joshua, Judges, and Samuel. It is mutilated however from 2 Sam. xi. 25. Job is wanting from xxi. 10 till xxvii. 19. According to the subscription it was written A.D. 1198, and is now in the royal library at Paris.

25. Cod. 461. Kennicott, in quarto.

This manuscript is of parchment, and contains the Prophets. It is defective from Joshua viii. 3, and from Isaiah xl. 26 till xlii. 13. It is the only codex having that remarkable reading which agrees with the apostle's quotation in Habak. ii. 4. It is assigned to the close of the twelfth century, and is now at Rome in the Vatican.

26. Cod. 527. Kennicott.

This manuscript contains the Pentateuch in a roll. It is written without vowel points. Kennicott and Bruns assign it to the close of the eleventh century; De Rossi to the thirteenth, with less probability. It is preserved with great care in the Dominican cloister at Bologna, and was said to be the autograph of Ezra.

27. Cod. 528. Kennicott, in folio.

This manuscript is of parchment, containing the Pentateuch and Hagiographa, with the Masorah. It is defective from Deut. xxix. 3 till Psalm xxxiii., and belongs to the end of the twelfth century. It is preserved at Bologna.

28. Cod. 56. De Rossi, in quarto.

This manuscript is of parchment, and contains Job and the Proverbs. It is defective till Job xxix. 15; from xxxi. 13 till xlii. 3; and from Prov. xxix. 25 till the end. The text is arranged in parallel strophes; but the writing is greatly faded. It belongs to the twelfth century, and was in De Rossi's private library.

29. Cod. 248. De Rossi, in folio.

This parchment manuscript contains the Pentateuch with the interlinear Targum, the Megilloth, and Haphtaroth. It is defective till Genesis vii. 13; and the Haphtaroth reach to the eighth day of the Passover. There is no trace of the Masorah or K'ris. De Rossi places it in the twelfth century. It belonged to his private library.

30. Cod. 537. Kennicott, in folio.

This parchment manuscript contains the books of Kings, and belongs to the twelfth century. It is now at Bologna.

31. Cod. 350. De Rossi, in quarto.

This manuscript is of parchment, containing the Psalter.

The first page has been supplied by a later hand; and according to the subscription, the same person affixed the vowel points and Masorah. Considerable value belongs to the MS. which is dated by De Rossi in the twelfth century. It was in his own library.

32. Cod. 552. De Rossi, in quarto.

This manuscript is of parchment, and contains the Proverbs, Job, and Chronicles. It is defective however at the beginning and end, for Prov. i. 1—ii. 1, and 2 Chron. xix. to the end, are wanting. It has no Masorah, few K'ris. It belongs to the twelfth century, and is justly esteemed by De Rossi of considerable value. It was in his private library.

33. Cod. 555. De Rossi, in duodecimo.

This parchment manuscript contains Leviticus and Numbers, with the interlinear Targum and Haphtaroth. It is defective till Lev. vi. 10, and has no traces of the Masorah, few of K'ris. The last three leaves have been supplied by a later hand. In remarkable readings, the text agrees with the Samaritan and Septuagint. The date is the twelfth century. It belonged to De Rossi.

34. Cod. 614. De Rossi, in quarto.

This parchment manuscript contains the Megilloth. It has also the Haphtaroth. It is defective at the end, and belongs to the twelfth century. It was in De Rossi's private library.

35. Cod. 645. De Rossi, in quarto.

This manuscript is of parchment, and contains the Psalms. But it is defective till Psalm iii. 9; and the last leaf has been added by a later hand. The readings of it are valuable. De Rossi assigns it to the twelfth or thirteenth century. It belonged to himself.

36. Cod. 416. Kennicott, 649 De Rossi, in quarto.

This parchment manuscript contains the Pentateuch,

with the interlinear Targum. It wants the Masorah, and has few K'ris. It is also mutilated till Exod. xxx. 3, and from Deut. xxxii. The readings are valuable. The date is the twelfth century. It belonged to De Rossi.

37. Cod. 580. Kennicott, 701 De Rossi, in quarto.
This manuscript is of parchment, and contains the former Prophets. But it is mutilated till Joshua ii. 5. It wants the Masorah, and has few K'ris. Both Kennicott and De Rossi assign it to the twelfth century. It belonged to the latter.

38. Cod. 634. Kennicott.
This is a synagogue roll of the Pentateuch, but defective from Levit. xxii. 5 till Numb. xxxi. 50. It has been assigned to the end of the twelfth century, and is at Helmstadt.

39. Cod. 704. De Rossi, in folio.
This parchment fragment contains part of the second book of Kings from chapter xxiii. 24 to xxv. 13, with the Targum; and belongs to the latter half of the twelfth century. It was in De Rossi's private library.

40. Cod. 602. Kennicott, in quarto.
This manuscript is of parchment, containing all the Old Testament. But it is defective in various places, viz. from 2 Sam. xii. 27, to the end of the book; from Jerem. xliv. 26 to Ezek. viii. 3; and from Isaiah vii. 24 to xxxiv. 1. Jeremiah and Ezekiel precede Isaiah; Job is before Proverbs, and Ruth before Canticles. It belongs to the close of the twelfth century, and is at Erfurt.

41. Cod. 775. De Rossi, in quarto.
This parchment manuscript contains the books of Chronicles and the Psalms, and wants the Masorah. It be-

longs to the twelfth century, and was in De Rossi's private library.

42. Cod. 107. Kennicott, in folio.

This manuscript is of parchment, and contains the Pentateuch, Megilloth, and Haphtaroth. It is defective, however till Exod. vi. 23; and from Zech. xiv. 16. The 67th Haphtarah is wanting. Kennicott assigns it to the middle of the thirteenth century. It is in the British Museum.

43. Cod. 33. De Rossi, in folio.

This manuscript is of parchment, and contains the Hagiographa, with the Masorah. It has been written out with great care, in the year of our era 1290, according to the subscription. It belonged to De Rossi.

44. Cod. 109. Kennicott, in quarto.

This parchment manuscript contains the Pentateuch, Haphtaroth, and Megilloth. Between Lamentations and Esther it also has Jerem. viii. 13—ix. 23. The part till Gen. i. 27, has been written by a later hand. It has many good readings, and is assigned by Kennicott to the thirteenth century. It is in the British Museum.

45. Cod. 226. De Rossi, in folio.

This parchment manuscript contains the Prophets former and later. It is defective however, like most others, till Joshua i. 15. The Masorah and K'ris are wanting. Jeremiah stands at the head of the prophets. De Rossi, who thinks it of great value, places it at the close of the twelfth century. It belonged to himself.

46. Marked No. 1 by Pinner.

This is a Pentateuch roll on leather, containing the five books of Moses complete. Of course it has no vowels, accents, or Masorah. The roll consists of forty-five pieces, every piece an ell in height, making in all fifty-

six ells long. The writing in the last book is not so fine as that of the preceding four. As to the form of the letters, it is considerably different from the present one. This is particularly observable in the case of נמלונא. The rules of the Masorah are complied with in the writing, so that the roll resembles those now in use. Dr. Pinner, who states that he read it throughout, observed but a few variations of no consequence, which he gives. The subscription states that the MS. was corrected in the year 580, and therefore it must have been written earlier, consequently the roll must be older than 1271 years. Pinner expresses no doubt of the correctness of the subscription, though the words of the MS. are separated from one another, whereas such separation did not take place till 800-1000 A.D. In all MSS. earlier than that date, the words stand closely together. The roll was brought from Derbend in Daghestan, and is now at Odessa. If the subscription be genuine, it is the most ancient MS. known to exist.*

47. No. 5. Pinner.

This is a roll of the Pentateuch, but an incomplete one. The writing begins with Numb. xiii. 19. The form of the letters is very different from the present. The scribe was a Caraite Jew, and was very careless in copying the work. Hence it has many mistakes; words and letters being frequently omitted. According to the subscription, it was written in 843. It is at Odessa.

48. No. 11. Pinner.

This is a fragment belonging to a synagogue roll, and beginning with Deut. xxxi. 1. The inscription assigns it to the year 881. It is at Odessa.

* See Prospectus der der Odessaer Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altherthümer Gehoerenden aeltesten hebräischen und rabbinischen Manuscripte, pp. 5-7.

49. No. 3. Pinner, in small folio.

This MS. contains Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the twelve minor prophets, and is on good parchment. Every page is written in two columns, between which, as well as below, and in the outer margin, the Masorah stands. Of the *great Masorah* from two to three lines stand below. Every column contains twenty-one lines. After each verse there are two points, to which, without any interval, succeeds a new verse. But this is not observed where a new topic commences, for there a small vacant space or a new line appears. The vowels and accents are wholly different from those now in use, not merely in form but in position, since they are all *above* the letters. The first page has a twofold pointing, viz. above and below; but this does not occur again except occasionally in verses or words. From Zech. xiv. 6 to Malachi i. 13, there is no punctuation; and the first three verses of Malachi alone have been pointed much later, in the manner at present used. The entire codex is very correctly written; and where a mistake was made the scribe himself has for the most part corrected it. Hence great value should be attached to its variations from the present text. As to the letters, their form is very considerably different from the present.

This unique MS. has been collated throughout by Pinner; and it will be seen that the various readings are numerous. They are very important.

The MS., according to the inscription which belongs to the year 956, was written 40 years previously, *i.e.* 916 A.D. It is at Odessa. Pinner has observed, that the examination of this MS. may have an important bearing on various questions, such as the Hebrew vocalisation, the accents, the Masorah. It is certainly unlike any other, the differences suggesting grave questions of

much interest to Hebrew scholars. Stern published a small treatise about it, in which he promised another and fuller work. Ewald and Luzzatto have written about its vowels and accents. An excellent fac-simile, for which we are indebted to Dr. Pinner, gives an accurate idea of the writing, letters, and accents.

50. No. 13. Pinner, in folio.

This is an incomplete MS., consisting of 115 leaves on good parchment, containing 2 Samuel from vi. 10 to the end; and the two books of Kings. Each page has three columns, between which, as also at the sides of the text, stands the Masorah, in two lines above, and in three, four, and five below. The vowels and accents are written; but they are different in many respects from those now in use. The text has many and important various readings. The Masorah is of peculiar interest, and deserves to be examined. Some of the letters are very large and beautiful, not unlike in form to those of the last mentioned MS. Pinner thinks that they belong to the same time and country, though the vowels and accents of this one differ from the other. Two points stand after each verse; and 2 Kings succeeds 1 Kings without a vacant space between. An inscription states that the MS. *was purchased* in 938. It is obviously a most important codex. Pinner has given some of its readings. Like all the rest examined by the same scholar, it is now at Odessa.

51. —. Pinner, in small folio.

This MS. contains the Pentateuch, Prophets, and Hagiographa, on good parchment. Each page has three columns, except in Psalms, Job, and Proverbs, where there are but two. The text is furnished with vowels and accents; and two points stand after every verse. The letters and accents are similar to those in No. 3 of

Pinner. The little Masorah stands between the columns, and on the external and internal margins. Only from two to four lines of the great Masorah are found above and below. Being a Caraite MS., it has not been written with accuracy. Hence words and verses are sometimes written twice. It is highly ornamented with gold and silver colours, and is minutely described by Pinner. The MS. itself states that it was written in Egypt in the year 1010. At present it is at Odessa.

52. No. 4. Pinner, in quarto.

This MS. contains the Pentateuch, beginning however with Gen. xxvii. 25, the rest having been lost; the five Megilloth; after which is Exod. xvii. 8-16; Deut. xxv. 17-19; a Haphtarah, consisting of 1 Sam. xv. 1-10, 32, 33, and some other verses. Four leaves have been lost out of the middle. Each page is written in two columns, between which, as well as in the margins, stands the Masorah. Above there is one line, and below, mostly two. Each verse is followed by two points, after which the next is written, without an intervening space, except where a new subject begins. Six of the letters are like those in cod. No. 3. But the vowels and accents are like those at present in use. The subscription states that the MS. was written in 1140. It was collated by Pinner, and is now at Odessa.

53. No. 9. Pinner, in large folio.

This is a fragment consisting of six large leaves of good parchment, containing from Deut. xxxi. 23 to the end of the book. The MS. is much faded, and almost illegible. The text is written in three columns, with the Masorah between and on every side; and the great Masorah above and below. From the similarity of the letters to those in No. 13 of Pinner, it is inferred that they were written by the same person. The inscription

states that it was finished in 1132. Pinner however thinks this date to be spurious; and assigns it from internal evidence to the same date as 13, *i.e.* the end of the ninth or beginning of the tenth century. It is at Odessa.

Though the Samaritans make use of rolls in their synagogue, there is no copy of the Samaritan Pentateuch in Europe which is known to be of that form. All are in folio, quarto, duodecimo, or 24mo. The text is plainly written, without any ornament or decoration of the letters. The consonants also are not larger or smaller, inverted or suspended, like the Hebrew.

There are no vowel points, accents, or diacritic signs, such as belong to modern MSS. written in the square character. They have however certain diacritic signs and marks of division peculiar to themselves. Thus every word is separated by a point from the next one. There are also larger and smaller portions formed by two points thus (:). Occasionally a little star supplies their place. A line over the consonants of a word determines the sense of ambiguous expressions, shewing either that the word stands there in an unusual form, or that it is to be taken passively, or that some other peculiarity belongs to it, as in Exod. v. 3, בדבר; where the line shews that it should be read as בְּדֶבֶר *with the plague*, not בִּדְבָר, *with the word*. There are also various other marks, lines, and points, whose use cannot be well ascertained.* Morin conjectured that they often denoted certain affections of the mind.† It should be observed however, that such interpunctions and diacritic signs are not found everywhere and in all MSS. in the same form; but that they depended largely on the caprice of transcribers.

All the Samaritan MSS. which are known are written with black ink, except the Milan copy in the Ambrosian

* See Adler, biblisch-kritische Reisen, p. 144.

† Exercitationes in utrumque Samarit. Pentateuch, p. 90.

library, which has red ink. The material used is vellum or eastern paper. In defective MSS. the deficiencies are sometimes supplied on leaves of paper, the original MS. being vellum.

The margin of these MSS. has no scholia, Masoretic annotations, or corrections. It is quite vacant.

The Pentateuch is divided by the Samaritans into sections or קצין, *Katzin.* These sections however are much shorter than the *Parshioth* of the Jewish Pentateuch. Thus the MS. belonging to the Oratoire library in Paris, whence the Samaritan Pentateuch was first published by Morin, divides Genesis into 250, and all the five books into 966, *Katzin.* The mark of the commencement of a new section varies. Sometimes ⁘ or —≺∵ stands between sections; sometimes they are distinguished merely by an empty space. In the latter case, if the preceding section terminates in the middle of a line, the rest of the line remains empty; but if it terminates with a line, the whole of the next line remains unoccupied.

Unlike Jewish MSS., these of the Samaritans seem to have proceeded from one person, viz. the scribe. The corrector and the copyist were the same. Corrections too are not made in the margin, but in the text itself. But in the Barberinian Triglott, the variations of the Samaritan *version* are given in the margin.*

The subscriptions are of various kinds, and consequently of different degrees of value. Some copies give the number of the sections or *Katzin;* others relate to the history of the MS., mentioning sometimes the name of the transcriber, sometimes the year in which he wrote, the name of the possessor or purchaser, &c. &c.†

As to the age of these MSS. it is best determined by means of their subscriptions. But where such notices are wanting, or where they do not give the era and number of years, there

* Eichhorn, Einleitung, vol. ii. pp. 593 594. † Ibid p. 594.

is great difficulty in fixing the age by internal evidence. The subscriptions themselves cannot always be relied on.

The oldest known is generally supposed to be that numbered 334 by Kennicott, and assigned by him to the tenth century. But this age is probably too high. None that has a date in the subscription goes beyond the thirteenth century. One (333) was written at Damascus, A.D. 1559. Hence all the Samaritan MSS. are recent.

The accuracy with which they are written is not great. In this respect they are inferior to the Hebrew copies. The Samaritan scribes made many mistakes by confounding letters alike in form, by transposition, by neglect of orthography, to which belong arbitrary changes of gutturals. Examples have been given by Gesenius in his treatise on the Samaritan Pentateuch.*

Sixteen MSS. in the libraries of Europe were collated and described by Kennicott and De Rossi. To these must be added a seventeenth, which was unknown to them, viz. one in the library at Gotha, containing only a part of Genesis. Five are in Paris, seven in England, two in Rome, one at Milan, one at Leyden, and one at Gotha.

No. 334. (Kennicott and De Rossi) in quarto.

This MS. is on parchment. It is defective till Gen. xviii. 2; from Levit. xiv. 39 to xvii. 4; and from Deut. vii. 5 till the end. Morin calls it *the most ancient of all.* It may belong to the twelfth or end of the eleventh century. It is in the royal library at Paris (Peiresc. 2).

No. 363.

This is a beautifully written and perfect MS. on skin. It was purchased from the Samaritans in 1616 by a Valle; and is now in the library of the Oratoire at Paris. Though it has no date, yet it belongs probably

* Pp. 17, 18.

to the end of the eleventh century. Morin printed the Samaritan Pentateuch for the first time from it.

No. 197, in 12mo.

This MS. is on very thin parchment, and the characters are red. A good part of it is illegible, and many places are wanting. It is however of very considerable antiquity and value. It belongs to the Ambrosian library at Milan, and was collated for Bruns by Branca the librarian, who says it is not younger than the tenth century. It belongs probably to the twelfth.

No. 127, in quarto.

This excellent MS. on vellum is complete and transcribed all by one hand. A leaf of fine paper is put between every two leaves of the vellum. It is now in the British Museum (Claud. B. 8)—having belonged to Sir Robert Cotton, who got it from Ussher. It was collated by Ussher, who communicated the various readings to Comber. The latter sent them to Morin at Paris. The MS. was written A.D. 1362.

No. 62, in large quarto.

This MS. which has an Arabic version in parallel columns, but in the Samaritan character, is very imperfect. According to Kennicott, who assigns a high value to it, it was written near the middle of the thirteenth century. According to the subscription given entire by Bruns,* part of it was written or supplied A.D. 1524. It is now in the Bodleian library, having belonged to Ussher. It is on vellum and paper.

* Ad Kennicotti Generalis Dissertatio, p. 361.

CHAPTER XXV.

HEBREW MSS. IN CHINA AND OTHER ORIENTAL PARTS.

VARIOUS critics were long desirous to get information respecting the MSS. used by the Jews in China, as it was known that Jews had resided there for many centuries. They supposed that their copies must be very ancient, and uncorrected by the Masorah.

But the expectations entertained were dissipated by the information given by some Jesuit Missionaries, who made inquiries and published the result of them in 1774. Additional particulars were furnished by Koegler in the Journal of de Murr. These have been the only sources of European acquaintance with the Jews in China and their sacred books, till the present time; for Brotier in his first edition of Tacitus, drew from the Jesuit missionaries; and Michaelis did not profess to do more than digest and condense the information already existing.

It would appear then, that the Chinese Jews have rolls of the law, and copies taken from these rolls, with a supplement in two parts.

1. As to the rolls of the law, they lie in the innermost or most holy part of the synagogue, thirteen copies on thirteen tables. The oldest of them represents the authentic exemplar of Moses; the others, those of the twelve tribes. All are unpointed.

They were said at the time to be about 600 years old. At that period there was a great fire which consumed the synagogue rolls, and the Jews purchased one from a Mohammedan which he had got from a Jew at Canton; whence all the existing copies were derived.

2. In addition to these, they have copies of the law for private use. These are divided into fifty-three little books, *i. e.* sections, corresponding to the *parshioth* of the Palestinian Jews, except that the latter have fifty-four. The initial words serve for titles. Of the other books of the Old Testament, some parts are said to have escaped the fire 600 years before; and others to have been lost in the inundation caused by the Hoangho in 1446. All remains of them are put in two parts, as a supplement to the Pentateuch.

The first part of the supplement contains Joshua and Judges, both incomplete; the books of Samuel complete; the books of Kings with some defects; the Psalms.

The second part contains the *Haphtaroth* in about thirty little books. Formerly they had eighty such; but from the two causes already mentioned they lost fifty. To these are appended the books of Chronicles, Nehemiah, and Esther, but in an imperfect state. Isaiah and Jeremiah, they have in a tolerably complete form. Of Ezekiel they have nothing; of Daniel only a few verses of the first chapter; of Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, some passages; and nothing of the other prophets. They want Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Solomon's Song.

These MSS. have our present vowel points and accents. In like manner they have *Raphe*. The *puncta extraordinaria* are over one word at least, viz. וישקהו in Genesis xxxiii. 4; and in Genesis ii. 4 there is a small ה in the word בהבראם. No trace of a K'ri was found. The shape of the consonants is like that contained in European MSS. That of the accents is different.

There can be little doubt that these MSS. are Masoretic ones, and comparatively modern. The Chinese Jews carried on intercourse and traffic with Europeans; and the original of their MSS. must have been got from Europe.

The preceding account, it should be observed, relates to the Jews at K'ae-fung-foo, the only Jewish settlement known to be in China.

In December 1850 the Jewish synagogue at K'ae-fung-foo was again visited by two Chinese Christians in the employment of the London Missionary Society at Shanghae. The synagogue was found to be tottering in ruins. Not a single individual could read the Hebrew books. The few Jewish families who remained, sunk in the lowest poverty and destitution, had been without a Rabbi for fifty years. The messengers brought back eight MSS. containing portions of the Old Testament Scriptures. These MSS. are written on thick paper, bound in silk, and bear internal marks, as is supposed, of foreign origin, probably Persian. The portions of the Old Testament contained in these MSS. are Exod. i. 6, Exod. xxxviii.-xl.; Levit. xix. xx.; Numb. xiii.-xv.; Deut. xi.-xvi.; and Deut. xxxiii. Various portions of the Pentateuch, Psalms, and Hagiographa, which appear to be parts of an ancient Hebrew liturgy, are contained in two of the MSS.*

Fac-similes of these Hebrew MSS. were afterwards published at Shanghae†, from which it appears that the texts the Masoretic one, furnished with vowel points and accents. We have collated portions with the received text, and observed no variations.

* See a little work entitled, The Jews at K'ae-fung-foo: being a narrative of a mission of inquiry to the Jewish Synagogue on behalf of the London Society for promoting Christianity among the Jews: with an introduction by the Right Rev. G. Smith, D.D. Lord Bishop of Victoria, Shanghae 1851. Introduction, p. 10.

† Fac-similes of the Hebrew MSS. obtained at the Jewish Synagogue in K'ae-fung-foo. Shanghae 1851, 4to.

More valuable and interesting than these MSS. were twelve (sic) synagogue rolls, each thirty feet in length by two or three in breadth, which were in the holy of holies, but were not sold to the messengers. Measures were taken for procuring the latter also,* and two of them, in addition to the eight, are now in London, the property of the Jewish Society.

By the kindness of the Rev. Mr. Coleman of Ventnor, who has collated one of the rolls, I am enabled to state, that it is on goat-skins, not on sheep-skins. The writing is beautiful but somewhat peculiar, without points, accents, or large or small letters, and without any division into books, chapters, or verses. Where the divisions marked ס and פ occur in our present text, there is a small break or hiatus. Where פפפ occurs in Van Der Hooght, there is generally a blank space equivalent to that of *one line*. The age of the roll is not known. There is no clue to its antiquity. Each column consists of forty-nine lines; each line terminates with a perfect word; and each column with a perfect sentence. To effect this, some of the letters are dilated in a very extraordinary manner. The letters are smaller than those in the fac-similes of the other MSS., more regular, and more elegant.

As to the text itself, though several errors of transcription occur, and some variations affecting the orthography, there are none that can be considered deviations from the sense of the Masoretic text.

In the year 1806 Dr. Buchanan brought from the East a synagogue roll which he found among the Jews of Malabar. This copy of the Pentateuch, deposited in the public library of the University at Cambridge, was minutely described and collated by Mr. Yeates.† The roll is made of goat skins dyed red, and was discovered in the record chest of a synagogue of

* See Narrative. Introduction, p. 10.

† See Collation of an Indian copy of the Hebrew Pentateuch, &c. by Thomas Yeates, Cambridge 1812, 4to.

the black Jews. It is about forty-eight feet long and twenty-two inches broad. It is not however complete; for Leviticus and the greater part of Deuteronomy are wanting.

Notwithstanding the opinion of Bishop Marsh as to the value of this codex, there can be little doubt that it is an European Masoretic roll. The errors too which the scribe has fallen into, shew that he was careless. It may have been made in Spain, as the characters appear to indicate; or to have been copied directly from a Spanish MS. It is of little value, as Lee has properly judged.*

Observations on MSS. generally, and their Application to Criticism.

We have seen that all known MSS. belong, with a few exceptions, to one family. They are all posterior to the Masoretic revision. Hence not many various readings are derivable from this source; nor is much help afforded by it in restoring the true text in places where it has suffered. The *textus receptus* is the fruit of Masoretic labour—the representative of the MSS. which learned Jews revised for centuries. There are indeed some few MSS. whose writers occasionally preferred readings found in more ancient codices still extant in their day, to the Masoretic. Great value belongs to *their* readings.

All modern *editions* have been made conformable to the Masoretic text. All the more recent ones very closely agree, with the exception of some typographical errors. But in the ancient editions belonging to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, there are *real* various readings. Hence these are justly reckoned equivalent to MSS. of the same age.

Most of the various readings collected by Kennicott and De Rossi from MSS. are of small value. Some are errors of

* Prolegomena in Biblia Polyglotta Londinensia Minora, p. 23.

transcribers. Others relate to the quiescent letters, or the *matres lectionis*. If therefore the readings worthy of a critic's attention be alone regarded, a large mass will be discarded at once as worthless. They are diversities in *orthography*, rather than various readings.

The most obvious rule, if it can be called so is, that the reading found in the greater number of MSS. should be preferred. This however can only be *caeteris paribus*.

Besides *number*, the *character* of the MS. or MSS. containing a reading should be carefully considered. Thus the age ought not to be overlooked. Antiquity possesses some weight. The nearer MSS. are to the age of the writers themselves, the more value belongs to them. But the most ancient are comparatively recent. Yet as some readings which have been improperly perhaps rejected by the Masoretes may occur in these ancient copies, they deserve attention.

A recent MS. accurately written may be transcribed from a very ancient and a very accurate one long ago lost. In such case, antiquity is rather apparent than real, and may readily mislead.

The habits of the scribe should also be noted. Was he exact and scrupulous in his copying; or was he negligent in his work? Did he write for a synagogue or a private person? What sort of exemplar did the scribe follow? Can this be inferred from any known circumstances?

Again, to what country does a codex belong? The Spanish are esteemed by the Jews the most correct and the best, especially those made for synagogue use. Doubtless there are exceptions to the universality of this rule.

It is considered a mark of innate excellence in a MS. that it is not only accurately written, but contains besides many good readings differing from the received text, and clearly confirmed by the authority of ancient versions. This canon should not be applied absolutely, or pushed too far. It cer-

tainly needs limitation as applied by Cappell, Kennicott, and De Rossi. It should only be followed to a certain extent, and with great circumspection, lest ancient versions have an undue weight assigned to them.

On this subject as elsewhere rules are of little use. A few examples will be of more service to the young critic.

In Levit. ix. 21, the reading is, *as Moses commanded;* but in thirty-three MSS. and in various other documents the word יְהוָה is inserted, so that the clause reads, *as the Lord commanded Moses.* Here not only in consequence of the majority of codices, but their antiquity and value, the received reading must be retained as the true one.

2 Chron. x. 16. In this passage, the received text has רָאוּ, "when all Israel *saw*." But though many MSS. have the verb, and all the older editions besides, the best codices omit it. Norzi testifies that it was absent from all the old MSS. It is therefore spurious.

To the present topic belongs the critical use of the Masorah. The only part of it to which we may now make special allusion is the *K'ris* in the margin. The Masorah presents in many cases readings in the margin by the side of those in the text. The Jews always prefer the *K'ris.* Others have in every case preferred the *c'thibs.* But these extremes are untenable.

A safer rule is, that the reading is to be preferred which agrees best with the context, and is supported by ancient versions.

Thus in Isaiah ix. 2, we read, "Thou hast multiplied the nation and not increased the joy," according to the *c'thib* or textual reading לֹא. But there is a *K'ri* or marginal particle לוֹ, *to it*, instead of the like sounding negative, "Thou hast enlarged the nation, thou hast increased joy *to it.*" As the most important ancient versions favour the latter, and it agrees best with the context, we have little hesitation in fol-

lowing it along with Lowth, Gesenius, De Wette, Knobel, Alexander, and others.

Again, in Psalm c. 3, we have the words "it is he that hath made us *and not we ourselves*," וְלֹא אֲנַחְנוּ. But the *K'ri* has לוֹ instead of לֹא, *and we are his.* Here the marginal reading is preferable. It agrees better with the subsequent context, and has more important versions in its favour. If the *c'thib* be the true reading, which we do not believe, it should be rendered, *when we were not, when we had no existence.* The English version of it cannot be received.

As to *the correction of the scribes* and *the taking away of the scribes* we receive the emendations as right; but they are of trifling value. The *grammatical, orthographical,* and *euphemistical* annotations of the Masoretes should not be adopted.

CHAPTER XXVI.

CRITICAL CONJECTURE.

A FIFTH source of readings for the purpose of emendation is, *critical conjecture.*

A distinction has been made between *theological* and *critical* conjecture. The former means the proposed emendation of a passage for the purpose of supporting a favourite religious tenet. The latter is the attempted restoration of the text, without reference to theological dogma, where external and internal evidence are considered too scanty to bring back the original words; or where such testimony is wholly wanting. If theological conjecture were adopted, it would soon open the door to corruption. Unscrupulous partisans would speedily introduce many changes into the Bible. They would give a bias to places, more or less marked in favour of their own creed. The number of passages supposed to need emendation would be increased. Many parts of the Bible would be suspected. The book would become an uncertain rule of faith. It could not be appealed to as a standard capable of settling all disputes in theology. Every one might then believe or disbelieve as best suited his own principles. The prejudices of party or sect would influence the treatment of the sacred records. According to the complexion of creed would be the character of the changes proposed.

It was once the opinion of divines that conjectures in regard

to the text of the Old Testament are unwarrantable and impious. They were regarded as an innovation on the language of holy writ. In modern times however this position has been modified or abandoned. Some indeed have gone to the opposite extreme, affirming that conjectures are as allowable in Scripture as in the case of any other book. There is no doubt that critical conjecture is a thing that should be resorted to very sparingly. The most stringent necessity alone can justify it. Wherever there is but *one copy* of an ancient work conjecture is indispensable, because no copy can ordinarily be transcribed without mistake; and whatever errors are committed must unavoidably be propagated in all transcripts taken from the copy. Even where there may be several MSS., all copied from one and the same, the necessity for conjecture remains, because they are merely equivalent to a single copy. This holds good with respect to some heathen writings, where conjecture must be employed. In proportion to the number of external copies, and the materials of external evidence, does the necessity for conjecture decrease.

Is then the mass of authorities in regard to the Old Testament of such a nature as to warrant the exclusion of critical conjecture? We believe not. The causes of error with regard to the Old Testament are numerous and important. The extreme antiquity of the canonical books, and the changing history of the nation by which they were transcribed and preserved, must be considered. All the Hebrew MSS. too belong to one *recension*. They are all *Masoretic* and of *recent* date. Nor do the most ancient versions wholly supply the want of very old Hebrew MSS., since those versions, such as the Septuagint, have greatly suffered in their own texts. Though the materials of Old Testament criticism be ample in one respect, *their nature and age* detract from the value attaching to mere quantity. The books had suffered very early in their text; and it is impossible to restore them

now to their original form by the help of external evidence. What shall be said, for example, of those places in the Old Testament where positive contradictions exist? What shall be said of names, numbers, genealogies, events, recorded so differently, that one or other statement of them must be incorrect? Disguise the fact as men may, the received Masoretic text, which is exhibited for the most part in all known MSS., makes writers assert different and contradictory things of the same person or event. There are not a few such phenomena in the books of the Old Testament, whose existence was ignored as long as it could be; or which were explained into agreement by the most arbitrary methods of exposition. But the light of modern criticism has brought them forth to the full day; and there they stand to the dismay of the feeble pietist, who would fain shut his eyes to their existence, or take to the stale shifts which once sufficed to force them into harmony.

Now it is precisely in these passages that the materials for correction are meagre. In some, there is not a single various reading either in MS., version, or quotation. What then is to be done? Shall the pure text of the Old Testament be disfigured? Shall these passages be allowed to remain as they are, though they are manifestly erroneous? No. Critical conjecture must be resorted to. A sober judgment must try to rectify these gross improprieties. Contradictions must be removed at all hazards; unless it be believed that they stood in the text at the very first. If they did not, as most suppose, they will be carefully and cautiously taken away. Let one place be corrected by another, where two are inconsistent. Let the analogy of faith be consulted. Let the connexion be carefully scrutinised. Let the judgment of former critics be looked to. In short, let all things be duly weighed with caution and care, and an attempt be made to restore the text as nearly as possible to its original condition. Too much vigilance cannot be exercised.

We are aware that all this may sound strange to the dogmatic literalism which takes *form* and *essence* to be inseparable; and holds by a view of verbal inspiration that cannot be defended. But let slavish literalism give forth its advice, and we shall see whether it be superior. Till then, and we suppose even after, in cases of *absolute necessity*, we will resort to critical conjecture. In the Old Testament such cases do arise. Every critic knows them. They are patent and palpable facts, which it were sheer folly to ignore.

It is needless to argue against the application of critical conjecture *in every case*, from the abuse of it by many; as it is admitted on all hands that an argument of that sort is worthless. It is unfortunate that there has been such abuse, but where is the good that has not been abused? Men *will* be rash, unskilful, ignorant, presumptuous. They *will* meddle with things that abhor their impure touch. They will not act with impartiality and calmness befitting serious things. They will give license to their imagination, or indulge their critical acumen. Human nature is always erring. We sigh over the groundless conjectures introduced into parts of the Old Testament text by Cappell, Kennicott, Houbigant, Lowth, Michaelis, and others. We deprecate the injurious influence of their unwarrantable interference with the text. They abused critical conjecture. Let us be warned by their example, and use their weapon *only* where an urgent necessity for it appears. Where external evidence fails or is not sufficient, let *a strong internal* evidence call for and justify conjecture. Here it is legitimate. Here in safe hands it will be seasonable and serviceable.

The Masoretes themselves have not refrained from critical conjecture. They have put forward סְבִירִין here and there on the readings of the Bible, which are commonly placed on the outer margin. With all their superstitious reverence for the letter, they could not but see that in some cases the text might

be improved; though MS. authority be silent, or nearly so. And their example may be safely followed.

As to rules on this point, none can be given, none at least that are of any use to the critic. Those that have been proposed are nothing else than a few general observations of a negative kind, which have no pretension to the name or character of *canons*. They are such as would occur to any person of reflection, as cautions to be observed.

It is laid down, in the first place, that conjectures and corrections are not to be made rashly in those passages where the present Hebrew text plainly agrees with all or most MSS. of the ancient fathers, interpreters, and paraphrasts, unless perhaps, the received reading necessarily exhibits a sense that is false, absurd, insipid, contrary to the preceding or following context or to other passages of Scripture, and opposed to the analogy of faith.

Secondly, In places where it is doubtful whether our present Hebrew text agrees with the reading which the Seventy or other ancient interpreters and paraphrasts followed, we must not rashly attempt conjectures and corrections, unless the received reading give a sense which is necessarily perplexed, confused, diluted, badly agreeing with the preceding or following context, or inconvenient from any other just cause.

Thirdly, A conjecture or correction of this sort should be such as to make the sense of a passage plainer and more coherent, more consonant with the analogy of faith and other Scriptures.

Fourthly, It ought to be of a kind to shew that the copyist might have readily fallen into a mistake—that he might easily have missed the true reading for that which we deem suspicious and needing emendation.

Fifthly, The correction or conjecture should not be taken into the text and substituted for an ancient reading; but should be set down in the margin or opposite page. It should at least

be kept separate, so that the reader might be left free to follow it or not.

Such are the laws or conditions laid down by Cappellus,* agreeably to which critical conjecture should be exercised. In practice they will not be found of much use. They are too general to be really serviceable. They are cautionary and vague. We fear that they will not restrain a bad critic, any more than they will guide a good one. The one will fail in applying them; the other can do without them. Cappellus himself was not restrained by them from baseless conjectures; and his disciples have not been more successful.

One or two examples of critical conjecture may perhaps be useful. In 2 Kings ix. 27, we read that Jehu pursued Ahaziah by the way of the garden house, and said, "Smite him also in the chariot. *And they did so* at the going up to Gur." Here something is supposed to have been omitted. The Vulgate, Syriac, and Arabic *do* supply a verb. But they differ as to *the place* they put it in. It is probable therefore that their attempts at correction are not successful. The Septuagint leads to the original and true reading, viz. instead of הכהו, ויכהו, ה having arisen out ו. The sense then is—"Him also; and they smote him," &c.—language suited to the hasty ferocity of Jehu.

In 2 Kings x. 1, we read that Jehu wrote letters and sent to Samaria to the rulers of Jezreel, &c. Here the term *Jezreel* is evidently wrong. The Septuagint, Josephus, and one MS. of Kennicott have *Samaria* instead. This is substantially right. The original seems to have been וישלח מיזרעאל אל שרי שמרון, whence the present reading arose.

In 2 Kings viii. 16 are the words ויהושפט מלך יהודה, which make the fifth year of Jehoram and the fifth of Jehoshaphat coincident, contrary to iii. 1. They must have been inserted at first by mistake. There are also some authorities for their omission.

* Critica Sacra, vol. ii. p. 1013, et seq. ed. Vogel and Scharfenberg.

By comparing 2 Chron. xv. 19 with 1 Kings xv. 16, it will be seen that the text in Chronicles is corrupt. The two cannot be reconciled in any way yet attempted. The word *thirty* should be expunged.

A few examples may be also furnished of *the needless* application of critical conjecture.

In 2 Chron. xvii. 6 Jehoshaphat is said to have taken away the high places and groves out of Judah. But in 1 Kings xxii. 43 it is said, "nevertheless the high places were not taken away; for the people offered and burnt incense yet in the high places." Besides, in 2 Chron. xx. 33 it is written, "Howbeit the high places were not taken away; for as yet the people had not prepared their hearts unto the God of their fathers." Hence Cappell concludes, that in xvii. 6 for וַיִּגְבַּהּ should be read וְלֹא, so that the sense might be, "his heart was lifted up in the ways of God, and yet he did not take away the high places," &c.

Here the text needs no reforming hand, if the distinction be observed between high places dedicated to the true God, and those consecrated to idol-worship. In 1 Kings xxii. 43, the writer speaks merely of *illegal* worship; *not* the worship of the true God in the temple at Jerusalem which the law of Moses enjoined. The hearts of the people were not yet fully prepared for legal worship. Their religion had not led them so far as to see that they ought to repair to Jerusalem. But in 2 Chron. xx. 33 and xvii. 6 the language refers to *idolatrous* worship. Accordingly the text should be left undisturbed.

Again, in 1 Kings vi. 1, it is stated that Solomon began to build his temple 480 years after the children of Israel had come out of Egypt. Cappell would alter this into 580, thinking that the chronology requires it. The Septuagint has 440. Seyfarth would make it 880. But there is good reason for abiding by the received text. A careful computation of times

will vindicate its accuracy. Accordingly Thenius* has shown by a minute induction of particulars, that 480 has a right to stand where it is.

There are many other passages in the books of Kings and Chronicles where the true readings have disappeared; and where even the versions give no assistance in finding them. In Ezra and Nehemiah there are also several. Indeed scarcely any book is wholly free from them. But they are not so numerous as some may be ready to think. They have been unnecessarily multiplied.

As to the ulterior question whether passages properly contradictory were *at first* in different books, and whether therefore it be not unnecessary to attempt the emendation of one or other passage in all such cases, it does not at present lie before us. Different views of it have been held. The most recent researches go to the opposite extreme of that followed by the older critics, viz. a want of anxiety about harmonising all contradictions in the Old Testament, inasmuch as some at least are supposed to have stood there originally. If the Masoretic text be upheld as genuine in every case, a position which some approach to in the present day, the credibility of the original writers will suffer occasionally. The subject is of great importance. It demands investigation, because it affects the momentous questions of *canonicity* and *inspiration*.

* Die Bücher der Koenige erklärt, u. s. w. p. 56, et seq.

CHAPTER XXVII.

APPLICATION OF THE VARIOUS SOURCES OF CRITICISM.

When the sources of criticism are divided in their testimony respecting the reading of a passage, as is generally the case, many circumstances have to be considered in determining the original words.

The first thing which demands attention is, the proper adjustment of *external* witnesses with a view to ascertain what may be gathered from them unitedly. What reading do they favour when compared and contrasted with one another? To which form of the text do they incline as a whole? It is seldom that they are *equally* divided in authority. When set over against each other, added or subtracted, on what side do they preponderate?

The next thing is, to consider the *internal* evidence. How is the sense affected by this reading or by that? Which is more suitable in the particular connexion? Which agrees better with other places?

Let us now look at these two processes separately, though they are not often followed just in this order. In practice they are frequently mixed up together. They are not kept apart. They act and react materially. They influence one another in a greater or less degree. In endeavouring to ascertain the bearing and preponderance of external testimony, internal evi-

dence lends its aid, it may be unconsciously to the critic himself. And in investigating internal evidence by itself, the leaning of the external is seldom forgotten. We believe therefore that the two commonly go together to some extent. They affect each other in a greater or less degree. Perhaps it could not be otherwise. Possibly it were not practicable to separate them entirely. And even if it were, it might not be desirable.

Many writers have tried to frame *general rules*, by which an accurate judgment may be formed concerning various readings. But we are satisfied that such rules as we have seen propounded are of little if any use. No one is guided by them in practice. Nor can they secure an *accurate judgment* in all cases. A few observations only we venture to make, with a view of inducing proper precaution on the part of those who are occupied with the settlement of the text, rather than of actually guiding to a right decision in each particular case. *Proper canons* in relation to this subject we have never found. They may be so called, but they are not canons in reality. They serve for the most part to shew what the right reading is not, rather than what it is. And they are uniformly so general and vague, necessarily perhaps, that they fail to render efficient aid in all the varieties of individual cases.

We shall suppose therefore, that the critic has got the best forms of the texts belonging to ancient versions; that he has settled the ages, countries, and characters of the principal MSS. hitherto collated; that he has the parallels in right order; that quotations of various kinds are properly understood. Having all this apparatus, he comes to a passage where there are various readings, and where his authorities disagree among themselves. What then must he do? How can he proceed? Are there definite rules by which he may at once test and decide the respective claims of each reading? We fear not. In perplexing cases he must be content with conclusions slightly probable.

It will be understood first of all, that the critic is at liberty, where circumstances appear to require it, to depart from the present vowel points and accents. Their late origin must plead for this license. Of course they have their weight as witnesses, and should not be lightly or rashly abandoned; but as the most ancient interpreters frequently forsake them, the critic may do the same for just and proper causes. It will also be understood that the critic is at liberty to separate words which have been joined together; and on the contrary, to divide words into two, if considerations present themselves warranting such alteration.

He may also make a better division of verses and chapters in particular places.

Remembering then that these expedients may be lawfully employed with regard to the text when he sees a necessity for them, the critic looks,—

To *the number* of witnesses supporting a reading.

To their critical character.

To their age.

To their independence of one another.

It is obvious that testimonies should be counted. Number should not be despised. But it is as obvious, that they should be *weighed* as well as counted. Their *critical character* and worth should be attended to. This consists mainly in the uniform aim of a version to furnish a faithful and true representation of *the original.* This is most visible in such documents as contain the original text; then in the versions of Aquila, Jerome, the Peshito, the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan, and sometimes in the Septuagint. In addition to the critical character of the documents containing a certain reading, the age of them comes to be considered. Or antiquity, instead of being taken by itself, may be included in their critical character. It may be viewed as a constituent part of it. The older the better, other things being equal. The next particular is their

independence one of another. This enhances the value of the testimony belonging to each. But if one has suffered from contact with another, the number of the witnesses may be reduced, two resolving themselves into one.

The external testimonies being adjusted, their leanings on the whole to one reading being perceived or their superior support being assigned to its proper object, the critic turns his attention to the probability inherent in a well attested reading that the original author wrote in a certain manner, and not otherwise.

In determining such probability, great caution is requisite. The sense as gathered from the context is the main thing. We must proceed on the supposition that the writer meant to conform to the common laws of thought, by using words that give a good sense—one suited to his purpose, consistent with other passages, and historically correct. We must presume that he meant to write intelligibly for those whom he had in view. It is true that many limitations and peculiarities must be remembered in thus judging of the writer's conformity to the ordinary laws of thought and composition. Intelligibility and perspicuity may be urged too far. The mode of writing peculiar to an author is affected by and partly depends upon previous habits and influences. To later ages also there may be difficulties and contradictions where the original readers found none. Besides the Hebrew language being unlike our own, and its genius somewhat irregular, allowances must be made for phenomena that arise out of its very nature. Symmetry and smoothness must not be expected every where; especially as we are not thorough masters of a dialect so venerable as that in which the earliest records of the race are written.

Again, the critic has to look to the probability in favour of one reading having given rise to others. If he can perceive one which might more naturally lead to the others than any of the others to it, that one presents an inherent claim to

be considered the original and true reading. Here however some acuteness is necessary; while *ingenuity* may probably mislead. A lively fancy may betray a critic into the most arbitrary assumptions. He may think he sees the one which gave rise to the rest, when he is wholly in error. It is of great importance not only to be well acquainted with the Hebrew language, but with the peculiarities of style and diction belonging to the individual writer. The class of composition to which his work belongs, the parallelism of members if he wrote poetry, the point of view he took, the writer he may have imitated in some parts, even the locality where he wrote and the occasion that gave rise to his writing—all these should not be neglected in determining the reading which would most easily give rise to others. We shall close these remarks with the simplest and most correct rules which have occurred to us:—

1. A reading found in all critical documents is commonly the right or original one.

2. When the Masoretic text deviates from the other critical documents, and when these documents agree in their testimony quite independently of one another, the reading of the latter is preferable.

3. If the documents disagree in testimony, the usual reading of the Masoretic text should be preferred, even though a majority of the Hebrew MSS. collated cannot be quoted in its favour.

4. A reading found in the Masoretic text alone, or in the sources of evidence alone, independently of the Masoretic text, is suspicious.

5. If the MSS. of the original text disagree with one another, *number* does not give the greater weight, but other things, such as age, country, &c. aided by internal grounds.

6. The more difficult reading is generally preferable to the easier one.

7. A reading more consonant with the context, with the design and style of the writer, and with the parallelism in prophetic and poetical books, is preferable.

8. Every reading *apparently* false, vicious, absurd, containing a contradiction, is not on that account *actually* incorrect.

9. It is possible that a reading which has no more than one or two witnesses in its favour, if it be intrinsically good, may be worthy of adoption.

10. It is possible that in some places the true reading may be preserved in none of the sources. If there be strong reasons for thinking so, critical conjecture should be resorted to.

Such seem to us the most useful circumstances that deserve to be remembered and acted upon by the critic. We cannot call them *canons* for determining various readings. They are hints and cautions on the subject. They might easily be multiplied. But we are convinced that theory is of no use here. The very examples given by such as have accumulated what they call *rules* for ascertaining the true reading often shew that the rules are worthless, because the examples terminate in the adoption of readings as true which are really incorrect. The application, if it have been rightly conducted, proves the inutility or badness of the rules in question.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

EXAMINATION OF VARIOUS PASSAGES.

WE shall now examine various passages in the Old Testament where the reading has been disputed. The evidence of versions, parallels, quotations, MSS., and also critical conjecture will be applied to them, in order that the original words may be exhibited. In this manner the reader will see the mode in which the various sources of emendation are employed. Perhaps this application of them will be more serviceable than all the rules which have been given. Here practice alone will produce skill and tact.

25th Psalm.

This psalm is one of those styled alphabetical. The verses begin with the different letters of the Hebrew alphabet in their order. But the alphabetical arrangement is incomplete in the present case. The first two verses begin with א, while ו and פ are omitted. There are also two verses beginning with ר; while the last verse begins with ב after the preceding one had closed with ת.

In consequence of these irregularities, critics have set themselves to amend and restore the Psalm. Wishing to make it strictly alphabetical, they have indulged in various conjectures for that purpose.

The first departure from the regular alphabetical structure is at the commencement of the second verse, where אֱלֹהַי stands, instead of a word beginning with ב. Hence arises the conjecture that אֱלֹהַי belongs to the preceding verse, leaving the second to begin with בְּךָ. No MS. or version has this emendation; but many critics from Cappell to Hitzig adopt it. Or, it has been thought that אֱלֹהַי and בְּךָ should be transposed, leaving the verse to begin with the latter, and אֱלֹהַי to belong to it still.

The second departure from alphabetical regularity is the want of a verse commencing with ו. This is rectified by reading in the fifth verse וְאוֹתְךָ instead of אוֹתְךָ, and making a new verse begin with it. In favour of this reading are three MSS. of Kennicott, one of De Rossi *a prima manu*, as also the Septuagint, Syriac, Vulgate, and Arabic. Kennicott and De Rossi receive the emendation at once.

The third departure is the want of ק at the beginning of a verse. To remedy this, Venema and Michaelis read the first word of the eighteenth verse קְרָאָה instead of ראה. There is no authority for this; nor is the deficient letter restored in any other way in any ancient MS. or version.

The fourth irregularity is at the nineteenth verse, which begins with ר the same as the preceding verse. Three of Kennicott's MSS. omit the nineteenth verse altogether.

The last irregularity is in the twenty-second verse, which begins with פ quite out of order, because after ת, and superfluous also, because there is a פ verse in its proper place.

The first question which arises is, is it likely that the Psalm was composed by the author with a strict adherence to alphabetical arrangement? So many critics have at once concluded. They take it for granted that the writer left the Psalm quite regular, because it is now alphabetical *for the most part*. But they seem to be hasty in their assumption. There

are reasons against them which they do not appear to have thought of. These are well stated by Hengstenberg.

1. Irregularities of the kind occur in all the alphabetical Psalms. And yet these are the very ones in which they were most unlikely to occur. If anything could have kept an ode or poem in the state in which it proceeded from the author, the alphabetical arrangement was the likeliest means of doing it. Its regularity and compactness would have prevented injuries from happening to the text. And yet it is assumed that *all* the alphabetical Psalms have suffered. Transcribers tampered with them all at a very early period. Surely if this rule of proportion be applied to the Psalms generally, the number of errors in their text must be very large. If copyists were careless in respect to those Psalms which are *the least* likely to admit of detriment to their text, they must have been far more careless with regard to such as presented no artificial arrangement to shield them from injury. Are the critics who set about remedying the text of this Psalm prepared to carry their ideas into the book generally? Do they even suppose that all the Psalms, besides the alphabetical, suffered as much as they? And yet consistency would lead them to believe that the others suffered immensely more from the incompetence and carelessness of transcribers.

2. There are gradations among the deviations in particular Psalms. There are cases in which only a single irregularity occurs. There are cases in which there is nothing more than approximation to alphabetical arrangement. And there are cases in which the alphabetical arrangement is directed not so much to the first word, as to *the number* of the verses.

3. There are special reasons in this Psalm why no alterations should be attempted. In relation to the ף and ר verses, the author evidently sacrificed the form to the sense. He could not follow the alphabetical arrangement without constraint;

and therefore he sacrificed it to the connection of ideas. Had there been no second verse beginning with ר, the omission of ף might have been accidental; but as the case now is, it is most unlikely that the ף could have been left out by mistake, and another ר inserted in its place by mistake. The first and last verses are peculiar, since they consist each of but one clause; while all the other verses have two. They stand out from the alphabetical series, and together constitute one sentence which is the subject of the Psalm, viz. prayer for deliverance from enemies.*

Believing for these reasons that the Psalm proceeded as it is from the author himself, all emendatory criticism must be misapplied to it. It refuses to allow conjectural attempts to restore it, as is imagined, to right order. Indeed they are worse than useless. They are mischievous. They mar and spoil the sense, as might easily be shewn. Thus from an entire misapprehension of the first verse, and the peculiar position it occupies out of the alphabetical series, announcing the theme of the Psalm at the beginning, it has been imagined that it wants a clause, which is taken from the second verse, viz. אֵל אֵבוֹשָׁה. After this the second verse thus denuded of a part of itself is made to begin with בְּךָ instead of אֱלֹהַי. By such arbitrary procedure, two verses are made to come forth, whose sense is,—

1. Unto thee Jehovah, my soul will I lift up;
   I shall not be ashamed.
2. In thee my God have I trusted;
   Mine enemies shall not triumph over me.

After this follows the third verse unmutilated—

3. Likewise all those waiting for thee shall not be ashamed;
   Ashamed shall be the traitors without cause.

* See Hengstenberg's Commentary on the Psalms, vol. i. pp. 428, 429. English version.

Compare with this the sense of the verses as they stand in the text, and it will appear on which side is the preference.

1. Unto thee Jehovah, my soul will I lift up;
2. My God, in thee have I trusted, let me not be ashamed;
   Let not mine enemies triumph over me.
3. Yea all those waiting for thee shall not be ashamed;
   Ashamed shall be the traitors without cause.

In the latter case, the psalmist first expresses his fixed determination to seek protection in God. Next, he indicates that it has been exercised already, *therefore* he may not be put to shame. The mention of being put to shame immediately suggests the general maxim on which he grounds his prayer for deliverance, shewing that he does not ask for any special dispensation in his own behalf;

> Yea all who wait on thee shall not be ashamed;
> Ashamed shall be the traitors without cause.

But in the former case, where conjecture arbitrarily amends the text, this connexion of ideas is spoiled: "I shall not be ashamed," or rather, "let me not be ashamed," is separated by an entire verse from the third, although it should manifestly be in close sequence to it; for the emphatic *yea* at the commencement of the third verse introducing the verb *ashamed*, shews that the speaker passes at once from his own particular case "let me not be ashamed, let not mine enemies triumph over me," to the case of all in similar circumstances with himself *not being ashamed*. But it is unnecessary to dwell on such unwarranted dismemberment of the Psalm before us. Far better is the text, as all copies exhibit it, than as it comes forth from the hand of the reformer. It appears to have now all the regularity it ever had. Each verse that comes within the alphabetical series has two clauses; the first and last verses standing apart. The second verse and the fifth do *not* at present consist of three clauses; nor is it likely that they were

ever meant to be separated into three. The Masoretes have divided them properly.

145*th Psalm.*

This Psalm is also alphabetical. It is observable, however, that a verse beginning with נ is wanting. Hence the Psalm is at once imagined to have had at first a נ verse, which has dropped out of the text through the carelessness of transcribers. On consulting ancient authorities, one MS. of Kennicott, viz. 142 at the bottom of the page has a verse beginning with נ, supplying the apparent omission, viz. נֶאֱמָן יְהוָה בְּכָל דְּבָרָיו וְחָסִיד בְּכָל מַעֲשָׂיו, "Jehovah is faithful in all his words, and holy in all his works." The Septuagint, Syriac, Vulgate, and Arabic versions have the same supplement to the common text.

The question now is, was the Psalm originally perfect in its alphabetical structure, the verse in question having been unaccountably dropped out of all existing collated Masoretic copies except a modern one, though retained in the Septuagint; or, has the Septuagint supplied the fancied omission through a mistaken notion that there was a deficiency?

There is no probability that the supplied verse was originally in the text. Agreeably to the analogy of other alphabetical Psalms, the structure is not perfect throughout. Form was sacrificed to the sense. The writer did not put himself under restraint, for the sake of external regularity of structure in the ode. The chief motive for the omission of the letter נ seems to have been the designed arrangement of the whole into three equal stanzas, each containing seven verses. Hence one of the twenty-two letters of the alphabet had to be dropped. The Septuagint obviously borrowed the supplied verse from the seventeenth which follows, merely changing צַדִּיק *righteous* into נֶאֱמָן *faithful*, which latter word was derived from Psalm cxi. 7. The other ancient translations quoted followed the Seventy in this addition to the text.

At the end of the Psalm an additional verse is found in twelve MSS. of Kennicott and De Rossi, in two as at first written, one as it now is; as also in the Soncino Bible. It is as follows:—וַאֲנַחְנוּ נְבָרֵךְ יָהּ מֵעַתָּה וְעַד עוֹלָם הַלְלוּ יָהּ, "But we will bless the Lord from henceforth even for ever. Praise ye the Lord." This verse is evidently spurious; and was probably taken from prayer-books, as De Rossi supposes, for he found it in several.

Psalm xvi. 10.

In the received text we find the word חֲסִידֶיךָ in Psalm xvi. 10, though it is pointed with the vowels of the singular חֲסִידְךָ, and a marginal note states that *yod* is superfluous. The difference between the singular and the plural is thought to be important in this instance, because the former means *Christ*, the latter *the pious* in general. Hence most Jews adopt *the plural*, most Christians *the singular*, as might have been expected. Great zeal has been displayed in defending the latter against the Jews, with accusations of their corrupting the text for their own purpose, lest it should apply to Christ. Perhaps the polemic indignation of some Christian authors has led them too far in this matter. They might have spared their vituperations till it had been proved that the Jews had wilfully falsified the text. It is matter of regret that the point should have been argued as a theological one; for in that case, passions and prejudice are apt to run away with sober reason. It is a critical question, and nothing else; which ought very carefully to be kept apart from the debatable field of dogmatic theology.

We must say at the outset, that we do not agree with those writers who make a great deal out of the difference between the two readings, as if it were *essential*. It is much the same as to *sense* which of the two be adopted. The singular refers directly to Christ; the plural, in referring to the saints, includes Christ; for *he* is their head and representative. Even

the singular, as Alexander observes,* is really collective, and includes the whole class of God's chosen and favoured ones, whose head Christ is. In this way it is apparent that there is little real difference between the two readings. There is therefore no cause for invectives against the Jews with their plural reading; as if they had expelled Christ from the passage. He may be there still, though the plural be adopted. And though the textual reading be unquestionably that one to which the vowels should be adapted, yet the Masoretes direct the singular to be read, shewing at least that *all* the Jews did not favour the plural.

Hengstenberg regards the plural as the original reading because—1. It is supported by the preponderance of external authorities. The testimony of MSS. is chiefly on its side; and that cannot be outweighed by the testimony of ancient versions.

2. The plural, as the more difficult reading might be readily exchanged for the singular, which is easier.†

The first of these arguments is weighty in favour of the plural reading. Its force cannot be denied. Against it may be put the fact, that 263‡ MSS. of Kennicott and de Rossi, eight *a prima manu* and three as now altered, have the singular. These however are by no means the majority of MSS., as Kennicott intimates when he says that the plural reading is even now found only in a few of the latest MSS. Auriville repeats the same incorrect statement. They are the minority of all the MSS. written before printing, for they are very little more than the half of such as have been collated by Kennicott and De Rossi.

As far then as MSS. are concerned, the plural is better supported than the singular, as Hengstenberg truly affirms.

* The Psalms translated and explained by J. A. Alexander, vol. i. p. 118.

† Commentary on the Psalms, vol. i. p 251. English translation.

‡ Jahn erroneously says 265.

On the other hand, all the ancient versions exhibit the singular. The Septuagint, Syriac, Vulgate, Chaldee paraphrase have it. Indeed no old translation has any other reading. It is also in Jerome, the Babylonian Talmud, Midrash Tehillim, Yalkuth Simeon, and various Rabbinical works. In the New Testament, the apostles Peter and Paul quote the passage in the singular. De Rossi also enumerates fifty ancient editions which have it.

Auriville* states that Jacob Ben Chayim was the first editor who put the plural in the text, with a circle referring to a marginal note to the effect that ' is superfluous. Bomberg's edition which he superintended was printed in 1525, 1526. But in this assertion he is mistaken, for the plural was in the Neapolitan Psalter published in 1490. It is probable however that succeeding editors followed Ben Chayim down to the present day. It is impossible at this time to discover the motive or motives which led the first editor to depart from the printed text which preceded him. Did he follow the ancient Masorah in giving the plural? or did he put the plural in the text without authority? What led Ben Chayim to put in the margin the Masoretic note that yod is redundant? Is that his own opinion? These are questions to which different answers will be given. We think that the Neapolitan editor and Ben Chayim must have had such ancient authority as appeared to them overwhelming for the insertion of the plural in the text; while the latter honestly put the note of the Masoretes that the *yod* should be omitted. He gave the Masoretic opinion in the margin; but the reading of ancient copies in the text. On the whole, we are inclined to consider the singular the true authentic reading, rather than the plural. The weight of ancient testimony is in favour of it. *Internal* evidence is also on the side of *the singular*. Throughout the

* Dissertationes ad sacras litteras et philol. orient. pertinentes, p. 123, et seq.

Psalm one person appears as the speaker; and therefore the plural does not suit the context. Hengstenberg indeed argues that the plural as the more difficult reading might be exchanged for the singular by such as knew not what to do with it, especially as an individual speaker appears throughout; but to this we reply in his own words, that it is absurd to extend this rule of criticism so far as to leave out of account the entire weight of external authorities.*

Though there is no reasonable ground for dogmatising on this disputed question where able scholars such as Fischer, Stange, Bruns, De Wette, Ewald, Hengstenberg, advocate the plural, in opposition to the prevailing current of opinion among Christian writers, yet we cannot but adopt the singular.†

1 *Sam.* xvii. 12-31, *and* 55-58.

In the seventeenth chapter of the first book of Samuel two passages, the first of considerable length, have excited much attention. We shall advert to them separately.

xvii. 12-31.—These verses give an interesting account of David's being sent to the camp to visit his brethren; of his conversation with the men of Israel relative to Goliah's challenge, and their telling him of the reward offered by Saul to him who should conquer the Philistine; of Eliab's behaviour to his brother David on his making inquiry about what should be done to the victor; and of Saul's being made acquainted with what David had said, and sending for the latter.

The twenty verses in question have been considered by many an *interpolation* which the Hebrew text did not originally contain.

In favour of this view of them, both external and internal evidence has been adduced.

The Septuagint version omits them, at least in the Vatican

* Christologie des alten Testaments, vol. i. p. 168.

† See De Rossi, Scholia Critica in V. T. libros, p. 99.

copy. It would seem also from Kennicott's reasoning about the Alexandrine copy, that the transcriber of *it* had a MS. before him which wanted the verses. It is thought that the transcriber of the Alexandrine having written what is now in the eleventh verse, was beginning what is at present the thirty-second, when after writing καὶ εἶπε Δαυίδ, he perceived that either the Hebrew or some other Greek copy, or the margin of his own copy, had a number of intermediate verses. So without erasing εἶπε he proceeded to write the addition, thus leaving a decisive proof of his own interpolation.* In this manner Kennicott ingeniously reasons; and though we might take exception to his argumentation, we allow it to pass. We concede to him that the Alexandrine as well as the Vatican copy omitted the verses; or *should* rightly *have* omitted them, as not being in the MSS. from which they were transcribed.

On the other hand, all Hebrew MSS. all ancient versions except the Septuagint, and all ancient writers, witness in favour of the verses. Thus the external evidence for their authenticity is overwhelming.

But such as advocate their supposititiousness rely most on internal evidence. Let us hear their arguments:—

1. After David had been of so much service to the king, in causing the evil spirit to depart from him; after its being recorded how greatly Saul loved him, and that he had made him his armour-bearer; after the king had sent to Jesse to signify his intention of keeping his son with him, all which are particularly mentioned in the latter part of the preceding chapter, the account of his keeping his father's sheep afterwards, and being sent to his brethren on this occasion must appear to be somewhat improbable.

2. What is here said of the premium that Saul had offered

* The State of the printed Hebrew text, Dissertation the second, p. 422, et seq.

to him who should conquer the Philistine, is not well consistent with the account afterwards given.

3. Eliab's behaviour, as here represented, is not only remarkable, but unaccountable and absurd.

4. The inquiries of a young man, who is not said to have declared any intentions of accepting the challenge of the Philistine, would scarcely have been related to the king. So Kennicott, after Pilkington, argues.*

The arguments now adduced have much plausibility and force. It is hardly surprising that they have been pronounced unanswerable, as they have been by critics like Boothroyd. In consequence of them, Horsley was led to believe that the last ten verses of the preceding chapter relating to Saul's madness and David's introduction to the court on that occasion are misplaced. Let these ten verses, says he, be removed to a place between the ninth and tenth of the eighteenth chapter, and this seventeenth chapter be connected immediately with the thirteenth verse of the sixteenth chapter, and all inconsistency in the narrative will be removed. †

We have elsewhere ‡ stated some considerations against this solution, which need not be repeated here. It is not satisfactory. The difficulties of the narrative are not removed by it. The passage must either be an integral part of the Hebrew text as it now stands, or a spurious addition to it.

With all the thought we have been able to devote to this topic, we cannot suppose that the section was a later interpolation. No adequate reason for the later insertion of it in the original text has been given. It *might be* worked up, as Kennicott says, by some fanciful Rabbin; but it is most unlikely that so long a passage should be inserted in the margin of Hebrew copies and afterwards taken into the text. The

* State of the printed Hebrew text, Dissertation second, p. 420, et. seq.

† Biblical Criticism, vol. i. pp. 331, 332.

‡ Sacred Hermeneutics, p. 541, et seq.

Jews did not deal with copies of their sacred books after that fashion.

The general character of the books of Samuel leads, as we believe, to a solution of the difficulty. It is now admitted by all critics, even by Hävernick, that these books were partly compiled. Different materials were employed in their composition. Books of annals, registers, and oral tradition contributed to them. Their compilatory, fragmentary character appears unmistakeably in various parts.

Proceeding on this admitted ground, it may be inferred that *the original* writer of what is now the sixteenth chapter was different from the writer of the seventeenth chapter. The sources of the sixteenth and seventeenth chapters were not the same. The account of David given in the sixteenth chapter is very incomplete. It is brief and imperfect in itself. It was necessary to say something more of him and his parentage. The section before us therefore, or something like it, was needed. Accordingly, the compiler of the whole book took it from a source before him and placed it where it now is, without solicitude as to its nicely fitting the context. It has *the appearance* of disturbing the connexion, or at least of not being exactly adapted to it. But this seemed a small thing to the annalist. He knew that it presented a true and accurate account of a portion of David's history: and saw that there was no better place for it as a whole than the present one. It might have been inserted in places more *chronologically* appropriate by dividing and distributing the parts of it; but keeping it together, it was put where it now is. Nor is this the only place in the books of Samuel where passages do not *seem* to agree well with one another. Apparent contradictions have been adduced which must be accounted for on the same principle. The compilatory character of the books must be considered. The writer of the whole put together materials derived from various sources, without believing it to be either

necessary or essential to bring them into exact accordance in their historical sequence and relationship.

1 Sam. xvii. 55—xviii. 5.

These verses are also omitted from the Vatican copy of the Septuagint, and supposed to contradict the latter part of the sixteenth chapter. Hence many modern critics reject them as a later interpolation. It is unnecessary to give the reasons drawn from the context for their supposed spuriousness. They are similar to those detailed in the preceding section. The solution is the same as was applied to verses 12-31. But there is no real inconsistency. The verbs in the fifty-fifth and following verses should be rendered in the pluperfect. Some things are repeated, the mention of which would have interrupted the course of the narrative; and xviii. 2, 5 obviously refer to the commencement of what is related in xiv. 52. As was already said, the sixteenth and seventeenth chapters were taken from different documents; and the seventeenth chapter should terminate with what is now the fifth verse of the eighteenth.

1 *Sam.* vi. 19.

"And he smote the men of Bethshemesh, because they had looked into the ark of the Lord, even he smote of the people fifty thousand and three score and ten men: and the people lamented, because the Lord had smitten many of the people with a great slaughter."

The extraordinary number of persons here specified, viz. 50,070 arrests the attention of every reader. It did not escape Tindal and Voltaire. Indeed it appears incredible. Bethshemesh was a small town. It could scarcely have had *five* thousand inhabitants, much less *fifty*. Neither could so many people belonging to the surrounding district have been gathered together in haste, and inhabitants be still left after the destruction of so many. Various ways of lessening the extrava-

gant number have been attempted. The original words are שִׁבְעִים אִישׁ חֲמִשִּׁים אֶלֶף אִישׁ, *i. e.* literally, *seventy men, fifty thousand men.* The Vulgate translates, "de populo septuaginta viros, et quinquaginta millia plebis." This view is adopted by Anton and Maurer, the latter of whom paraphrases thus: "et clade affecit ex Bethschamitis, quoniam arcam Jovae nimis curiose inspexerant, et clade affecit ex populo, (ex illis) septuaginta homines, (ex hoc) quinquaginta millia hominum." "*And he smote of the Bethshemites seventy men; of the people generally fifty thousand men.*"* According to this explanation, the Hebrew words commonly put together in one member of the sentence are separated; and in their separated state referred back to different clauses. But the method is far-fetched, artificial, unnatural.

Bochart renders it, "seventy men, fifty, viz. out of a 1000;" which must also be rejected.

The "Exegetisches Handbuch" of Höpfner and Augusti translates, "seventy out of 50,000," which is likwise unnatural.

Hassencamp, by removing the final mem of חֲמִשִּׁים, and putting it before the next word אֶלֶף, makes the phrase חֲמִשֵׁי מֵאֶלֶף אִישׁ, *the fifth of each family.* But Tychsen properly objects to this interpretation, observing that אֶלֶף with אִישׁ never means any thing else in the Bible than a thousand men; and that each family of the seventy must thus have consisted of five men at least, which is improbable.

Kennicott's mode of rectifying the text is still more unsatisfactory. It was examined and refuted by Hassencamp.

De Rossi, after two unpublished Targums, translates, "seventy men equivalent to 50,000," *i. e.* the death of the seventy principal men of the place was equal to the destruction of 50,000. This is the least probable interpretation of all that have been proposed. It savours of the conceit of a Rabbin, rather than the character of the sacred writer. The text as it

* Commentarius Criticus Vet. Test. vol. i. p. 157.

stands appears to be corrupt. If it was meant to give the number 50,070 it ought to have been different, according to the construction of the Hebrew language. It should have been שִׁבְעִים אִישׁ וַחֲמִשִּׁים אֶלֶף אִישׁ or at least, חֲמִשִּׁים אֶלֶף וְשִׁבְעִים אִישׁ.

Thus forced by the necessity of the case we look to ancient authorities respecting the reading of the place.

Three MSS. of Kennicott 84, 210, 418, and two others, viz. the Paris one cited by Houbigant, and that of Breithaupt cited at Jarchi's version, omit the three words meaning "fifty thousand men" leaving only "seventy men." Josephus omits the same, though elsewhere he often has larger numbers, not commonly smaller ones than the Hebrew text contains. Hence his testimony is weighty. The Syriac, with which the Arabic agrees, has 5070 instead of 50,070, but even then, the number is incredibly large. The Septuagint, Chaldee, and Vulgate have the common reading. Thus external evidence is in favour of the received text. Yet the internal necessity is so urgent, that the text must be pronounced corrupt. We agree with the five MSS. mentioned, and with such critics as Kennicott, Tychsen, Michaelis, Dathe, Hufnagel, Jahn, Thenius, &c. in thinking that the three words חֲמִשִּׁים אֶלֶף אִישׁ were a marginal gloss appended by some Rabbin, and afterwards taken into the text. They appear to have been written in the margin by one who thought that the seventy were *equivalent to* 50,000; as Tychsen* conjectures, and produces an allegorical gloss from the Talmud to the effect that every one of the seventy was equivalent to 50,000. Or we may suppose with Reinke† that the numeral letter ע = seventy stood at first in the text; that a reader or copyist may have found in another copy the letter ל = 50,000, and either written it in the margin of the text, or taken it into his MS. itself. We should then have in the Masoretic text, besides the original

* Tentamen, &c. p. 212.

† Beiträge zur Erklärung des alten Testaments, p. 125, et seq.

ע = seventy, the marginal reading of another MS. נ = 50,000. ע and נ might the more readily be exchanged on account of the two points like the two upper heads of the letter ע

Either is a much more probable account of the origin of the marginal gloss than that given by Kennicott, which, though refuted by Hassencamp, is again quoted by Thenius.

This is not the only instance in which incredibly large numbers appear in the present text of the Old Testament.

Thus in 2 Chron. xvii. 14, &c. Jehoshaphat King of Judah is said to have had an army of 1,160,000 men besides those who were in the fenced cities throughout Judah (verse 19). The usual computation is, that the men capable of bearing arms are a fifth part of the population. This gives 5,800,000. But if any one considers the extent of territory which Judah comprehended, fifteen geographical miles from north to south, and eight from east to west, he will see that so many persons could not live in it. If there were a population as large in proportion in the kingdom of Israel, then must Palestine and the country east of Jordan, where were Reuben, Gad, and the half tribe of Manasseh, have had about 15,000,000 of inhabitants.

Exaggerated numbers may also be found in 1 Sam. xv. 4; 1 Chron. xix. 7; xxi. 5; xxii. 14; 2 Chron. iii. 4; xiii. 3, 17, &c. &c. In adjusting these numbers, all existing sources of evidence are of no benefit. Various conjectural methods are followed in bringing them within the bounds of probability. Some suppose that they are now as they were originally; others that the passages have been corrupted. Reinke applies to them his great remedy, viz. that letters having been used for numbers were accidentally confounded from similarity of form, or other causes.

Psalm xxii. 17.

In this verse occurs the word כָּאֲרִי, which our translators

render, *they have pierced.* There are two other readings, viz. כארו and כרו. Let us see what external authority each of the three readings has.

1. כארו. This reading is found in 39 of Kennicott and 337 De Rossi; perhaps in 207 of Kennicott, at present in 242 of Kennicott, in the margin of 218; in the Complutensian Bible, in the Basel Psalter 1516, in the Polyglott Psalter of Potken 1518, in the margin of the Psalterium Quadruplex of Basel 1518, and in the margin of the Psalterium Quadruplex, Lugdun. 1530. Several writers state that they saw the same reading, or that it was found either in the text or margin of MSS. they mention. It is certain that there were good and ancient copies which formerly had it in the text, both from the great Masorah on Numb. xxiv. 9, which says that in some MSS. כארו was written in the text; and from Ben Chayim's statement in the Masorah *finalis* of Bomberg's Bible, "in some most accurate books I have found written in the text כארו, and in the margin כארי." Aquila followed the same reading in translating it ἤσχυναν. The Septuagint (ὤρυξαν), the Syriac, the Vulgate, Jerome, the Arabic and Ethiopic versions, had either כארו or the next reading כרו. To this reading are referred also those authorities in which is found *yod* with shurek י, being a vau curtailed, viz. cod. 1128 Rossi, the Plantin Bible 1571, the Antwerp Polyglott, Hutter's Bible 1587, the Wittemberg Psalter 1566, the Harmonic Psalter 1602.

The Plantin edition has in the margin כרה, and this variety of reading is indicated by a little circle in the Geneva Bible 1618 4to and 12mo; in the Polyglott Psalter of Basel 1518; in the sixfold Psalter of Leyden 1530.

There are also some MSS. that read כָּאֲרִי, *fodientes*, as if it were the participle of the verb, as 148 Kennicott or the Strasburgh Psalter from Oberlin's collation, 368 De Rossi. In the margin of the Basel Psalter 1516, this reading with *yod* is attributed to the Jews. The Chaldee in the Antwerp Polyglott seems to have had the participle.

Both readings, *i.e.* נָכְתִּין הֵיךְ כְּאַרְיֵא are in the Targum of cod. 31 De Rossi; in the great Rabbinical Bible, and the London Polyglott. נָכְתִּין הֵיךְ אַרְיֵוָא is in the Targum of an Octaplar Psalter, and אֵיךְ אַרְיָוֹת in the Targum of cod. 32 De Rossi.

2. כרו. This reading is in 649 Kennicott, a MS. written by a Christian, in the margin of two MSS. collated by Kennicott, viz. 539, 542; but De Rossi, who recollated them, says that the former, belonging to the thirteenth century, has it in a more recent character and blacker ink; the latter, belonging to the fifteenth century, has the same *K'ri* in a yellower character and from the same hand which wrote the Masorah, therefore from a Jew. It is also in the Wittemberg Psalter of 1566. It is a marginal *K'ri* in the Heidelberg Triglott Bible 1586; in a Geneva edition of the Psalms and Proverbs printed about 1616; in the Paris Psalter 1632; in the edition of the Psalms and Proverbs of Paris 1632, and in the Antwerp interlinear Bible of 1571. It is at the end among the various readings in Munster's Hebrew Bible 1536; in the Basel Psalter 1538; in that of 1547; and in the Antwerp Polyglott. But Munster's Bible intimates that the reading was among Christians alone and their copies. This too is the general opinion of the Jews, as we learn from Rabbi Joseph Kimchi and his son David. Galatinus says that the reading was still found in some very ancient MSS.; and Raymund Martini quotes a Rabbinical treatise in which it was among the *correctiones scribarum.*

3. כארי. The few MS. authorities quoted in favour of the preceding two leave the vast majority for this one. The whole weight of MSS. is on its side. The Masorah supports it. There are only two *Jewish* MSS. which are an exception in favour of כארו. The others that have the latter reading are doubtful, or suspicious, or corrected by another hand, or of Christian origin.

But all the ancient versions, except the Chaldee, favour

כארו. Thus the MSS. are almost all for No. 3, and the versions for No. 1. No. 2 has not a single primary MS.

As far therefore as relates to external evidence, the received reading must be preferred at once.

It is merely another form of it corrected, viz. כְּאֲרִיֵה that is in 245 Kennicott and 554 of De Rossi *a prima manu*, and another form with *patach*, viz. כַּאֲרִי, which is in several MSS. and eight ancient editions.

It is in favour of the received text also that it is the more difficult reading. The others might have readily originated in it, but not the contrary. We have no doubt that the textual is the true reading, especially as the ancient translations are not against it. They may have rendered *the Masoretic* reading as they do

It is matter of regret that many Christian writers should have employed this text as an instrument of accusation against the Jews, as if the latter had wilfully and maliciously corrupted it by changing the preterite plural of a verb, viz. כארו or כרו into the present reading. Certainly there does not appear to be any foundation for the charge. As far as we are able to judge they have preserved the original word.*

In regard to the meaning of כַּאֲרִי it appears to be "as the lion," like Isaiah xxxviii. 13. All other constructions are

* Justiniani in his Octapla Psalter (Genoa, 1516, fol.), who translates the usual reading *sicut leo*, has the following note :—"Sicut leo, manus meae et pedes mei, sive manus meas et pedes meos. Constructio defectiva, subaudiendumque impii tanquam leo manus meas et pedes meos foderunt, perforaverunt, male habuerunt, fixerunt, aut male tractaverunt. Siquidem verbum Hebraeum כארי *caari* quod aliqui interpretati sunt foderunt, compositum est ex litera similitudinem significante et ex nomine leonem significante. Nec assentio dicentibus Hebraeos hunc locum corrupisse, quod ex nostris arbitrant multi quum dicunt legendum abud Hebraeos כרו *caru* deducta voce a verbo כרה *cara* quod fodio sive figo, sive vincio significat. Loca enim omnia quae Hebraei corruperunt, studiosos hujus linguae non latent et ipse in nostris scholiis diffuse de illis disserui inter quae hic locus nec unquam numeratur."

objectionable, as Hengstenberg has ably shewn. It is true that the common rendering *they pierced*, and the reading on which it is founded (כארו) have been recently defended against Hengstenberg and his American follower Alexander; but we cannot agree with the advocate in question. His argumentation looks as if it were one-sided.*

There is much probability in the meaning assigned by Stuart to the verb הִקִּיפוּ *they pierced*—a sense which the root certainly has in Pihel; and we are inclined to adopt it.† In this manner all is plain, for the verb in the first clause is left to be understood in the second, of which many examples occur. If additional authority in favour of כָּאֲרִי meaning nothing else than *as a lion* were necessary, we might adduce that of Hupfeld, the learned Hebraist.‡

Judges xviii. 30.

This verse stands thus in the English version: "And the children of Dan set up the graven image: and Jonathan, the son of Gershom, the son of Manasseh, he and his sons were priests to the tribe of Dan until the day of the captivity of the land." The proper name Manasseh stands thus in the common Masoretic text מְנַשֶּׁה, with a marginal note calling attention to *nun* suspended. Another reading drops the *nun* and has simply מֹשֶׁה, *Moses*. The inquiry then is, which of the two is the right reading.

In favour of מֹשֶׁה are 744 of De Rossi *at first*, as also two others *a prima manu*. Jerome has it; and therefore the present Vulgate. It would also appear that some copies of the Greek version formerly read *Moses*. Four in Paris, one in the Vatican, and an octateuch belonging to University College

* See the American Bibliotheca Sacra for Oct. 1851, p. 802, et seq.

† See Hebrew Criticisms by Moses Stuart in the Bibliotheca Sacra for January 1852, p. 51, et seq.

‡ "Ist unstreitig nicht anders als: *wie ein Löwe*," are his words in a letter to the author.

Oxford, have it. All other MSS. and versions have the received reading, the only difference in the MSS. being that 27, 9 *a prima manu*, and thirty-three editions have the letter *nun* inserted in its place; 16, and one *a prima manu*, present it in a little larger size than the other letters of the word; while the greater number of manuscript copies have it *suspended*. The weight of authority immensely preponderates in favour of *Manasseh*.

Yet notwithstanding the external evidence for *Manasseh*, it is likely that the other is the right reading. It is related in the Talmud* that this Gershom was the son of Moses; but that on account of his son Jonathan's idolatrous conduct he is called the son of Manasseh by inserting *nun*. Rabbi Tanchum attests the same thing, saying that the name was written with *nun* suspended, because Jonathan's conduct was unsuited to the dignity of Moses and consonant to that of Manasseh. In like manner Rabbi Solomon Ben Melek quoted by Norzi says, that the נ is *redundant*, because he was the son of Moses. Thus this tradition of the Jews is ancient and uniform. And it is likely to be true, because it is a testimony against themselves. They confess honestly that a letter was added, and give the reason of it. It was the honour of Moses which led them to make Jonathan the first priest of idolatry, not a grandson of the great law-giver, but a grandson of *Manasseh*. The *nun* must have been written very early with the name, as it is in all the most ancient versions.

2 *Chron.* xxii. 2.

Here it is said in the received text that Ahaziah was forty-two years old when he began to reign. But in 2 Kings viii. 26, it is written that he was two and twenty years old when he ascended the throne. The number 42 in Chronicles is in all Hebrew MSS. hitherto collated. It is also in the Vulgate.

* Bava Bathra, folio 109.

On the other hand, the margin of cod. 590 Kennicott, some editions of the Septuagint, as the Aldine, the Frankfort, and that in the Antwerp and Paris Polyglotts, a Greek translator in Origen's Hexapla, the Syriac and Arabic versions have 22. Most copies of the Seventy have 20, whence it is conjectured that καὶ δύο at first followed ἐτῶν εἴκοσι, and was negligently dropped.

The parallel passage in 2 Kings, and the age of Ahaziah's father at his death which was 40, make it necessary that the reading 22 should be taken into the text. The place must be corrupt. Kennicott conjectures* that the mistake was owing to one of the Hebrew numeral letters being mistaken for another, viz. כ for מ. Instead of כב it was changed by mistake into מב. It is more likely, that the letters being in the Samaritan character at the time when the Chronicles were written, one of them was taken for another, as the two denoting twenty and forty respectively are very similar. Jewish writers have tried to solve the difficulty in various ways; and the interpretations proposed by Christian authors, on the supposition that the text at present is uncorrupted, have been many; but they are very artificial and improbable.

Genesis i.

We have chosen this chapter, throughout which a considerable number of various readings occur, not because the general sense of it is much affected by any of them, but because an examination of it will illustrate an error often committed by the Samaritan scribes, as well as the scribes of those Hebrew copies from which the Septuagint version was made. There is an uniformity in the narrative. A certain order is perceptible throughout the chapter. But the writer did not bind himself absolutely to that order. Indeed the sacred authors never do so. It is not the case in the alphabetical Psalms. There is

* First Dissertation, p. 98.

no constraint; they exhibit perfect freedom in their movements. This is what might have been expected from the author of the Pentateuch who wrote at so early a period. He did not observe the extreme regularity which one living in an artificial age would be careful to maintain. A rigid attention to external form was not to be expected from the age in which Moses lived, the object he had in view, and the influences by which he was moved. But meddling scribes, observing deviations from the principle which *appears* to pervade the narrative of the creation, tried to remove them. They filled up what seemed to be wanting, transferred clauses from other verses, transposed, added, and subtracted words, for the purpose of having everything conformable to the one plan on which the writer *appeared* to construct his description. But their officious meddling is abhorrent to the ideas of him who wrote the Pentateuch. He was not guided by their minute artificialities. He did not think of observing the rounded regularity they wish to introduce into his simple narrative. Putting into it, as they do, more of the modern and the studied, they detract so far from the artless and the antique which characterised both the period and the man

The first instance of a various reading which will exemplify these remarks is at the sixth verse, where the Septuagint places at the end, καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως, because in other instances, as in verses 9, 11, &c. this statement follows, "and God said." Accordingly the inference is drawn, that by some accident, the words וַיְהִי כֵן have been transferred to the end of the seventh verse from the end of the sixth. It is very hazardous to draw this conclusion on the sole authority of the Septuagint, where no necessity or exigency exists. In the seventh verse, it is related that God made the firmament, which, in the sixth, he had commanded to be; and therefore the Hebrew clause "and it was so" is really more appropriate at the end of the seventh, where it now stands, than at the end of the sixth,

where the Seventy put it. There can be little doubt that the position it occupies in the latter arose from the scribes, and their notions of uniformity. We therefore reject the emendation adopted by Geddes and Plüschke* on the authority of the Seventy.

In like manner, in the eighth verse, the same version supplies, καὶ εἶδεν ὁ θεὸς ὅτι καλόν, because this statement occurs in the tenth and twelfth verses. Hence some critics, such as Boothroyd and Plüschke, think that the clause was originally in the Hebrew, having been preserved by the Septuagint alone.† Or, Kennicott is ready with two other emendations‡ which he prefers even to the Greek, viz. either that the words "and God saw that it was good," now in the tenth verse, should be transposed to the eighth, before "and the evening and the morning were the second day;" or, that the words, "and the evening and the morning were the second day," in the eighth verse, should be inserted in the tenth, after "and God saw that it was good." It is a pity that the text were not left undisturbed; for such interference with it is out of place on the present occasion, as Toepler justly observes.§

In pursuance of the same system, the Septuagint repeats the words καὶ συνήχθη τὸ ὕδωρ, κ. τ. λ. in the ninth verse. "We naturally expect after 'And so it was' to find the event detailed," says Boothroyd. The "natural expectations" of modern writers should be sparingly and cautiously transferred to Moses. Here he would repudiate the amendment assigned to him.

In the fourteenth and fifteenth verses, the received text reads:—"And God said, Let there be lights in the firmament of the heaven to divide the day from the night; and let them

* Lectiones Alexandrinae et Hebraicae, p. 11.

† Biblia Hebraica, &c. by B. Boothroyd.

‡ Dissertat. Generalis, ed. Bruns, pp. 174, 175.

§ De Pentateuchi interpretat. Alexand. indole critica et hermen. p. 11.

be for signs, and for seasons, and for days, and years: And let them be for lights in the firmament of the heaven to give light upon the earth: and it was so."

Here the Samaritan, Septuagint, one MS. of Kennicott and one of De Rossi, insert in the fourteenth verse the words "to give light upon the earth." Hence the verse would read, "And God said, Let there be lights in the firmament of the heaven to give light upon the earth, and to divide the day from the night," &c. The supplied clause is obviously borrowed from the next verse; and the repetition of it appears anything but natural. "The chief design of the heavenly luminaries," says Boothroyd, "establishes the Samaritan reading." But does not the Samaritan reading make the design of the heavenly luminaries to be stated twice in succession? Is not this a redundancy which it inserts in the text?

Officious critics think that they can improve even upon the Samaritan in this place. "There is a manifest redundancy," says Geddes, "in these two verses; and I have some suspicion that verse fifteen is an interpolation."* This is bold enough. Akin to it is the conjecture of Boothroyd:—"Some scribe having omitted the words (supplied by the Samaritan) in their proper place, afterwards inserted them; and hence originated the fifteenth verse."† This is worse than trifling. It is idle and mischievous tampering with the text, in the absence of authority and reason. Is there any good ground for suspecting the integrity of the Masoretic text in this place? We can see none, except a peculiarity of construction which appears thus in English, "let there be lights in the firmament of heaven,—— and let them be for lights in the firmament of heaven," &c. Here there is no tautology. It is said first, "let luminaries be" or exist; and secondly, "let them be for luminaries in the firmament of heaven to give light upon the earth," designating

* Critical remarks on the Hebrew Scriptures, p. 18.

† Biblia Hebraica, ad vers.

the purposes for which they were made. This is quite natural. The writer speaks first of *making* the luminaries; and then of *the disposing* of them so as to fulfil the purposes for which they were made. It is true that in the fourteenth verse the object for which the luminaries were made is stated immediately after God said "let there be lights;" but the fifteenth verse, in returning to the purpose they were made for, illustrates the words of the fourteenth.

In the twentieth verse the Septuagint supplies, as it did at the sixth, καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως. The reason of the insertion is apparent; but it must be rejected as before from the Hebrew text.

At the 26th verse the Syriac version alone inserts "*beast of*" after "every," as if the Hebrew were וּבְכָל חַיַּת הָאָרֶץ. Hence Dimock and others suppose that the supplied substantive was early dropped. This is wholly unwarranted.

In the 28th verse, the Septuagint adds after "and over the fowl of the air," *and over all cattle and all the earth;* but the Syriac has merely "and over the cattle," and *does* not therefore agree with the Septuagint, as has been said. Hence some think that the supplied words originally belonged to the Hebrew. "The addition," says Boothroyd, "is conformable to the Hebrew idiom, and particularly to the order observed throughout the whole chapter." Yes; but it is obviously taken from the twenty-sixth verse. *

Genesis ii.

Gen. ii. 2. "And on the seventh day God ended his work which he had made; and he rested on the seventh day from all his work which he had made."

Here instead of the *seventh* day, the Samaritan, Septuagint, Syriac, and Josephus, read *sixth* day: "And on the *sixth* day God ended his work," &c. &c. The reason of this alteration is manifest, lest the text should appear to say that God cre-

* See Lee, Prolegomena in Biblia Polyglotta Londinensia minora, p. 10.

ated anything on the seventh day. On the ground of an imaginary difficulty these versions proposed at once to change the word. And it is strange that Houbigant, Cappell, and Illgen should have followed them; with Kennicott and Boothroyd of course. The alteration should not have been proposed. It savours of the Samaritan and Septuagint scribes. To remove all appearance of inconsistency between the present Masoretic reading and the narrative, Glassius, Michaelis, Drusius, Pilkington, and others render the verb in the pluperfect, "*had ended* on the seventh day." Geddes* however objects that it does not remove the difficulty, which arises, as he thinks from the preposition ב, not from the verb. The sense is frigid, if the proposed rendering be adopted. "After God had ended his work on the seventh day, he rested on the seventh day from all his work." The true sense of the verb with which the adjective is connected is, *put an end to* his work the seventh day. The following words sufficiently shew that the work did not *extend into* the seventh day; which it *might* do, as far as the terms before us are concerned. The clause may or may not imply that something was created on the seventh day.

Apart from the slight external evidence in favour of the new reading, internal evidence is against it; for the writer had ceased to speak of the sixth day at the end of the preceding chapter; and the parallelism will not admit of the renewed mention of that day in the present verse.†

Gen. ii. 24. Here some authorities read, instead of "they shall become one flesh," "they *two* shall become one flesh," or, "of the two of them shall be one flesh." The difference of reading lies in inserting the adjective *two* with a pronominal suffix or pronoun.

* Critical remarks on the Hebrew Scriptures, p. 23.

† See Gesenius, De Pentateuchi Samaritani origine, &c. pp. 50, 51.

No Hebrew MS. yet collated has the word *two*. It is found however in the Samaritan, the reading of which is מִשְׁנֵיהֶם, in the Septuagint, the Syriac, Jerome in the Latin version or Vulgate, the Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan, in the New Testament (Matt. xix. 5; Mark x. 6; 1 Cor. vi. 16; Ephesians v. 31). Philo, and Jerome in his commentary on the Ephesians, also have it.

In consequence of these witnesses, many critics have little hesitation in admitting the Samaritan reading as authentic. Houbigant, Michaelis, Starck, Kennicott, and others receive it. But there is room for doubt; and accordingly Fabricy, Simon, and most critics are adverse to its reception. It is much against it that no Hebrew MS. whatever exhibits it. And then the versions in its favour resolve themselves into two authorities, viz. the Samaritan Pentateuch, and the Septuagint translation. There is at least ground for supposing that the Syriac and Pseudo-Jonathan have not been free from the influence of the Septuagint upon them. The reading is very like a Samaritan one in its character, which adds for the sake of perspicuity, or supplies an apparent deficiency. It is like Samaritan and Septuagint paraphrase. And we are inclined to look upon it in that light. What confirms us in this view is the verb וְהָיוּ before the word supplied, which is altered in the Samaritan copy into וְהָיָה. Indeed this change was required. And yet וְהָיוּ is found in all Hebrew MSS. *

It is no good objection that the New Testament agrees with the Samaritan and Septuagint. It is well known that the writers of it generally quoted from the Seventy. They followed those ancient translators in places where there is a wide difference between the Greek and the original. If the Greek gave the *sense* of the Hebrew they deemed it sufficient for their purpose. In their view, the *ipsissima verba* were not

* Lee, Prolegomena in Biblia Polyglotta, &c. p. 11.

essential or necessary.* On the whole, we believe that the Masoretic reading should not be disturbed in this place, though such critics as Boothroyd think it *evidently* wrong.

Zechariah xii. 10.

"And I will pour upon the house of David, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the spirit of grace and of supplications: and they shall look upon me whom they have pierced, and they shall mourn for him, as one mourneth for his only son, and shall be in bitterness for him, as one that is in bitterness for his first-born."

Here the received text has אֵלַי *upon me.* Another reading is אֵלָיו *upon him*, instead of *upon me.* Let us look at the external evidence in favour of אֵלָיו. In the first place, thirty-eight MSS. have it. Eight have it *a prima manu*, twelve now, five perhaps, four in the margin. One MS. of De Rossi remarks that אֵלָיו is read in others, and eighteen have it as a marginal *K'ri.* It is written אֵלָו defectively in one MS.

Raymund Martini testifies that there were many MSS. in the thirteenth century which had this reading; and therefore he accuses the Jews of changing it. Peter Niger, as quoted by Wolf brings the same accusation against them.

The Soncino edition of the prophets, 1486, has this reading. Various Jewish writers give it, the Talmudists in the Treatise *Succa*, Saadias, Rabbi Parchon. In their commentaries it is followed by Rabbi Joseph Kara, Rabbi Isaias, Rabbi Abenezra, Jarchi, Kimchi in the older editions of his commentary and others. A note in the margin of 296 Kennicott says that it is the reading of the oriental Jews.

The Apostle John is also quoted for it. Citing the pas-

* "Nemo in crisi Novi Testamenti exercitatus, id pro rato sumeret aut Dominum nostrum, aut Apostolos ejus, de verbis vel etiam locutionibus curiosius egisse." Ibid.

sage he has ὄψονται εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν in his Gospel xix. 37; and in the Apocalypse (i. 7) αὐτόν.

Many of the fathers both Greek and Latin have the same reading, as Irenaeus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Lactantius, Cyril, Barnabas, Hippolytus. Jerome states that John takes this testimony of Zechariah *juxta Hebraicam veritatem*, shewing that such was the Hebrew reading in his day. The Greek scholiast on the codex Barberini says the same of the apostle.

The context is also adduced for this reading, in which the *third* person is used, not the *first*. "The context," says Dr. H. Owen, "manifestly *requires* that it should be אֵלַי."*

Influenced by these testimonies, many critics prefer the present reading to the textual one. Whiston, Kennicott, Starck, Bohn, Tychsen, Dr. H. Owen, and many others adopt it; Bohn and Tychsen not *decidedly*.

On the other hand, the majority of MSS. and the better ones too, have the Masoretic reading. In like manner, all the ancient versions contain it. The Septuagint in all its varieties has it. It is in the Syriac, the Chaldee, the Vulgate, the Arabic, Theodotion. It is most probable that Aquila and Symmachus also had it. Thus the weight of ancient translations is manifestly on the side of אֵלַי.

The authority of the fathers is of no force, because they took the passage from John, rather than from Zechariah.

With regard to the apostle himself, it is by no means clear that he read אֵלַיו rather than אֵלַי. His quotation is inexact; and the word before us seems to have been omitted by him. It is certain that his words will agree with אֵלַי as well as with אֵלָיו. It is therefore irrelevant to adduce him as a witness on either side.

One thing is certain, that אֵלַי is the more difficult reading, and was more likely to give rise to the other than the contrary.

* The modes of quotation used by the evangelical writers explained and vindicated, p. 66

It was the endeavour to get rid of the difficulty caused by אֵלַי which appears to have occasioned variations in the text.

As to those who attribute the reading אֵלָיו to the malice of the Jews, lest the textual one should prove the incarnation and divinity of Messiah against them, they have no ground for the charge. Have not the Jews preserved אֵלַי, the very reading which is said to be most adverse to them? How is it that the far greater number of copies and the better ones, have the present Masoretic reading? How is it that some of the keenest Jewish writers against Christianity, such as Lipmann, Rabbi Isaac, Abarbanel, and other Jewish doctors read אֵלַי, without mentioning any other form of the word. Norzius also confesses, that אֵלָיו is not the reading of the sacred text. The real state of the case probably was, that the marginal reading was introduced by scribes, in consequence of the context. They wished to make the context uniform, by having the third person throughout. It was unskilfulness not ignorance that led to it. Thus we agree with such critics as Carpzov, Dathe, De Rossi, Hitzig, and many more, who abide by the Masoretic text. For other remarks on the identity of meaning between the first person in Zechariah and the third in John's gospel, we must refer the reader to another work.*

Genesis iv. 8.

Here the sense seems to be imperfect: "And Cain said to Abel his brother . . . . . and it came to pass, when they were in the field," &c. In the English version it stands, "And Cain *talked with* Abel his brother," &c.; but it is doubtful whether the verb bears this sense; or, if it *does* bear it, it is unnatural to have recourse to it in this place. Three other explanations of it that have been proposed are objectionable. "Cain said to Abel his brother," is a simple and obvious meaning of the clause. The apparent chasm is filled

* Sacred Hermeneutics, p. 378.

up by the Samaritan copy, which reads נֵלְכָה הַשָּׂדֶה, *let us go into the field.* With it agree the Septuagint, Syriac, Vulgate and both the Chaldee paraphrases.

No MS. hitherto collated has the supplied words. All read as the present Masoretic text does. They may have been conformed to it, if they were once different. And some of the Jews themselves acknowledge a chasm, and insert the words. "There are, says Rabbi Immanuel, who say that Cain said to Abel, *let us go out into the field.*" Besides there are MSS. which have here a *piska* or vacant space, smaller or greater where words should come in. Kennicott enumerates twenty-two and De Rossi five in which the space left is larger than that in Van der Hooght's edition, where only one letter and the *soph-pasuk* could be put. Forty-eight editions are also given by De Rossi having a like space, including the sixteen successive editions of the Venice Bible, but not that of Van der Hooght. On the other hand, by far the majority of MSS. have no vacant space. A hundred and eighty-one of Kennicott, and seventy-one of De Rossi, besides forty-five printed editions want it. The learned Jewish critics Lonzanus and Norzi condemn it as a mere mistake of copyists; the latter observing that in the more accurate copies and in the synagogue rolls there was no such space. Rabbi Menachem de Lonzano says that there should be no *piska*, for that there was none in the codex Hillel; and that Maimonides made no commencement of a section at the place.

In like manner Symmachus, Theodotion, Onkelos, the two Arabic versions omit the words given by the Samaritan; and Jerome too condemns them.

The Masorah has been referred to in this instance. Thus the little Masorah (not the great Masorah, as Kennicott affirms) says on the verse כ״ח פְּסוּקִין בְּמִצְעוּת פָּסוּק, *i.e. there are twenty-eight verses ending in the middle of a verse,* viz. as to the sense. Many printed editions that have not a vacant space put in the

margin בְּלֹא פְּסֻקָא, *without piska*, ex. gr. those of Jablonski and Michaelis do this. But such is not *the Masorah*, as the note in Doederlein's edition of the Hebrew Bible and the words of Carpzov himself* might lead one to suppose. It is not the proper Masoretic note. It was put by such scribes as followed copies without *the piska*, and by editors who approved of that reading and gave it.

What then is meant by the Masoretic note to this verse? Does it signify that the text is defective—that something was early omitted from it? Kennicott's reasoning appears to proceed on the affirmative reply to this question. But we doubt the probability of it. What the Masoretes seem to have meant is, that the sense is elliptical—that something must be supplied to complete the meaning. That they intended to convey the idea that a word or words had been lost from the original Hebrew text, is not probable. It was only *the sense* that was to be supplied; but not *words that were in the text at first.*

In this case we are inclined to adopt the reading of the Samaritan copy. The context requires something to complete it, and with authorities so ancient we fill it up in the manner directed. The integrity of the Hebrew text is of course defended here as elsewhere by many; but we agree with those who prefer the Samaritan reading.

Joshua xxi. 35.

After tne 35th verse of Joshua, chapter xxi. the text often has the two following verses:—

וּמִמַּטֵּה רְאוּבֵן אֶת בֶּצֶר וְאֶת מִגְרָשֶׁהָ
וְאֶת יַהְצָה וְאֶת מִגְרָשֶׁהָ׃
אֶת קְדֵמוֹת וְאֶת מִגְרָשֶׁהָ אֶת מֵיפָעַת
וְאֶת מִגְרָשֶׁהָ עָרִים אַרְבַּע׃

* "Contra vero ad Gen. iv. 8, Masora in Bibliis Halensibus notat: בלא פסקא hunc versum *absque piska*, seu spacio linea relicto, esse scribendum," &c.—Crit. Sac. Vet. Test. p. 304.

"And out of the tribe of Reuben, Bezer with her suburbs, and Jahazah with her suburbs; Kedemoth with her suburbs, Mephaath with her suburbs; four cities."

I. The verses as now given are supported by many authorities.

1. Ninety-two MSS. of Kennicott and De Rossi have them. A few of these however have them *a prima manu*, or *now* only not at first; or in the margin.

2. They are in sixty-six printed editions enumerated by De Rossi.

3. They are in the Syriac, Chaldee and Arabic versions.

4. A few MSS. in the time of Kimchi which he quotes on Joshua xxi. 7, had them.

But this summary gives an imperfect notion of the amount of external evidence in favour of the verses, because there are differences in the form in which they appear in the copies; so that it is necessary, for the sake of accuracy, to separate the testimonies which witness for the various forms presented by the verses.

II. The verses are also read thus:—וּמִמַּטֵּה רְאוּבֵן אֶת עִיר מִקְלָטוֹ הָרֹצֵחַ אֶת בֶּצֶר with the rest as before, meaning "And out of the tribe of Reuben to be a city of refuge for the manslayer, Bezer with her suburbs," &c. In favour of this reading there are sixteen MSS., one of which is *a prima manu*, eight printed copies, a Targum in one of De Rossi's MSS. Four Venice editions of the Bible have marginal notes to the effect that the verses should be thus written, as they are found in the most correct Spanish MSS.

"That the words *to be a city of refuge for the slayer* are genuine, is strongly presumeable from the Greek version, which has here *τὴν πόλιν τὸ φευγαδευτήριον τοῦ φονεύσαντος*. But it is made certain by the 7th and 8th verses of the preceding

chapter, which tell us there were six cities of refuge, three on each side of Jordan, of which *Bezer* was one; and yet, though the other five cities are mentioned in this chapter as *cities of refuge*, Bezer is not mentioned as such," &c. This is the view of Kennicott.*

III. Sometimes the thirty-sixth verse reads thus:

וּמִמַּטֵּה רְאוּבֵן אֶת בָּצֶר בַּמִּדְבָּר וְאֶת מִגְרָשֶׁהָ

i.e. "And out of the tribe of Reuben, Bezer in the desert, with her suburbs," &c.; the rest being the same.

Twenty-three MSS. have this addition, several of them however only in the margin, others as corrected; and one of them הַמִּדְבָּר.

IV. At other times, the two latter readings are put together thus—

וּמִמַּטֵּה רְאוּבֵן אֶת עִיר מִקְלַט הָרֹצֵחַ אֶת בָּצֶר בַּמִּדְבָּר וְאֶת מִגְרָשֶׁהָ:

"And out of the tribe of Reuben, to be a city of refuge for the manslayer, Bezer in the desert, with her suburbs;" the rest as before.

Thirty-five MSS. have this reading, several of them having the disputed words supplied or in the margin. Five printed editions exhibit it. The Septuagint, the Vulgate, and a Targum on the prophets favour it. Norzi says that the verses were found thus in old Spanish MSS.; but the result of De Rossi's collations does not confirm the statement. It should also be noticed that three of the most important editions which have the verses in this form inclose them in brackets. The Vulgate omits the word *manslayer*, and adds *Misor* after *Bezer in the desert*. Some MSS. of it omit *Misor*, some, *ultra Jordanem contra Jericho*, which clause is wanting in the Hebrew, and is apparently borrowed from the parallel in 1 Chron. vi.

* The state of the printed Hebrew text, pp. 442, 443.

There are other minor varieties of reading in the verses on which it is useless to dwell, such as, for וְאֶת יְהוָה, simply אֶת יְהוָה without the copulative; for אֶת קְדֵמוֹת, וְאֶת קְדֵמוֹת with the copulative; for אֶת מִיפְעַת, וְאֶת מִיפְעַת with the copulative. The respective authorities in favour of each of these three are drawn out in De Rossi's work with great accuracy and fulness. But the variations are so trifling, that we need not do more than mention them.

Let us now look at the weight of authority in favour of the two verses in one form or other.

1. The greater number of MSS. contain them. One hundred and sixty-four collated by Kennicott and De Rossi have them; while from seventy they are absent. Nor are those that have them inferior copies. They are of the best quality, and many of them Spanish. And they are found in several of great antiquity.

2. Most editions have them. Of twenty-six editions collated by Kennicott twenty-three have the verses, three wanting them. And seventy-nine editions examined by De Rossi have them. Among these editions are all of the fifteenth century prepared in Italy or Spain, all indeed before the Rabbinical Bible of Bomberg in 1525, where they were expunged by Rabbi Jacob Ben Chayim. These editions include such as were taken from the more accurate and better MSS., from Spanish and even from Masoretic exemplars. Thus an ancient edition of the Bible without place or date which De Rossi describes as superior in correctness to the Soncino edition of 1488, and as probably about the same age; the Pisaurian Bible, the Complutensian Polyglott, the Leirian, Pisaurian, and Thessalonian editions of the prophets contain the verses. Even after Ben Chayim had expelled them from the text, they were retained in many excellent editions as those of Robert Stephens at Paris, the Plantin editions, the Polyglotts, many of the Venetian editions, those superintended by Manasseh Ben Israel and

Rabbi David Nunnes Torres at Amsterdam, and the important critical apparatus of Norzi.

3. All the ancient versions have them—the Septuagint, the Syriac, the Chaldee, the Vulgate, Arabic, Ethiopic, and some MSS. of the Chaldee paraphrase. The variety of reading which appears in the Septuagint shews, that they were not taken from the parallel passage in Chronicles and inserted in Joshua; but that the translators followed Hebrew MSS. in both places. The same is the case with the Syriac version, whose rendering of the verses differs in Joshua and Chronicles.

4. The parallel passage in 1 Chron. vi. 63, 64 has them. It is true that their existence here has been urged as a reason why they should not be in Joshua; yet there are reasons against their having been transferred from the later to the earlier book. One of the most obvious is, that the same words are not in Joshua as in Chronicles. There are as many variations as shew an independent origin.

5. The context is in favour of their authenticity. In the seventh verse it is stated that the Merarites had certain cities out of the tribe of Reuben, and out of the tribe of Gad, and out of the tribe of Zebulon, twelve cities in all. In the fortieth verse the same number is repeated. But unless these two verses be in the text, the number twelve is wrong. With the omission of them, the number of cities is but eight. With them, the whole number twelve is made up. So too the number forty-eight in the forty-first verse is wrong, without the verses before us. It is only forty-four without them.

6. It is more likely that the verses were omitted in a few MSS. than that they were inserted in the great majority of them. The former proceeding is easier and more frequent than the latter. Besides, the cause of their omission here may be discovered. The thirty-fifth verse ends with the same words עָרִים אַרְבַּע as the thirty-seventh; and the thirty-sixth begins with the same word as the thirty-eighth מִמַּטֵּה. Thus

ὁμοιοτέλευτον would readily lead a scribe to omit the two verses.

These considerations are sufficient to shew that the verses are a constituent part of the text, and were omitted at first by mistake. They formed an integral portion of the chapter of Joshua, in which many editions present them.

The chief reasons against their authenticity may be readily disposed of.

The authority of the Masorah is against them. According to the final Masorah, the number of verses in the book of Joshua is 656. But if the two verses in question belong to the text, the number will be 658. And the Masoretes always numbered the verses of the books in the Bible accurately.

The argument derived from the Masorah would be of more weight, if the work so called were complete and perfect. But the Jews themselves acknowledge that it is mutilated and incomplete; and that it varies in different MSS. In the counting of verses in a book, MSS. differ with one another. As an example of this, De Rossi states that one of his copies enumerated 610 verses in Joshua; another and a very accurate Spanish one 566; two other Spanish ones 650 and 756 respectively.

Besides, when so many Masoretic codices are opposed to the Masorah in this case, its authority is worth nothing.

The testimony of Rabbi Hai a Jewish critic of the tenth century is adduced against the verses. His words are, when he was asked respecting these very cities, "though they be not reckoned in this place, they are reckoned in the Chronicles," or, as they may also be rendered, "if they are not reckoned in this place (Joshua), yet they are reckoned in the Chronicles." It will be observed, that this testimony is by no means a clear one. It does not plainly say that the verses belong to Chronicles. It settles nothing. "*If* or *though* the verses be not reckoned," &c. The reply is conditional, and proves no more than that some copies had the verses, others not, at that

time. Kimchi himself saw that the words of the Rabbi were not decisive; and therefore he writes hesitatingly "*it seems* from his [Rabbi Hai's] answer, that the verses were not written in their copies."

The next witness quoted against the verses is Kimchi, who says, he never found these verses in any ancient corrected MS. This testimony is ambiguous. It may either mean that the MSS. had them written *a prima manu* and erased; or that they had them affixed to the margin by a later hand. Kennicott understands it in the former sense, and also several MSS. of Kimchi's commentary in the possession of De Rossi. It would have been surprising, says Kennicott, if he had found them in any ancient MS. corrected by the Masoretic standard, since the Masorah does not acknowledge them. But whatever may have been Kimchi's judgment about correct or corrected MSS., the Jews do not implicitly follow him in his opinion about the verses. Thus the editors of the Venice Bibles of 1678, 1730, 1739 remark, that *what Kimchi writes* (on the point) *is not a sufficient proof.*

Believing that the proof in favour of these verses is sufficient, we cannot but blame Ben Chayim in expunging them from the text. Doubtless he was induced to do so by the authority of Kimchi; for he cites him as well as the Masorah. It was the more recent Masorah here which Kimchi adopted. After Ben Chayim had rejected them, other editors followed, such as Buxtorf, Moses Ben Simeon of Frankfort, Jablonski, Van der Hooght, &c.

Before leaving the passage, we should state that it is doubtful whether the Vulgate version here was taken from the Hebrew. Jerome appears in this place to have taken the passage from the Septuagint. Let the reader compare the texts of both and see whether this suspicion be not well founded. The Latin, after naming five cities, adds at the end, *four cities*, just as the Greek does. This is confirmed by the circumstance

that the verses were wanting in Jerome's Hebrew copies, *as the Benedictine editors themselves* think:*

Lamentations ii. 16, 17; iii. 46, 47, 48; iv. 16, 17.

Every chapter in the book of Lamentations is an acrostic except the last. In the first two chapters, every verse begins with a letter of the alphabet, taking them in the common order. Hence these chapters contain twenty-two verses each. In the third chapter, three successive verses begin with the same letter, and go over the entire alphabet; so that the chapter contains sixty-six verses. The fourth chapter is arranged like the first and second. But there is a departure from the usual order of the Hebrew letters in the case of פ and ע; for פ precedes ע in chapters ii. 16, 17; iii. 46, 47, 48; iv. 16, 17. Hence several critics think, that the right order has been disturbed,—that by some mistake in early times the verses beginning with פ and ע have been made to change places. This proceeds on the assumption that the order of letters in the alphabet, when the Lamentations were written, was the same as now. And that the original author adhered to alphabetical arrangement throughout. The former is quite probable; but the latter may be doubted.

Very few MSS. transpose the verses so as to have ע before פ. The Syriac version in each of the three cases changes the order. The Septuagint retains the order of verses in the Masoretic text, but transposes the letters at the beginning. Remembering that in the alphabetical Psalms the acrostic arrangement is never strictly followed, it is most probable that Jeremiah has departed from the usual order as far as two letters are concerned, in the second, third, and fourth chapters; while he has retained it in the first chapter. Like other sacred writers, the prophet does not put himself under constant re-

* Comp. De Rossi, Variae lectiones Vet. Test. vol. ii. pp. 96-106; Appendix, p. 227; Scholia Critica, p. 36.

straint. He will not bind himself to any one external form of composition, or preserve an undeviating technicality. Meddling critics have conjectured here, as in other cases, that some error has occurred—either that ע and פ should be transposed in the first chapter, or in the next three; but they forget that the writers of the Bible were less artificial than modern ideas would represent them to be. Gesenius has touched the true cause when he speaks of deviations like the present, as "*Nachlässigkeiten* des Dichters,"* though he might have employed a better term.

2 *Samuel* xv. 7.

"And it came to pass after forty years, that Absalom said unto the King, I pray thee let me go and pay my vow," &c. &c.

Here two MSS. of Kennicott read יוֹם אַרְבָּעִים, *forty days*, instead of *forty years*, as in the Masoretic text. This reading is adopted by Hitzig and Maurer.

Another reading is *four* years instead of *forty*, viz. אַרְבַּע instead of the plural אַרְבָּעִים. This is found in the Syriac, Arabic, Vulgate (the Sixtine edition). Theodoret, Cappell, Grotius, Houbigant, Michaelis, Kennicott, Thenius, and others adopt it. It is remarkable, however, that it is in none of Kennicott's or De Rossi's MSS. Josephus has *two* years.

But is the textual reading, for departing from which there is so little authority, erroneous? Many declare it to be so. "And it came to pass after forty years." The *terminus a quo* is not given. It may be from the reign of Saul, as the margin of one of De Rossi's copies has it. It may be from David's anointing. It may be from the commencement of David's reign; but that is less probable, because the occurrence before us would then be placed in the last years of David. We do not think that it means the fortieth year of Absalom; *when he was forty years old;* as in this case there would be some addi-

* Geschichte der Hebräischen Sprache und Schrift, p. 166.

tion to the words. It is likely that *four* is the right reading. Since the external evidence is so overwhelmingly against any change in the text, we should abide by the words as they stand, were there not a necessity in the context for departing from them. It is objected however that those who alter the plural into the singular, and out of *forty* make *four*, violate a rule in Hebrew syntax, according to which the nouns numbered by the units, from two to ten inclusive, are commonly placed in the plural. Very few exceptions occur. But this objection is obviated by the very probable use of numeral letters ד =4 was changed for מ =40. These very letters were elsewhere confounded.*

Proverbs xviii. 22.

"Whoso findeth a wife findeth a good thing; and obtaineth favour from the Lord." Here the Septuagint, Syriac, Vulgate, Arabic, the Targum in a MS. at Cambridge, and another at Berlin, the Targum in a MS. of De Rossi, the Targum in six of Kennicott's MSS. collated by Bruns, and the Chaldee of a MS. (58) in the royal library at Paris, read "a good wife," as if the adjective טוֹבָה were with the substantive. One Hebrew MS. of Kennicott has three or four letters erased after the noun *wife*.

On the strength of these authorities, which are very weak compared with all other external testimony, and from considerations founded on the text as it now is, Houbigant, Kennicott, and Boothroyd, scruple not to amend the text by inserting *good*. Kennicott's manner of arriving at the new reading is amusing if not curious. "Can it be truly said that every wife is a blessing? Could an universal maxim of this nature proceed from the wisest of men? Could such a proverb possibly be delivered by him who represents the evil and the foolish woman as a curse—by him who says, that *the conten-*

* See Reinke, Beitraege, u. s. w. pp. 144, 145.

tions of a wife are a continual dropping; and *she that maketh ashamed is as rottenness in her husband's bones;* who (to enforce it with particular emphasis) assures us in two separate proverbs, that it *is better to dwell in the wilderness, than with a contentious and angry woman?*" By virtue of these and similar considerations, does the critic arrive at the inference. "'Tis presumed therefore, that Solomon in the text before us expressed himself thus, *He that findeth a* GOOD *wife findeth a good thing,*"* &c.

We are not influenced by such considerations to think that the adjective *good* was part of the original Hebrew text. The proposed emendation presents itself in the light of an attempt to deteriorate the text. It makes the writer propound a trifling, tautological statement. If he says, *whoso findeth a good wife, findeth a good thing*, he utters a puerile saying which every one knows. These maxims of Solomon, proposed as they are in general terms, admit of exceptions and qualifications. They may not be *absolutely* or *universally* true. They hold good in most cases.

Isaiah lviii. 10.

"If thou *draw out thy soul* to the hungry." Lowth remarks, that this is an obscure phrase and without example in any other place. Instead of נַפְשֶׁךָ, *thy soul*, eight MSS. of Kennicott and three of De Rossi, two of them *a prima manu*, read לַחְמֶךָ, *thy bread.* The Syriac and Arabic have the same reading. The Septuagint, according to Lowth, combines both readings. Hence Lowth and others alter the text and translate, "if thou bring forth thy bread to the hungry."

Emendation like this is uncalled for and arbitrary. The text is right as it stands. The meaning is, "if thou wilt reach forth to the hungry thy desire," *i. e.* the object of thy desire or appetite, viz. *thy morsel.*

* Second Dissertation on the state of the printed Hebrew text, p. 189, et seq.

Exodus xx. 2-17. *Deuteronomy* v. 6-21.

In these two paragraphs, the Decalogue is given. The first relates to the time when it was originally promulgated from Sinai; the latter to the time when Moses rehearsed to the people the story of what happened to them on their way to Canaan, nearly forty years after. On comparing the words of the law given in Exodus and Deuteronomy a few slight differences are observable, which, though small in appearance, are great in importance. Let us see what they are according to the Masoretic text.

Exodus xx. 2-17.

2. I *am* the Lord thy God, which have brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage.

3. Thou shalt have no other gods before me.

4. Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness *of any thing* that *is* in heaven above, or that *is* in the earth beneath, or that *is* in the water under the earth:

5. Thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them: for I the LORD thy God *am* a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth *generation* of them that hate me;

6. And shewing mercy unto thousands of them that love me, and keep my commandments.

7. Thou shalt not take the name of the LORD thy God in vain; for the LORD will not hold him guiltless that taketh his name in vain.

8. Remember the sabbath day, to keep it holy.

Deuteronomy v. 6-21.

6. I *am* the LORD thy God, which brought thee out of the land of Egypt, from the house of bondage.

7. Thou shalt have none other gods before me.

8. Thou shalt not make thee *any* graven image, *or* any likeness *of any thing* that *is* in heaven above, or that *is* in the earth beneath, or that *is* in the waters beneath the earth:

9. Thou shalt not bow down thyself unto them, nor serve them: for I the LORD thy God *am* a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth *generation* of them that hate me,

10. And shewing mercy unto thousands of them that love me and keep my commandments.

11. Thou shalt not take the name of the LORD thy God in vain: for the LORD will not hold *him* guiltless that taketh his name in vain.

12. Keep the sabbath day to sanctify it, as the LORD thy God hath commanded thee.

Exodus xx.	*Deuteronomy* v.
9. Six days shalt thou labour, and do all thy work :	13. Six days thou shalt labour, and do all thy work :
10. But the seventh day *is* the sabbath of the Lord thy God : *in it* thou shall not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy manservant, nor thy maidservant, nor thy cattle, nor thy stranger that *is* within thy gates :	14. But the seventh day *is* the sabbath of the LORD thy God : *in it* thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, nor thy manservant, nor thy maidservant, nor thine ox, nor thine ass, nor any of thy cattle, nor thy stranger that *is* within thy gates ; that thy manservant and thy maidservant may rest as well as thou.
11. For *in* six days the LORD made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them *is*, and rested the seventh day : wherefore the LORD blessed the sabbath day, and hallowed it.	15. And remember that thou wast a servant in the land of Egypt, and *that* the LORD thy God brought thee out thence through a mighty hand and by a stretched out arm : therefore the LORD thy God commanded thee to keep the sabbath day.
12. Honour thy father and thy mother : that thy days may be long upon the land which the LORD thy God giveth thee.	16. Honour thy father and thy mother, as the LORD thy God hath commanded thee ; that thy days may be prolonged, and that it may go well with thee, in the land which the LORD thy God giveth thee.
13. Thou shalt not kill.	17. Thou shalt not kill.
14. Thou shalt not commit adultery.	18. Neither shalt thou commit adultery.
15. Thou shalt not steal.	19. Neither shalt thou steal.
16. Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.	20. Neither shalt thou bear false witness against thy neighbour.
17. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his manservant, nor his maidservant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that *is* thy neighbour's.	21. Neither shalt thou desire thy neighbour's wife, neither shalt thou covet thy neighbour's house, his field, or his manservant, or his maidservant, his ox, or his ass, or any *thing* that *is* thy neighbour's.

Such are the differences between the law as recorded in the two books of Exodus and Deuteronomy. The question arises, how can they be explained and accounted for.

Is it necessary or probable that the words of the Decalogue should be exactly the same in the two cases before us? Should

there be no variation whatever between them? Should they agree in all respects, down to the smallest particle, as well as to the order of succession in which they stand? So many think, influenced by such considerations as the following:—The narrative asserts that *the words* were *spoken* by God. They were *uttered by his mouth.* "And God *spake all these words*, saying" (Exod. xx. 1). "*These words* the Lord *spake* unto all your assembly," &c. (Deut. v. 22). Hence it has been inferred that the words of the entire Decalogue were articulately pronounced by the voice of God.

Again, not only were the words of the law articulately pronounced by the mouth of God, but they were also *written* or *graved* on two tables of stone by Himself. "And the tables were the work of God, and the writing was the writing of God, graven upon the tables" (Exod. xxxii. 16). "Hew thee two tables of stone like unto the first; and I will write upon these tables the words that were in the first tables, which thou brakest." (Exod. xxxiv. 1.)

Still farther it is observable, that the words are for the most part the same in both places. They occur too in the same grammatical forms or inflections. They follow one another in the same order.

These considerations have led many to infer that the text in Exodus and Deuteronomy was originally the same—word for word and letter for letter. It was completely and absolutely identical.

It is manifest however that as the text now is, this presumed identity does not appear. There are differences between the words of the commandments as they are read in the Hebrew Scriptures. There is no such *perfect* agreement now. What then is to be said in relation to the variations in the text? Of course they are attributed to the accidents of time and transcription. But not *all* of them, for several of the most conspicuous are excepted, by the application of a certain principle.

The ten *commandments themselves*, are separated from what is regarded as *adventitious* to them. Reasons are annexed to them, the more to enforce them. Illustrative remarks of a parenthetic nature are associated with them. Explanatory clauses are put to make them clearer and more definite. Such adjuncts are divided off from the strictly *preceptive* parts. It is believed that *they* are not essential portions of the commandments themselves. They are *accessories to* rather than *essential constituents of* the Decalogue. Accordingly, by means of a separating line, the *purely preceptive* parts of the law are distinguished and placed apart, in order that their words as given in Exodus and Deuteronomy may be compared. But is not the separating line somewhat difficult to find? How can we thus divide the commandments of God from the commandments of the writer? What is the test? Where is the criterion to enable us to make this distinction between the words of God and of man? The reply is, that a very simple, safe, and easy criterion is at hand—one that cannot fail to guide the inquirer aright. God uttered the precepts in his own name; and therefore he speaks *in the first person.* Hence *the commandments proper* are all in the first person singular. But if any statements be appended to them, in which the Deity is *spoken of* and is not *the speaker*, they do not belong to the commandments. They are the historian's comments or explanations. They are reasons or considerations which he has annexed to enforce them. In the strictly preceptive parts—the naked Decalogue itself—Jehovah speaks; in the adjuncts where the third person occurs, the historian speaks. By the application of this test, certain portions are assigned directly to the Lord; others directly to the writer; or in other terms, the Decalogue is distinguished from the adventitious remarks accompanying it.

To this criterion we are disposed to demur. Is it a safe and simple one? Does the key fit the lock it is applied to? The answer must be in the negative. One fatal exception to

it presents itself immediately: "Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain." This is the third commandment. And yet the "Lord thy God" are terms employed in it. Jehovah does not speak of himself in the first person; he is himself *spoken of* in the third. The test would make this a statement annexed by the historian, and no part of the original precept. But that were evidently erroneous. Thus the example is fatal to the proposed test. The criterion then is worthless. It must be discarded. Nor can the first person be put into this third commandment by any rational criticism. Here there is no various reading—no authority for imagining that the precept ever differed in the least from what it is now. And let not conjectural alchymy endeavour to change it; for it abhors every torturing application of that nature. Look at it as we will, it furnishes no room for conjecture.

But it is irrelevant to our present purpose, to trace with some critics, the remarks of the writer annexed to the precepts properly so called. They are by no means so clear or so easily separable, as has been supposed. Doubtless it appears otherwise to such critics as Boothroyd, who affirms in reference to the clause "as the Lord thy God commanded thee," appended to the fifth commandment, that "to consider it a part of the law is absurd;" but he has not ventured to apply the same remark to any other annexed clause. He would have found it more difficult to separate *the law* and the historian's *explanatory statements*, in the case of *other precepts*.

Admitting the fact of *explanatory clauses* along with the *precepts themselves*, let us now consider the probability of the text having been identically the same with regard to *the latter*. Considering the nature of the variations at present existing, and the testimony of MSS., versions, and other materials of correction, can the texts of both places be brought into perfect agreement? Some believe that they can be so harmonised; or that it is the duty of the critic to shew how the thing may

and ought to be done. But all attempts of the kind have failed. And all such attempts *will* fail; because they are made in the face of facts and phenomena plainly adverse. They cannot succeed, because it is impossible. The Septuagint translator (or translators) has endeavoured to do something towards it by supplementing the text in one place, from the text in the other. In like manner the Samaritan Pentateuch has a mutual supplementing. But this is a characteristic feature in both documents. They have made use of parallels to a large extent for the purpose of bringing passages into a state of uniformity, or of explaining what is less obvious in the one, by an elucidatory clause or clauses from the other.

The following are the differences in *the Decalogue strictly so called*, which must be disposed of, for the purpose of shewing that the text in Exodus and Deuteronomy was originally the same.

Exodus xx.	*Deuteronomy* v.
No. 1. "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image or any likeness," &c. פֶּסֶל וְכָל תְּמוּנָה	No. 1. "Thou shalt not make thee any graven image (*or*) any likeness," &c. פֶּסֶל כָּל תְּמוּנָה
2. "Unto the third and fourth generation," &c. עַל שִׁלֵּשִׁים.	2. "*And* unto the third and fourth generation," &c. וְעַל שִׁלֵּשִׁים
3. "*Remember* the sabbath-day," &c. זכוֹר	3. "*Keep* the sabbath-day," &c. שׁמוֹר
4. "Thy manservant, nor thy maidservant, nor thy cattle, *nor thy stranger that is within thy gates.*" עַבְדְּךָ וַאֲמָתְךָ וּבְהֶמְתֶּךָ וְגֵרְךָ אֲשֶׁר בִּשְׁעָרֶיךָ	4. "*Nor* thy manservant, nor thy maidservant, nor thine ox, nor thine ass, nor any of thy cattle, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates." וְעַבְדְּךָ וַאֲמָתְךָ וְשׁוֹרְךָ וַחֲמֹרְךָ וְכָל בְּהֶמְתֶּךָ וְגֵרְךָ אֲשֶׁר בִּשְׁעָרֶיךָ

Exodus xx.	*Deuteronomy*. v.
No. 5. "Thou shalt not commit adultery." לֹא תִּנְאָף	No. 5. "*And* thou shalt not commit adultery." וְלֹא תִּנְאָף
6. "Thou shalt not steal." לֹא תִּגְנֹב	6. "*And* thou shalt not steal." וְלֹא תִּגְנֹב
7. "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour." לֹא תַעֲנֶה בְרֵעֲךָ עֵד שָׁקֶר	7. "*And* thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour." וְלֹא תַעֲנֶה בְרֵעֲךָ עֵד שָׁוְא
8. "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his manservant, nor his maidservant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor anything that is thy neighbour's." לֹא תַחְמֹד בֵּית רֵעֶךָ לֹא תַחְמֹד אֵשֶׁת רֵעֶךָ וְעַבְדּוֹ וַאֲמָתוֹ וְשׁוֹרוֹ וַחֲמֹרוֹ וְכֹל אֲשֶׁר לְרֵעֶךָ	8. "Neither shalt thou desire thy neighbour's wife, neither shalt thou covet thy neighbour's house, his field, or his manservant, or his maidservant, his ox, or his ass, or any thing that is thy neighbour's." וְלֹא תַחְמֹד אֵשֶׁת רֵעֶךָ וְלֹא תִתְאַוֶּה בֵּית רֵעֶךָ שָׂדֵהוּ וְעַבְדּוֹ וַאֲמָתוֹ שׁוֹרוֹ וַחֲמֹרוֹ וְכֹל אֲשֶׁר לְרֵעֶךָ

From these parallels it will be seen that in *the precepts themselves* the two accounts vary both in respect to the words and their sequence. What is the correction furnished by the Samaritan copy?

In No. 1 the word כֹּל which is in Deuteronomy, is made וְכֹל agreeing with Exodus in sixty-four MSS., twenty-seven of which had it at first though it has been altered, one is doubtful, and two have it now though they had it not at first. It is also found in the Samaritan, Septuagint, Vulgate, Syriac, and Arabic, in the Bodleian MSS. of the Chaldee paraphrase No. 5233 and No. 1262. It is wanting however in the Chaldee text of the Polyglott, though found in the Targum of seventeen

MSS. in the possession of De Rossi, and in the Targum of the Pentateuch of Sora published 1490. It is also in the Targum of Jonathan.

The authorities in question are numerous and weighty, but not sufficient of themselves to authorise the reception of וכל into the text of Deuteronomy.

No. 2. Here again the וְעַל of Deuteronomy is עַל, agreeing with Exodus, in sixty-three MSS., but nine of these have been altered in regard to it, and six have it now which did not originally exhibit it. It is also in the Septuagint, Vulgate, Syriac, and Chaldee versions, as also the Soncino edition of 1488. On the contrary, the עַל of Exodus is read וְעַל to agree with Deuteronomy in six MSS., three of them as at first written; in the Samaritan except seven MSS. of it, and the Arabic version.

No. 3. Here are two different Hebrew words. There is no various reading in either case, except in the Samaritan text, which reads שָׁמוֹר in Exodus as well as Deuteronomy. There is therefore every reason for believing that they are now as they were at first written.

No. 4. In this example, עֲבֹדָה of Exodus is וְעָבַדְתָּ like the reading of Deuteronomy in fifty-five MSS., in twenty *a prima manu*, and one in the margin. The same reading is in the Syriac, Arabic, Targum of Jonathan, the Targum of Onkelos, in seventeen of De Rossi's MSS., and in several old editions of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It is also in an old edition of the fifteenth century without date or place, in the Soncino Bible in *the keeper* of the word at the end of the line.

On the other hand, one MS. of Kennicott, the Samaritan, and the Vulgate, have the reading of Deuteronomy עָבַדְתָּ without the connecting particle, like the text in Exodus.

The three words וְשָׁמַרְתָּ וְחָמַרְתָּ וְכל in Deuteronomy, not in Exodus, are not inserted in Exodus in any ancient authority.

Neither are they omitted in Deuteronomy by any ancient document.

Nos. 5 and 6. Here the reading of Deuteronomy וְלֹא תִנְאָף appears as לֹא תִנְאָף the reading of Exodus, in eight MSS., four *a prima manu*, the Samaritan, the Septuagint, Syriac, the Targum in three MSS. belonging to De Rossi, and one in the Bodleian 5233. In like manner וְלֹא תִגְנֹב of Deuteronomy appears as לֹא תִגְנֹב agreeing with Exodus in six MSS., the Samaritan, the Septuagint, Syriac, and the Targum in two MSS. of De Rossi.

With regard to the order of the sixth, seventh, and eighth commandments, it is the same in Exodus and Deuteronomy in the Hebrew as well as the Samaritan. But the Septuagint version departs from the Hebrew order in Exodus. The Hebrew seventh is there the sixth; the Hebrew eighth is there the seventh; and the Hebrew sixth is there the eighth. This is countenanced by Philo. But in Deuteronomy the Greek and Hebrew order is the same.

No. 7. Here the reading of Exodus, לֹא תַעֲנֶה, for which Deuteronomy has וְלֹא תַעֲנֶה, appears also in the latter in six MSS. three of them *a prima manu*, the Samaritan, Septuagint, Syriac, and the Targum in two of De Rossi's MSS. The שָׁוְא of Deuteronomy is also שָׁקֶר corresponding with the Exodus reading in nine MSS., in eight *a prima manu*, and perhaps nine others. Several of these last nine have letters erased, but so as to shew that the original reading was probably שָׁקֶר.

No. 8. Here לֹא תַחְמֹד now in Exodus occurs as וְלֹא תַחְמֹד, agreeing with the Deuteronomy reading in twelve MSS., in the Samaritan, Vulgate, the Targum in eight copies.

On the other hand, וְלֹא תַחְמֹד in Deuteronomy is לֹא תַחְמֹד in eight MSS., three of them *a prima manu*, the Samaritan, Septuagint, Vulgate, Syriac, and the Targum in one copy (694). וְעָבְדוּ in Exodus is simply עָבְדוּ in seven MSS. the Sama-

ritan, the Persian version, and the Targum in one copy. Before the word וְעַבְדּוֹ is inserted the noun שָׂדֵהוּ *his field*, in three MSS., another perhaps, and another in the margin. It is also in the Samaritan and Septuagint. שׁוֹרוֹ in Deuteronomy is וְשׁוֹרוֹ as in Exodus, in thirty-eight MSS., nine of them *a prima manu*, in one now, in the Septuagint, Syriac, Arabic, the Targum in ten MSS., two *a prima manu*, and one as now altered, and in four ancient editions of the Pentateuch printed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

There is no authority for supposing that the clause "neither shalt thou covet thy neighbour's house," is not authentic in Deuteronomy, or that it should also be in Exodus. The different arrangement of the clauses is likewise an *original* difference; in Exodus the house being *before* "the neighbour's wife;" in Deuteronomy *after* it.

The conclusion to be drawn from these varieties of reading is, that they arose from the correcting of the one text by the other. All have this *appearance*. And it is probable that all owe their origin to it. A few things are left untouched. In both places *they* are original words. In them the text do not harmonise, and were not tampered with for a purpose.

On the ground of external evidence alone, we reject all the various readings as not sufficiently attested to warrant their introduction into the texts. And then it must be inferred that the two texts differed at first. They were never identically the same. It is arbitrary to suppose that they were. Why is one passage pronounced the original throughout, and the other a secondary and subsequent form of it which ought to be conformed to the prototype? It is manifest from the variety of reading that the general disposition has been to subordinate the Deuteronomy-text to the Exodus-text, as if the latter were the proper, authentic, God-pronounced form of it. But is not this a mere arbitrary notion? And suppose it were the original, by what right does it occupy the place of the original

in all respects? Must it be all perfect and entire, the *ipsissima verba* uttered by the mouth of Jehovah; and the Deuteronomy-text be invariably wrong *wherever* it deviates from Exodus?

On the whole, it is utterly impossible to correct the one by the other, with the aid of external authorities. We abide by the present readings as the best that can be now obtained. We regard both as originals. We cannot, dare not affirm, that the one consists in all respects of the very words written by the finger of God on two tables of stone, and the other not. It is mere conjecture to affirm this of one in preference to the other. That the ten commandments were propounded in definite words must be asserted on the highest authority; but *the definite words themselves* who shall undertake to settle, with the two varying texts before him? They cannot be positively determined. The thing is impossible. The theologian must take both texts, and presuming that they were written at first just as they now are, explain the differences as best he may. Possibly he may not easily find an explanation in *the inference* drawn from Exod. xx. 22, and Deut. v. 22, viz. that the words of the whole Decalogue were *articulately pronounced* by the voice of God. Possibly he may not easily find an explanation in the doctrine of *verbal inspiration.* Possibly he must explain in some other way how it comes to pass that the writer says in both cases *God spake the words;* and yet the words themselves in both cases are not identically the same. A wide field for discussion is opened up here, on which we cannot enter. Such as know De Wette's view of the two narratives, viz. that they are merely "two paraphrases"—a view held by Fulda, Von Bohlen, Vatke, and George, will gladly have recourse to the observations in reply by Bleek and Hävernick. They will willingly endeavour to keep the present question apart from another with which it has been connected, viz. the authorship of the Pentateuch. The decision of textual criticism is, that both

relations are originals; and there it leaves the question. At this point the higher criticism and systematic theology may take it up and consider it in its widest scope. It is certainly important.

Psalm xxviii. 8.

"The Lord is their strength; and he is the saving strength of his anointed."

Here לָמוֹ "to them" is עַמּוֹ "to his people" in eight MSS., two of them a *prima manu*, in the Septuagint, Syriac, Vulgate, and Arabic. There is also no antecedent. Hence the emendation is adopted by Michaelis, Doederlein, Dathe, Lowth, Horsley, Kennicott, &c. But such evidence is far from shewing that the text needs alteration. In the preceding verses, the Psalmist had prayed for himself, not merely in his individual capacity but in his kingly relation to and union with his people. Hence the transition from the first to the third person was easy and natural. He spoke for the people as well as for himself, and therefore he insensibly substituted the third person plural for the first singular. The proposed reading arose from the apparent difficulty of the present one. And it was evidently taken from Psalm xxix. 11. But as in other cases, so here also, the more difficult reading should be preferred.

Isaiah liii. 8.

Here the words וּמִפֶּשַׁע עַמִּי נֶגַע לָמוֹ, "for the transgression of my people was he smitten," are thought unsuitable to the context, because the preceding and following connection speaks of one person. Hence לָמוֹ must either be taken in the singular number, or there is a mistake in the text.

The Septuagint has ἦχθη εἰς θάνατον in all its MSS., in all the versions taken from it, and all the citations of the fathers.

Hence the translators read למות; or perhaps conjectured that the Masoretic reading was an abbreviation of למות.

It has also been argued that the Alexandrine reading was in the Hebrew text in the time of Origen, because a learned Jew with whom Origen disputed was embarrassed by the citation of it from the Septuagint, and did not appeal to the Hebrew original. Neither did Origen himself say anything of the Hebrew.* But this may be better explained from the Jew's ignorance of Hebrew. Perhaps Origen himself was very slightly acquainted with it. The Jews at Alexandria spoke Greek, having lost their knowledge of Hebrew long before the time of Origen.†

But all other authorities have the common reading לָמוֹ. All MSS. and versions have it, with the sole exception of the Septuagint. Jerome himself has *eum*.

With these authorities in favour of the textual reading, it is surprising that so many scholars should have adopted the Septuagint emendation, as if internal grounds could elevate the one version to so great a height as to overpower all remaining testimonies. Cappell, Houbigant, Michaelis, Kennicott, Lowth, Koppe, Jahn adopt it. But there is no necessity for such correction. The pronoun is plural, and refers to עַמִּי, *my people*. In that case נגע is a noun, not a verb. The pronoun לָמוֹ might also be taken in the singular, as it is by many, *for him* or *upon him* (compare Isaiah xxx. 5). Whatever interpretation be adopted, we must abide by the received text.‡

Isaiah xix. 18.

In the Masoretic text we find here the words עיר ההרס *city of destruction*. But in various documents it is עיר החרס *city*

* Contra Cels. Lib. i. p. 370, ed. 1733.

† Gesenius, Commentar ueber den Jesaia, vol. iii. p. 184.

‡ See Knobel, Der Prophet Jesaia, p. 377.

of the sun. Hence it has been asserted that the Jews altered the Hebrew copies wilfully. The original reading, it is said, was *city of the sun*, which was changed into the present one *city of destruction* by the Jews of Palestine for the purpose of converting a prediction respecting the temple of Onias in the Heliopolitan nome into a threatening of its destruction. Let us see the evidence in favour of the unmasoretic reading, *city of the sun*, עיר החרס.

It is in 15 MSS. of Kennicott and De Rossi, but in several of them a *prima manu* not now, in the margin of one of them. It is also in the Brescia edition of the Bible, in both Münster's Hebrew-Latin editions 1534, 1546, but with another reading in the margin. It is in Symmachus, the Complutensian Septuagint, the Vulgate, and the Arabic of Saadias. We find it likewise in the margin of the Venice Bible 1518, and in the appendix to the Basel edition 1536. Abenezra found ח in some MSS. In like manner the MSS. of the Talmudic tract Menachoth, fol. 110, read it.

Internal evidence is also adduced in favour of it. It is affirmed that the present reading *city of destruction* is wholly irrelevant. It does not suit the premises of the context, which allude to the establishment of the worship of the true God. Hence mention of one of the cities as *a city of destruction* is inappropriate.

It is scarcely worth while to refer to another reading, viz. הַחֵרֶם *of anathema* which is supported by cod. 700 of De Rossi and three others *a prima manu*, while another states that other copies so read the passage. Cod. 490 of Kennicott has in the margin בית שמש, *Bethshemesh* as the Chaldee renders it. The Arabic has عير شمس i. e. Heliopolis. Other varieties may be seen in De Rossi.

It is manifest from these various readings that none of them, or indeed all together, are to be compared in weight with

that of the *textus receptus*. The common reading is therefore the right one. We must abide by it, and explain it in the best manner we can. The argument against it derived from the context depends wholly on *the explanation* of the passage. There is no irrelevancy, if the proper sense of the whole be given. The name is a symbolical one, as Knobel rightly observes. It should not be taken as a proper noun. For one town or city which shall perish in its unbelief, five shall profess the true faith. Five sixths shall be converted to the true God.

PART II.

NEW TESTAMENT.

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CHAPTER XXIX.

NATURE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT LANGUAGE.

PRELIMINARY.

In discussing the sources of criticism by which the New Testament text is rectified and restored, we shall follow as closely as is convenient the order pursued in the case of the Old Testament.

They are,

I. Ancient versions.
II. Manuscripts.
III. Quotations.
IV. Critical conjecture.

Before giving a history of the text itself, which claims our first notice, it will be desirable to speak of the language in which the New Testament books are written.

The reason why the New Testament books were written in the Greek language is obvious. It was most widely spread over the then civilised world, and was therefore best adapted for the instruction of all. It was most readily understood by the greatest number of persons. When our Lord appeared in the flesh, the Greek tongue was current in Palestine itself. It

was the book-language of the Egyptian *Jews*, and of all others not Palestinian. Hence the apostles were under the necessity of using it in their preaching and writing, when they went forth from Palestine to promulgate that new religion with whose propagation they were entrusted. The sacred authors composed the records of Christianity in a language extensively diffused, and more readily apprehended than any other.

In considering the nature of the New Testament diction, it is almost superfluous to remark, that it differs from the classical language of Greece. It presents indeed a marked contrast to the flowing style of the celebrated Grecian authors in the days of their prosperity and freedom. Let us therefore examine its characteristic elements, that we may clearly perceive how appropriate a vehicle it has been for the truths of Christianity.

Its constituent elements may be regarded as three, viz. The Greek, the Jewish, and the Christian.

1. The old Greek language had its various dialects, of which four have been distinguished. The oldest of these was the Æolic, of which we have few remains, prevailing in Thessaly and Boeotia, Lesbos, and the north-western coasts of Asia Minor. The Doric proceeding from Doris spread over the greatest part of the Peloponnesus, lower Italy and Sicily. It was somewhat harsh, and abounded in the use of long *a*. The Ionic was originally spoken in Attica. But the colonies sent out thence to the coasts of Asia Minor soon surpassed the mother tribe in improvement; and therefore the name *Ionic* came to be applied exclusively to *their* dialect. From its numerous vowels, this dialect is the softest of all. The Attic was used by such of the Ionians as remained in Attica after the colonies had emigrated to Asia Minor. This last soon excelled all the rest in refinement, holding as it did a middle place between the harsh roughness of the Doric and the softness of the Ionic. Thus the Doric and Ionic were the principal dialects, to which the rest have been sometimes reduced, the

Æolic being reckoned a branch of the former, and the Attic of the latter.

At the time of Philip of Macedon, the Attic had become the most general, having attained to a completeness and range far beyond the other dialects. Under a combination of peculiar influences it had taken the lead of all. Among the dialects of the different peoples it became the favourite one. It began indeed to be employed almost exclusively. And when different writers adopted it, they mingled with it much that was derived from the dialect of their own district or region. Hence it was modified and altered. The departures from Attic purity thus introduced by tribes who had before used distinct dialects contributed to the gradual decay of genuine Attic. This change was brought about mainly by the Macedonian conquest. When Greece was deprived of its liberty, it was an unavoidable consequence that those tribes who were hitherto distinct in manners, and in some measure independent of one another, should come to use one language. The loss of their freedom was the *chief* cause of the intermingling of dialects and their consequent corruption. Though the amalgamation had commenced by previous intercourse among the several republics of Greece, yet it was greatly promoted under the reign of Philip, so that the former dialectic peculiarities of the language no longer appeared. In this mixture of dialects that of Macedonia came to have a certain predominance, from its being spoken by the people who had obtained the sovereignty. The language of the conquerors diffused among the subject tribes prevailed to a considerable extent. Thus after the Macedonian dominion, there was a mixture of various elements. The *διάλεκτος κοινή* or *Ἑλληνική* was formed. Attic purity degenerated. The Greek language losing many of its features by the admixture of elements borrowed from other dialects than the Attic, by the changes which are unavoidably produced in the progress of time, and by the influence of the Macedonian

conquest, was modified and altered. It was *the common* language or dialect; and accordingly the writers of this later period were denominated *οἱ κοινοί* or *οἱ Ἕλληνες*, in contrast with the genuine Attics. Still it continued to be *substantially* the Attic; for the chief characteristic of that dialect remained, notwithstanding the various modifications introduced. The *κοινὴ διάλεκτος* is the usual standard of grammars and Lexicons, departures from it being specified under the name of particular dialects.

In the colonies established by Alexander and his successors, where the Greek inhabitants collected from every people had lost their own dialects, the same *common* language prevailed. In Egypt especially, where literature was cultivated with much zeal, the influence of the Macedonian conquest was felt. At Alexandria, the chief seat of such influence, the *common* language was developed and modified by the circumstances of the inhabitants and the places whence many of them had come.

It will be seen from this brief account that *the common* or *Hellenic* language employed after the time of Alexander had the Attic dialect for its basis. The Attic element was still observable, though the former purity and elegance of that dialect were in a great measure lost. Even before the subjugation of Greece it had begun to degenerate, when different writers conformed to it because it was reckoned the most polished. Others were absorbed into it, for each tribe in adopting it naturally introduced many foreign idioms. And when we reflect on the conquests of the Macedonians, it is certain that their language had a great influence in modifying the later diction which had arisen from the amalgamation of diverse dialects. This predominant influence was most observable at Alexandria.

Another element of the New Testament language is the *Jewish*. The writers were Jews by birth—familiar with the Hebrew Scriptures and ideas. The idiom of the language in

which those sacred books were written was not remote from their habits of expression. They were accustomed to speak Aramaean or Syro-Chaldaic, which was current in Palestine, and learned Greek from intercourse with others, in part perhaps from the Septuagint. And when a foreigner learns another language he has for a time to think in his own, so that his conceptions are Jewish, though clothed in the costume of the language he has acquired. Now the outward complexion of thought is influenced by its peculiar nature. The latter modifies the forms as well as the proper construction of words. Hence the diction of the New Testament partakes of a Hebrew colouring, arising from the fact that the writers were Hebrews accustomed to speak the Aramaean or later Hebrew, and in some instances acquainted with the ancient language of the Scriptures. Their vernacular tongue influenced the mode of exhibiting their conceptions.

Thus various Hebrew influences contributed to the present form of the New Testament diction. The Old Testament Scriptures had some direct bearing on it. They had also a greater *indirect* power over it, through the Septuagint version. And then the Aramaean, current, dialect of Palestine exerted its influence at the same time.

A third element may be characterised as *the Christian* element, which lies in *the subjects* to which the Greek language was applied. The existing vocabulary had no terms to express many ideas which the sacred writers were prompted to communicate. No native Greek had ever written on Christianity. They were the first who were authorised to make known in writing a revelation of mercy and grace. The doctrines of the new religion had not yet been divulged in their full import. When therefore native Hebrews were commissioned to write about Christianity in the Greek tongue, they had ideas for which that tongue furnished no appropriate terms. The subjects were new. Hence it became necessary

either to employ words already existing in new senses, or to make entirely new ones. Accordingly both expedients were adopted by these Jewish authors and teachers of the new religion.

Thus the Christian element of the New Testament diction arose from the subjects on which that diction was employed, and the nature of the ideas to be expressed. We need not therefore be surprised that the Greek language received many modifications from *the exigency of thè case.* The theological element must be taken along with others as pervading and influencing the Greek of the New Testament.

If the representation now given be correct, it will be seen that there are various sources whence an accurate knowledge of the New Testament language should be sought.

There are first the writers called the *οἱ κοινοί*, among whom are Aristotle, Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, Plutarch, and others.

In relation to the second element, it is necessary to consult the Alexandrine version and the apocryphal books of the Old and New Testaments. The former was made under the influence of circumstances to which the New Testament writers were exposed. The Jews at Alexandria had to acquire by conversation the Greek language current in that city. Into it they translated the Scriptures of the Old Testament; and thus their version exhibits an imperfect knowledge of a foreign language pervaded by a Hebrew influence. Accustomed to the Jewish Scriptures, and having had the Aramaean for their vernacular tongue, the words and phrases of the Greek which they had learned were tinged with Jewish idioms and peculiarities. The translators had to coin new words, or to use existing ones in new senses; because the subjects of which the Old Testament treats were in a great measure unknown to the Greeks. Many ideas required for their expression appropriate terms which the compass of the Greek tongue did not

furnish. Thus the Septuagint exhibits the same idioms with the New Testament. The only difference is that in it the Hebraisms are more strongly marked, because it is a direct translation from a Hebrew original.

The apocryphal writings of the Old Testament also afford illustrations of the New Testament diction. They were written by Jews on Jewish affairs. And the apocryphal works belonging to the New Testament were frequently imitations of the latter, and consequently illustrate its diction.

With respect to the works of Josephus and Philo, they afford less aid in explaining the idiom of the Septuagint and New Testament, because, though contemporary with the apostles, they were able to overcome the influence of their vernacular tongue, and to write in a style nearer that of the later Greek than what appears in the New Testament. Their language is much more remote from the colloquial dialect of the common people than that of the New Testament writers; for the latter is the diction of ordinary intercourse rather than of books. The Hebrew idiom however is apparent in these two authors, though in a far less degree than in the sacred writers.

I. According to the representation now given, the ground-element of the New Testament diction is the later Greek in that peculiar form of it which arose as the language of intercourse in which the peculiarities of the different dialects hitherto separated were mixed together, with the Macedonian element particularly prominent. The peculiarities of this ground-element are either *lexical* or *grammatical*, the former being more prominent.

1. *Lexical* peculiarities. We are prepared to find in it words and forms of words belonging to *all* the dialects, especially the Attic, as ὕαλος, Rev. xxi. 18, 21; φιάλη, Rev. v. 8, ἀετός, Matt. xxiv. 28; ἀλήθω, Matt. xxiv. 41; Luke xvii.

35, ὁ σκότος, πρύμνα, πλεως. To the Doric belong πιάζω, John vii. 30; κλίβανος, Matt. vi. 30; ἡ λιμός, ποία. To the Ionic belong γογγύζω, ξήσσω, πρηνής, βαθμός, σκορπίζω. φύω intransit. is both Ionic and Doric. To the Macedonian may be assigned παρεμβολή, ξύμη. Thus we have found vestiges of all the dialects except the Æolic, which had probably fallen into disuse as the language of ordinary life before any of the other dialects.

Again, words or word-formations which were rare in ancient Greek, or were used only by poets, came into common use or passed over into prose, ex. gr. αὐθεντέω, μεσονύκτιον, ἀλάλητος, ἔσθησις, ἀλέκτως, βρέχω, to *irrigate*. Κοράσιον, on the contrary, passed out of common life into the speech peculiar to writing.

Farther, words received a new form, mostly an enlarged or prolonged one, ex. gr. μετοικεσία, ἱκεσία, ἀνάθεμα (ἀνάθημα), γενέσια (γενέθλια), γλωσσόκομον (γλωσσοκομεῖον), ἔκπαλαι (πάλαι), ἐχθές (χθές), ἐξάπινα (ἐξαπίνης), αἴτημα (αἴτησις), ψεῦσμα (ψεῦδος), ἀπάντησις (ἀπάντημα), καύχησις (καύχημα), λυχνία (λυχνίον), ὀπτασία (ὄψις), συγκυρία (συγκύρησις), μελίσσιος (μελίσσειος), ἀποστασία (ἀπόστασις), βασίλισσα (βασίλεια), ἐκχύνω (ἐκχέω), στήκω, ἐλεεινος (ἐλεινός), νοσσιά (νεοσσιά), πετάομαι (πέτομαι), οἰκοδομή (οἰκοδόμησις), ἐξυπνίζω (ἀφυπνίζω), δεκατόω (δεκατεύω), ἀροτριάω (ἀρόω), βιβλαρίδιον (βιβλίδιον), ὠτάριον, ψιχίον (ψίξ), νουθεσία (νουθέτησις), καταποντίζω (καταποντόω), μοιχαλίς, ψιθυριστής, ἀργός of two terminations, ὀμνύω for ὄμνυμι, ξυράω for ξυρέω, βαρέω for βαρύνω, σαρόω for σαίρω, χολάω for χολόομαι, &c.

Again, words known to the ancient language received new meanings, ex. gr. παρακαλέω *to ask*, παιδεύω *to chastise*, εὐχαριστέω *to give thanks*, ἀνακλίνω, ἀναπίπτω, ἀνακεῖμαι, *to recline at table*, ἀποκρίνομαι *to answer*, ἀποτάσσομαι *to renounce or bid farewell to*, συγκρίνω *to compare*, ξύλον *living tree*, ἀναστροφή *life*, κεφαλίς *volume or book*, εὐσχήμων *a distinguished one*, ὀψώνιον *wages*,

ἀψάριον *fish*, ἐρεύγομαι *to utter*, περισπάομαι *to be distracted with business*, πτῶμα *corpse*, σχολή *school*, &c.

Still further, new words were formed chiefly by composition, ex. gr. as ἀλλοτριοεπίσκοπος, ἀνθρωπάρεσκος, μονόφθαλμος, αἱματεκχυσία, ἀνταποκρίνομαι, ἀγαθουργέω, &c. Special attention is due to a class of nouns ending in μα as κατάλυμα, ἀνταπόδομα, κατόρθωμα, ῥάπισμα, γέννημα, ἔκτρωμα, βάπτισμα; to nouns in συν, as συμμαθητής, συμπολίτης; adjectives in ινος, as ὄρθρινος, ὄψινος, πρώϊνος, καθημερινός, ὀστράκινος; verbs in οω and ιζω, as ἀνακοινόω, ἀφυπνόω, δολιόω, ἐξουδενόω, ὀρθρίζω, δειγματίζω, θεατρίζω; new forms of adverbs, ex. gr. πάντοτε, παιδιόθεν, καθώς, πανοικί.*

2. *Grammatical* peculiarities.

These are confined for the most part to the forms of nouns and verbs which were quite unknown before, or not used in certain words, or foreign to the Attic book-language. The use of the *dual* is rare. With respect to *syntax*, the later Greek has little that is peculiar. There are some examples of verbs construed with other cases than such as had been used before; of conjunctions elsewhere joined with the optative or subjunctive, connected with the indicative. The use of the optative, especially in oblique speech, seldom occurs.

II. By the Jewish element we are prepared, in the second place, to look for Hebrew modifications in the Greek language of the New Testament, because the Hebrew, or more properly the Aramaean, was the vernacular tongue of the writers.

Hebraisms are divided into two classes, *perfect and imperfect*. The former include words, phrases, and constructions that have no parallels in the native Greek, and are therefore entirely moulded after the Hebrew. *Imperfect* Hebraisms consist of words, phrases, and constructions which have some parallel in the Greek, but were more probably derived from the Hebrew.

* See Winer's Grammatik, u. s. w. p. 24, et seq. fourth edition.

Examples of *perfect* Hebraism are σπλαγχνίζομαι *to have compassion*, from σπλάγχνα *bowels*, related in the same way as רַחֲמִים and רֶחֶם. Ὀφειλήματα ἀφιέναι, πρόσωπον λαμβάνειν from פָּנִים נָשָׂא, πλατύνειν τὴν καρδίαν, πορεύεσθαι ὀπίσω, οὐ . . . . . πᾶς for οὐδείς, ἐξομολογεῖσθαι ἐν τινί, ἁμαρτάνειν ἐνώπιον, οἰκοδομεῖν *to edify*.

Imperfect Hebraisms are such as εἷς *one* for πρῶτος; σπέρμα *offspring*, from זֶרַע; γλῶσσα for *nation*, from לָשׁוֹן; ἀνάγκη *trouble*, from צַר; εἰς ἀπάντησιν *to meet*, from לִקְרָאת; πέρατα τῆς γῆς, from אַפְסֵי הָאָרֶץ; χεῖλος *shore*, Hebrew סְפָה. Though these expressions have probably parallels in Greek, they appear to be derived from the Hebrew, since they occur but seldom in the former language.

The contest formerly carried on for years respecting the character of the New Testament diction is now matter of history. Some writers laboured to prove that it possessed the purity and correctness of the old Attic language. These were termed *purists*, who strove with ill-judged zeal to shew that the New Testament exhibits the genuine Attic idiom unadulterated by Hebraisms. Conceiving that all departures from this standard were blemishes or imperfections in the sacred text, they endeavoured to banish Hebraised phrases entirely from the New Testament, as though the language should be disfigured by them. Pfochen was the first who undertook to shew that all the expressions found in the New Testament occur in classic Greek authors; and he was followed by numerous writers on the same side.

On the other hand, many undertook to prove that the diction, so far from exhibiting Attic purity, abounded everywhere in Hebraisms. This party ultimately triumphed, though they pushed their view to an unwarrantable extent, calling many expressions Hebraistic which were not so. The truth lies between the two parties. It is now universally acknowledged that *the thoughts* are Hebrew but *the costume* Greek. The con-

ceptions are such as *Jews* would employ under the influence of the Spirit; while the dress in which they are clothed is the Greek language then current. There is a Hebrew colouring that cannot be mistaken, though Hebraisms are not so abundant as the Hellenists in their controversies with the Purists frequently supposed.*

III. We are prepared by *the Christian* or *ecclesiastical* element to find words already existing in the vocabulary of the Greeks employed in a new sense, or new ones framed to express ideas for which no corresponding terms existed before. Thus, πίστις, ἔργα, δικαιοῦσθαι, ἐκλέγεσθαι, δικαιοσύνη, προσωποληψία *partiality*, ἀντίλυτρον *ransom*, οἱ ἅγιοι, ἀπόστολος, βάπτισμα, &c. The Greek language had not been employed on the subjects to which the New Testament writers applied it, especially *religious* topics; and they were therefore obliged either to employ terms already in use in a sense foreign to their classical one, or to make new words for the purpose.

According to Jerome there are *Cilicisms* in Paul's epistles, that is, peculiarities belonging to the language of Cilicia which was the apostle's birth-place. He instances four such,† viz. ὑπὸ ἀνθρωπίνης ἡμέρας, 1 Corinth. iv. 3, *by man's judgment*; ἀνθρώπινον λέγω, ep. to Romans vi. 19, *I speak after the manner of men*; οὐ κατενάρκησα ὑμῶν, *I was not burdensome to you*, 2 Corinth. xii. 13; μηδεὶς ὑμᾶς καταβραβευέτω, *let no one defraud you*, Colos. ii. 18. It is doubtful whether these should be regarded as idioms transferred from the Cilician dialect, notwithstanding the affirmation of Jerome. They are perhaps terms and phrases of unusual occurrence belonging to the later Greek.

As to *the name* of the New Testament and Septuagint Greek, it has been called *Hellenistic*, because the Jews who spoke Greek are called *Hellenists* in the New Testament (Acts

* See Winer, p. 14, et seq.

† Ad Algasiam quaest 10. Opp. vol. iv. p. 204, ed. Martianay.

vi. 1). This appellation is not appropriate. The designation *Hebrew-Greek* or *Jewish-Greek* is more suitable, *i.e.* Greek with a strong colouring of Hebrew.

In recent times the nature of the Greek diction peculiar to the Greek Testament has been fundamentally investigated, and its general features systematised by Winer in his invaluable grammar. Good lexicons of it have also appeared from Wahl, Bretschneider, and Wilke. That of Robinson is on the whole the best for English readers, especially in the last edition. It is still susceptible, however, of much improvement. Should Winer publish his long contemplated dictionary, it will doubtless supersede all others, for in this department he has no rival. The Rev. R. Scott, one of the authors of Liddell and Scott's Greek Lexicon, is also preparing a Greek Dictionary to the New Testament and LXX.

CHAPTER XXX.

HISTORY OF THE TEXT.

THIS may be divided into two parts, History of its external form; and History of the text itself.

1. The autographs of the New Testament books have perished irrecoverably. Hence we are left to investigate the text with such aids as ancient history and documents may supply.

What *material* the writers made use of can only be conjectured. It has been thought that it was Egyptian paper, or the papyrus. Afterwards the hides of animals were used for the purpose, parchment, glazed cotton paper, and linen rag paper. It is also supposed that the text was originally written continuously, without interpunction or division of words, sentences, and paragraphs. But there may have been cases in which some expedient was *occasionally* adopted for the purpose of marking a division, *ex gr.* a simple dot at the end of a word. And it is likely there was such. Accents, spirits, and iota subscribed were also wanting. The character was what is called the *uncial*, the cursive not having come into general use till the tenth century. In consequence of the original absence of these distinctions and marks in the text, MSS. differ in the mode of separating words from one another. Thus

Philip. i. 1, where the usual text has σὺν ἐπισκόποις, Codd. 39, 67, 71, have συνεπισκόποις. So do the ancient interpreters, as we learn from various passages in the works of Epiphanius, Chrysostom, Jerome, and Theodoret in particular. Hence συνεπισκόποις is the reading adopted by Chrysostom and other fathers. Hence also Epiphanius blames some persons for separating John i. 3 thus, χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδέν, and connecting ὃ γέγονεν with ἐν αὐτῷ ζωὴ ἦν. He recommends that the passage should be read . . . . . ἐγένετο οὐδὲν ὃ γέγονεν ἐν αὐτῷ. But Irenaeus reads the passage in the way condemned by Epiphanius. Chrysostom again regards the division followed by Irenaeus and others as *heretical*, referring it to the Macedonians. Similar examples of different division in the text of the epistles might be given from the commentaries of Jerome, Chrysostom, and Theodoret.

The inconveniences of the continuous mode of writing must have been felt at an early period. Accordingly remedies were applied to remove, or at least to lessen them. About the year 462 Euthalius, a deacon at Alexandria, divided the text of the Pauline epistles, and soon after that of the Acts and Catholic epistles into στίχοι or *lines* containing so many words as were to be read uninterruptedly. Of his procedure in the gospels we have no account. We know that they too were so separated; but are unable to discover whether Euthalius himself arranged them in that manner. The reckoning by στίχοι was called *stichometry*, and a copy furnished with such distinction a *stichometrical* one. This mode of writing was adopted in MSS. several of which have survived with it, as the codex Cantabrigiensis, Claromontanus, &c.

It should not be supposed however that it was regularly received into all MSS. It was adopted in some, perhaps the majority, in different places. But it was never a regular, universal system of division.

The following is an example from H. or the Codex Coislinianus :—

Titus ii. 3.

ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΑΣ ΝΗΦΑΛΙΟΥΣ ΕΙΝΑΙ
ΣΕΜΝΟΥΣ
ΣΩΦΡΟΝΑΣ
ΥΓΙΑΙΝΟΝΤΑΣ ΤΗ ΠΙΣΤΕΙ
ΤΗ ΑΓΑΠΗ
ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΙΔΑΣ ΩΣΑΥΤΩΣ
ΕΝ ΚΑΤΑΣΤΗΜΑΤΙ ΙΕΡΟΠΡΕΠΕΙΣ
ΜΗ ΔΙΑΒΟΛΟΥΣ
ΜΗ ΟΙΝΩ ΠΟΛΛΩ ΔΕΔΟΥΛΩΜΕΝΑΣ
ΚΑΛΟΔΙΔΑΣΚΑΛΟΥΣ.

The entire number of *στίχοι* is usually given at the end of each book, but it does not necessarily follow that every MS. having an enumeration of *στίχοι* at the end was actually divided as to its text in that manner, when first written. They were sometimes very short as in E. or cod. Laud. where each line generally contains but one word.

The *ῥήματα* which are also enumerated at the end of MSS. or books, may be the same as the *στίχοι*. Hug states,* that as far as known, the *ῥήματα* are found only in the gospels, or in MSS. containing the gospels. If therefore a different person from Euthalius divided the gospels, he may readily have given the divisions a different name from that applied to the epistles and Acts.

In order to save the space necessarily lost in stichometry, points were afterwards put for the end of each *στίχος*, and the text was written continuously as at first. This is observable in cod. K. or Cyprius, according to Hug. Yet the points in this MS. may be its interpunction-marks without any reference to *στίχοι*, especially as they are similar to the

* Einleitung, vol. i. p. 219, fourth edition.

interpunction of the cod. Boernerianus.* Or, a large letter was placed at the beginning of a στίχος, as in the cod. Boernerianus, where however there is also a corrupt and absurd interpunction.

It is often asserted that grammatical interpunction gradually arose from stichometry. But the assertion is not well-founded. There was an interpunction in New Testament MSS. *before* stichometry, as in the cod. Alexandrinus A. which doubtless was intended to facilitate the reading. From this time onward till the ninth century the marks and signs of punctuation were different in different MSS. They were irregular and fluctuating. Thus Isidore of Seville states that the only note of division in his time was a single point, which is thought to have been placed at the bottom to denote a short pause or comma; to denote a larger pause or semicolon, in the middle; and to denote a period or full pause, at the top of the last letter in the sentence. But it is very doubtful whether this definite meaning was intended by the different collocation. Cod. Basil. E. is thus pointed. In others, as in the cod. Ephrem. the point is placed near the middle of the letter. Cod. Laud. employs a cross for a period. Others use it for almost all the punctuation marks, as Vatican. 1067. If we may judge from the codex Augiensis which is assigned to the ninth century, words were also separated by blank spaces or intervals, and a point at the end of each. Cod. V. of Matthaei, belonging to the eighth century, has the point and the comma; and cod. Vatican. 351 the colon. A *regular system* of punctuation was not established till after the invention of printing. In the tenth century, punctuation had attained a considerable degree of regularity; but the laws and external marks of it fluctuated and varied, till they were firmly settled in the early printed editions. Robert Stephens varied the punctuation in his successive editions.

Accents are more ancient than στίχοι or lines. They had

* Hupfeld, Studien und Kritiken for 1837, p. 859.

been applied at least to the Old Testament, before the time of Euthalius. It is *possible* they may have been partially adopted in the New Testament at that period. But Euthalius first brought them into general use in his stichometrical edition of the New Testament. Yet they were frequently omitted in stichometrical MSS. after his time. The accentuation system first became universal about the tenth century. At the same time also, *iota subscript* was introduced with the cursive writing, though it was often written afterwards *beside* the letters. *Post-scribed iota* is common in inscriptions and in all uncial MSS. except such as are Biblical. The only trace of iota *subscribed* or *postscribed* which Dr. Tregelles remembers to have seen in a Biblical uncial MS. is in U *once*, where ϖι (ῳ) occurs. But the iota must have been *understood* in such MSS., else copyists could not have interchanged the terminations ῳ and οι, for example, Δω and δοι. The Greek note of interrogation came into use in the ninth century.

As early as the third century, mention is made of divisions called κεφάλαια. Probably they were of indefinite length, like the *Capitula* of Jerome in the Old Testament. Both Tertullian and Dionysius of Alexandria allude to them.

The gospels were anciently divided into *definite* κεφάλαια and τίτλοι. The former are usually attributed to Ammonius of Alexandria, who, in making a harmony of the gospels, divided the text into a number of these little sections. To these Ammonian sections Eusebius adapted his ten tables or canons which represent a harmony of the gospels. Hence they are called Ammonian-Eusebian sections. They are numbered in the side margin of MSS., and in extent are smaller than our present chapters, since Acts contained 40, the epistle to the Romans 19, and that to the Galatians 12. The τίτλοι or *breves* were of later origin than the κεφάλαια, but their precise date as well as their author cannot be discovered. Cæsarius in the fourth century does not seem to have known them. Nor did

Epiphanius and Chrysostom. But Euphymius and Theophylact were well acquainted with them. Hence it has been inferred, that they are not older than the sixth century. The τίτλοι are larger sections than the κεφάλαια, and are so called because the titles or subjects of those portions are written either in the upper or lower margin of Greek MSS. The codex Ephraemi and other MSS. shew what kind of divisions preceded στίχοι. In that MS. a dot is found very frequently where a στίχος afterwards ended. The stichometrical division seems to have been the same among the Greeks and Latins, as may be seen from the codex *Amiatinus*.

It is to be regretted, that these τίτλοι or larger portions were also called κεφάλαια by several writers, thus leading to confusion and mistake. They were so denominated by Theophylact, by Robert Stephens, and Küster. Even in the very same MS. the smaller portions are rightly styled κεφάλαια in the note at the end of it; while the larger portions are also called κεφάλαια (instead of τίτλοι) in the account given at the beginning of the MS. Such is the case in the codex Regius 2861. The gospel of Matthew contains 68 τίτλοι and 355 κεφάλαια; that of Mark 48 τίτλοι and 352 κεφάλαια; that of Luke 83 τίτλοι and 348 κεφάλαια. John's gospel has 18 τίτλοι and 232 κεφάλαια. Both divisions are found in most MSS. of the gospels.

The Acts of the Apostles and Epistles were also divided into κεφάλαια or chapters, which many have ascribed to the invention of Euthalius in the fifth century. But it appears from his own language, that he merely composed *the summaries* of the chapters, τὴν τῶν κεφαλαίων ἔκθεσιν, in the Acts and Catholic epistles; while in regard to Paul's epistles, *the summaries* had been already made by one whom he praises as "one of our wisest and Christ-loving fathers," but does not name. These *summaries* he incorporated with his stichometrical edition; but the *division itself* into chapters he did not make. The number of such chapters is in Acts 40; in the epistle of James 6; in 1

Peter 8; in 2 Peter 4; in 1 John 7; in 2 John 1; 3 John 1; Jude 4; epistle to Romans 19; 1 Corinth. 9; 2 Corinth. 11; Gal. 12; Eph. 10; Philip. 7; Colos. 10; 1 Thes. 7; 2 Thes. 6; epistle to Heb. 22; 1 Timothy 18; 2 Timothy 9; Titus 6; Phil. 2. This division of chapters is commonly found in Greek MSS.

Andreas of Cappadocia, in the fifth century, divided the Apocalypse into 24 λόγοι and 72 κεφάλαια.

Besides these divisions many MSS. of the Greek Testament have others that deserve attention. The Jews were accustomed to divide the Pentateuch and the prophets into chapters, one of which was read every Sabbath day. It was probably in imitation of this practice that the New Testament, which was publicly read in the early Christian assemblies, was similarly distributed into *church-lessons*. Euthalius introduced into his stichometrical edition 57 such sections in the Acts and Epistles. The gospels were similarly divided. They are called ἀναγνώσματα or ἀναγνώσεις. They have also been termed περικοπαί, a word applied to the Jewish sections by Justin Martyr.* It occurs also in Clement of Alexandria. It is very doubtful, however, whether the use of it in Stromat. iv. 503, vii. 750, be identical with the ἀναγνώσματα or *church-lessons*. More probable is it, as De Wette conjectures,† that it is the same as κεφάλαιον in the oldest sense of that word, *capitulum*. The gospels had the same number of sections for public reading, viz. 57. It has been thought that this number both in the gospels and the other parts of the New Testament arose from its adaptation to the 53 Sundays in the longest year, and four festivals. In this manner the whole of the New Testament would be read in a year. But the assumption is very questionable. It does not appear that the Christians were habituated to this exact routine. They selected certain books at certain times, from the Old Testament as well as the New. In his stichometrical

* Dial. cum Tryph. capp. 65, 72. † Einleitung, p. 43, Note a.

MSS., Euthalius marked these lessons by α (ἀρχή) at the beginning of each, and τ (τέλος) at the end. It is thus in the codex Bezae. Marsh states* that he saw other MSS. in which the Sunday (week) is marked at the beginning of each lesson which is to be read on that day, by the word σάββατον with a number annexed to it, thus CA.Γ, CA.Δ.

As festival days multiplied, this division did not suit the altered arrangement. Certain passages therefore were selected from the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles for reading lessons, and the rest were omitted. Such selections were adapted to the Sundays and festivals of the year according to a certain order. The practice also began of writing them together in a separate MS. which was called ἐκλογάδιον, or *Lectionarium* in Latin. When it contained selections from the gospels alone, it was termed εὐαγγελιστάριον or Evangeliarium; from the Acts and Epistles πραξαπόστολος. In these codices the selections were often written in the order in which they were to be read.

Such reading-books were made earlier among the Latins than the Greeks. In the Latin church they can be traced to the middle of the fifth century; in the Greek to the eighth, in the time of John Damascenus.

The term συναξάριον, for which the Latins used *Capitulare* and *Lectionarium*, means a list of reading-lessons for the Sundays in the year, marked by the initial and closing words. *Menologium* again means a like list for festival and saints' days in the year. Sometimes both accompany MSS., sometimes only one of them. Scholz has transcribed the Synaxarium and Menologium belonging to K. and M. 262, 274, at the end of the first volume of his critical edition of the Greek Testament.

With regard to the titles of the separate books, it is generally admitted that they did not proceed from the writers themselves. They are of later origin. In some cases they are

* Notes to Michaelis, vol. ii. pp. 907, 908.

unsuitable, as πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων. They differ in MSS. Thus we find τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον εὐαγγέλιον, εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ματθαῖον, &c. It is also apparent from various statements in the writings of the fathers, that they were not prefixed by the authors of the books. The evangelists indeed may have prefixed the single word εὐαγγέλιον, as Chrysostom says Matthew did;* but the phrases κατὰ Ματθαῖον, κατὰ Λουκᾶν, were added afterwards. The titles were prefixed to the different gospels and epistles after the latter were collected together, to distinguish the compositions of the respective writers, and were used early, most of them in the second century; as we infer from Clement of Alexandria, Irenaeus, and Tertullian.

The subscriptions were originally nothing but repetitions of the titles. At a subsequent period, however, when commentators began to enquire into the circumstances connected with the individual books, notices of the place where they were written and other points were appended. The author of the *Synopsis of Sacred Scripture* gives most of the places in which Paul's epistles were written; and Euthalius introduced into his stichometrical edition of the New Testament the summaries prefixed to the various books in this Synopsis; as also the places assigned to Paul's epistles. But he varies from these places in several instances, in his *subscriptions*. Having obtained a definite form from Euthalius, they retained it afterwards in most MSS. Their inaccuracies are well known.

The present division of the New Testament into chapters was made by Cardinal Hugo in the thirteenth century, from whom proceeded also that in the Old Testament. It was introduced by him into his *Biblia cum postilla*, whence it came into the Greek Testament also. The division into verses was first made by Sanctes Pagninus in his translation of the Bible into Latin from the Hebrew and the Greek, published at Lyons in 4to in 1528. The invention, however, is usually

* Homil. 1 in Matth. Praef.

attributed to Robert Stephens, who made it, as his son Henry tells us, on a journey from Paris to Lyons (*inter equitandum*). It was introduced into his edition of 1551, which was his fourth of the Greek Testament. It should be observed that Stephens does not follow Pagninus's division in the New Testament, though he does in the Old. His verses differ from Pagninus's. His own statement is that it was founded on the stichometrical practice of ancient Greek MSS. It was doubtless so founded in part. Whether Pagninus himself adopted his division from MSS. is not known. But Stephens does not refer to the system of Pagninus, though there is sufficient evidence that he was acquainted with it. One thing is manifest, that his division is worse than that of Pagninus, or even the ancient stichometrical one. Michaelis thinks that the meaning of the phrase "inter equitandum" is not that Robert Stephens accomplished the task while riding on horseback, but that he amused himself with it during the intervals of his journey at the inn. "If his division," says Dr. Wright, "was a mere modification of that of Pagninus, it might easily have been done 'inter equitandum.'"*

* In Kitto's Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature.

CHAPTER XXXI.

CAUSES OF VARIOUS READINGS.

BEFORE proceeding to give the history of the text itself, we shall point out the causes of various readings in it. These should be known before the states through which it has passed and the attempts made to restore its original form be described. What circumstances contributed to departures in the text from its primitive condition? What gave rise to changes in it? Endeavours to bring it back to its pristine purity presuppose deteriorating causes.

Alterations of the original text, or as they are termed various *readings*, may be traced to two sources, *accident* and *design*. Mistakes were made *unintentionally* or *purposely*.

(*a*) Accidental mistakes.

1. Transcribers *saw* badly, and therefore they mistook letters for one another, especially those whose shape was somewhat alike. They also *transposed* letters, words, and sentences. They also *omitted* letters, words, and clauses, especially when two of them terminated in the same way. In like manner, they *repeated* letters from mistake in sight. Examples may be found in Mark v. 14, ἀνήγγειλαν for ἀπήγγειλαν; Romans xii. 13, μνείαις for χρείαις; Luke ix. 49, ἐκωλύομεν for ἐκωλύσαμεν; Acts x. 38, ὃς for ὡς, and also ὡς for ὃς. Transposition of *single letters* is exemplified in Mark xiv. 65, where ἔλαβον is for ἔβαλον; xv. 16, where ἔω is for ἔσω; of *words* in Romans

i. 13, καρπὸν τινὰ for τινὰ καρπὸν; ix. 11, τοῦ θεοῦ πρόθεσις for πρόθεσις τοῦ θεοῦ. The omission of words and sentences by ὁμοιοτέλευτον was not uncommon. When a word occurred a second time after a short interval, the copyist having written it once, looked again at the MS. before him, and his eye happened to catch the same word *in its second occurrence.* Hence he omitted the part between the word at its first and second occurrence. This happened too when the final *syllable* was alike. Thus in Matt. v. 19, the words between βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν, a phrase which appears twice, are left out in several copies. So also in Matt. x. 23, φεύγετε εἰς τὴν ἄλλην instead of φεύγετε εἰς τὴν ἄλλην, κἂν ἐκ ταύτης ἐκδιώξουσι ὑμᾶς, φεύγετε εἰς τὴν ἄλλην. Here editors differ as to which was the original reading. In regard to the *final syllable*, omission on account of it is exemplified in Luke vii. 21, ἐχαρίσατό τὸ βλέπειν instead of ἐχαρίσατο βλέπειν; Luke ix. 49, ἐκβάλλοντα τὰ δαιμόνια for ἐκβάλλοντα δαιμόνια.

Repetition is exemplified in ἐγενήθημεν νήπιοι, in place of ἐγενήθημεν ἤπιοι, 1 Thes. ii. 7; Καπερναοὺμ μή for Καπερναοὺμ ἡ, Matt. xi. 23, where by mistake the final letter is written twice.

2. Transcribers *heard* wrongly or imperfectly, and fell into mistakes. They often wrote from the dictation of others to facilitate their task. Hence they were misled by different words similarly pronounced, or by different letters similarly sounded. Here what is termed *Itacism* contributed especially to the production of errors. Vowels and dipthongs of like sound were exchanged for one another. Thus αι is put for ε, ε for αι, ει for η, ει for ι, ει for υ, η for ει, η for ι, η for οι, η for υ, ι for η, ο for ω, οι for ει, υ for η, υ for οι, ω for ο. Thus in 1 Peter ii. 3, we find χρις̣ὸς for χρηστός; Romans ii. 17, ἴδε instead of εἰ δέ; in Acts xvii. 31, εἰκουμένην for οἰκουμένην; Acts v. 19, ἤνυξε for ἤνοιξε; 1 Corinth. x. 13, ἤλειφεν instead of εἴληφεν; Matt. xxvii. 60, κενῷ for καινῷ.

3. Transcribers made mistakes through failure of memory,

or by undue reliance upon it. Hence they transposed words, and interchanged synonymous ones. Reading over several words together, they might have inverted their order, or substituted a term of similar signification for one in the copy before them, before they began to write down what had been in their memory. Thus in Matt. xx. 10, *καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀνὰ δηνάριον* for *ἀνὰ δηνάριον καὶ αὐτοί*; 1 Corinth. xii. 20, *νυνί* for *νῦν*; Matt. ix. 8, *ἐφοβήθησαν* for *ἐθαύμασαν*; Rev. xvii. 17, *τὰ ῥήματα* for *οἱ λόγοι*; 1 Peter iii. 13, *μιμηταὶ* for *ζηλωταί*.

4. Transcribers made mistakes in judgment. They misapprehended the text before them, and therefore divided words badly, misunderstood abbreviations, and blundered with regard to marginal notes.

Examples of each of these may be furnished in abundance. As the most ancient MSS. were written in continuous lines without intervening spaces between words, it was natural for copyists sometimes to divide the words erroneously. Thus 2 Corinth xii. 19, *τὰ δὲ* for *τάδε*; Philip. i. 1, *συνεπισκόποις* for *σὺν ἐπισκόποις*; 1 Corinth. xv. 10, *οὐκ ἐνὶ* for *οὐ κενή*. Abbreviations being employed in MSS., they were also misunderstood. Thus 1 Tim. iii. 16, $\overline{\Theta\Sigma}$ for ΟΣ, or *vice versa*. Glosses in the margin and parallels were also taken into the text itself. Ignorant transcribers perceiving marginal glosses containing perhaps explanations of words by their synonyms, imagined that they belonged to the original text, and took them into it; or, though they did not think so, they thought the text might be improved by them, and therefore introduced them. An instance of this will be found in Acts i. 12, where cod. 40 reads after *σαββάτου ἔχον ὁδόν* the words *τοσοῦτον ὂν τὸ διάστημα, ὅσον δυνατὸν Ἰουδαῖον περιπατῆσαι ἐν σαββάτῳ*. So also in Romans viii. 28, where A. B. place *ὁ θεὸς* after *συνεργεῖ*. Lachmann takes the word into the text as genuine. In 2 Corinth viii. 4, after *ἁγίους* several MSS. insert *δέξασθαι ἡμᾶς*.

In the gospels the same occurrence is often recorded more

fully by one of the evangelists than by another. Sometimes transcribers thought that the shorter account is imperfect, and ought to be supplied from the longer. Thus the words in Matt. xxvii. 35, after *βάλλοντες κλῆρον*, viz. *ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ προφήτου· διεμερίσαντο τὰ ἱμάτιά μου ἑαυτοῖς, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἱματισμόν μου ἔβαλον κλῆρον* have been inserted from John xix. 24. This sort of supplement has been put to passages taken from the Old Testament, as Mark vi. 11, Matt. viii. 13, Luke xvii. 36. Supplements from parallel places of the evangelists appear in Matt. xx. 28, from Luke xiv. 8; Matt. xxvii. 28, from Mark xv. 17 and John xix. 2; Mark v. 19, from ii. 4. Sometimes they have been taken from the commentaries of the fathers and ancient scholia, or from apocryphal writings, ex. gr. Matt. xx. 28, vi. 33, xxvii. 49; Mark xvi. 8, 14; Luke vi. 5, xix. 17, xxiv. 43; sometimes from evangelistaria and lectionaries, ex. gr. Matt. vi. 13, xiii. 23; Luke xii. 15, 21, xii. 4, xiv. 24, xi. 2, 4. Of such historical additions, the Cambridge MS. (D) alone is said to furnish six hundred examples.

These are the principal kinds of alterations that have been made in the text of the Greek Testament that may be classed under the head *accidental*, because they were not made with the intention of corrupting the sacred records or of falsifying the text. They may be called involuntary errors. They originated in part in the haste or carelessness of transcribers who either lacked sufficient accuracy of manner in copying MSS., or sufficient knowledge.

(*b.*) *Intentional* errors.

These may be divided into two classes, viz., changes made in the text for the purpose of altering the sense, or changes introduced through uncritical officiousness. In the one case the purpose was bad, for alterations were made by those who knew them to be *corruptions;* but in the other the design was generally good, for the alterations were thought to make the text more perspicuous and better.

Very few wilful corruptions were made in the text by the catholic christians in early times. They had great respect for the sacred records. Some, however, of the early heretics falsified it in places. The charge lies chiefly against them, though we cannot say that the orthodox were never guilty of it, for the clause οὐδὲ ὁ υἱός in Mark xiii. 32 is omitted in some MSS.; and we learn from Origen or his Latin interpreter, that in Matt. xxvii. 17, some ancient copies had Ἰησοῦν βαραββᾶν, *Jesus Barabbas*. *Jesus* appears to have been left out, that the name might not be given to any wicked person, as Origen says; and Tischendorf has properly restored it. On the whole, the text of the Greek Testament has suffered very little from *wilful* corruption.

In relation to the latter class of changes introduced into the text, they originated in a desire to rectify, smooth, improve, or illustrate the text. Transcribers and others sometimes thought that they could add to the correctness or elegance of the copies before them. But they often attempted what they were neither justified in undertaking nor qualified to perform. We can easily suppose that a Greek accustomed to the style and diction of the native Grecian writers might look upon the Hebraised language of the New Testament as harsh in many idioms. The Grammarians of Alexandria would naturally so think. Though the diction is precisely such as might be expected beforehand from writers born in Judea, yet it would appear strange to many others. Hence some undertook to correct what needed no correction, with the view of softening harsh idioms and removing apparent inelegancies of expression. A difficult and obscure reading was changed into a clearer and more easy one. The following are examples:—

The terminations belonging to the Alexandrine dialect were removed in the forms εἶπαν, ἦλθαν, ἔπεσαν, &c. In Rev. ii. 20 the apparently ungrammatical τὴν γυναῖκα . . . . .

ἡ λέγουσα was changed into the regular grammatical construction τὴν γυναῖκα . . . . τὴν λέγουσαν. So too in Rev. iv. 1, λέγων was altered into λέγουσα. In John i. 14, D. has πλήρη instead of πλήρης. In Luke viii. 31, we find παρεκάλει instead of παρεκάλουν; Luke xxiv. 39, ἐγώ εἰμι αὐτός for ἐγώ εἰμι; Acts xx. 16, εἴη for ἦν; Matt. xv. 32, ἡμέρας τρεῖς for ἡμέραι τρεῖς; Luke i. 64, ἀνεῴχθή τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ παραχρῆμα καὶ ἐλύθη ὁ δεσμὸς τῆς γλώσσης αὐτοῦ in two MSS. for ἀνεῴχθη τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ παραχρῆμα καὶ ἡ γλῶσσα αὐτοῦ. A tautology was removed in Mark xii. 23, ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει instead of ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει ὅταν ἀναστῶσιν. In like manner, a pleonasm was taken from the text in some copies by omitting τι, 2 Corinth. xii. 6. In Acts xxvi. 3 ἐπιστάμενος was inserted after μάλιστα to make the construction easier. So too 1 Peter ii. 20, the unusual word κολαφιζόμενοι was altered into κολαζόμενοι in various MSS.

Historical, geographical, archaeological and doctrinal difficulties which caused perplexity were removed from the text, and other expressions introduced. So in Mark ii. 26 some MSS. omit the words ἐπὶ Ἀβιάθαρ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, others omit only τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, others read Ἀβιμελεχ for Ἀβιάθαρ. In Matt. xxvii. 9 Ἱερεμίου is left out, or changed into Ζαχαρίου. In John xix. 14 ὥρα τρίτη is put for ὥρα ἕκτη. In John i. 28 βηθαβαρᾷ for βηθανίᾳ; Matt. viii. 28, Γεργεσηνῶν for Γαδαρηνῶν was often put. In John vii. 39, to οὔπω γὰρ ἦν πνεῦμα ἅγιον some copies add ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, or δεδομένον or δοθέν. In Matt. v. 22 εἰκῇ is omitted by many authorities, perhaps rightly. The usual reading in Acts xx. 28 is θεοῦ instead of κυρίου. In 1 John v. 7 the three heavenly witnesses were added to the genuine text.

The liturgical use of the New Testament gave rise to additions and omissions. Thus ὁ Ἰησοῦς was frequently interpolated, as in Matt. iv. 12. The doxology of the Lord's prayer, Matt. vi. 13, was taken from a similar source. So too

in xiii. 23, the phrase *ὁ ἔχων ὦτα, κ. τ. λ.* was added. *Ἀμήν* at the end of books was often appended. In Acts iii. 11 *τοῦ ἰαθέντος χωλοῦ*, and xx. 16, *ἤχρινε* were taken from lectionaries and wrongly put into the text.

In addition to all that has been said on this subject, it should be remarked, that the MS. itself from which a transcriber copied may have been occasionally effaced in letters and words, or illegible. Here the fault of failing to reproduce an accurate text was not attributable to the copyist, but to the MS. he had before him.

CHAPTER XXXII.

HISTORY OF THE TEXT ITSELF.

THE NEW TESTAMENT CANON.

HAVING noticed the causes of alteration in the original text, we proceed to describe it in the various phases through which it has passed.

Although no definite time can be assigned to the close of the canon, and therefore no division in the history of the New Testament text can be made by means of an event so important, yet the collecting of the books into a volume must necessarily be touched at various points of the description. The gathering together of the separate epistles and gospels had an influence on the purity and preservation of the original text. We have therefore deemed it advisable to say a few words on the canon *before* the history of the text itself. In this way, it will be better apprehended than if it had been incorporated with the general discussion of the whole subject. The mode in which the canon was formed, and the time at which it was closed, will be more clearly understood than if it had been mixed up with the history of the text itself.

In examining the state of the text before the close of the canon, we are deficient in the knowledge of well accredited facts. History fails in assisting to bring to light the changes which the books of the New Testament underwent in regard

to their text, *at the earliest period.* How they were preserved during the first two centuries—with what care they were copied—how often they were transcribed—with what degree of veneration they were looked upon by different churches and christians—how much authority was attributed to them—by what test they were kept apart from similar writings afterwards termed *apocryphal;* these are interesting questions to which *precise* and *definite* answers cannot be given.

Let us first inquire how and when the canon was *closed.*

We think it right to omit all allusion to a passage in 2 Peter iii. 16, where the writer speaks of the epistles of Paul, in a way, as some suppose, which indicates that *all* or the greater part of them had been collected together at that time. This passage can be regarded as containing the first certain notice of the existence of a collection of several New Testament writings *only* by assuming the epistle in question to have been really written by the apostle Peter. There are circumstances however connected with the fact indicated in the words that tend to throw suspicion on the authenticity of the epistle. At all events, we must not assume the apostolic origin of the epistle at this preliminary stage of the inquiry, and deduce from it the existence of an early collection in the time of Peter.

Neither can anything be properly inferred from the character of the fourth gospel as to John having the other gospels before him. That he had them before him when he wrote it, or that he himself made any collection of the New Testament books, is very improbable.

It is likely that the first attempt at a collection began with the epistles, in the northern parts of Asia Minor. Marcion's list is the first we hear of in history. It is now impossible to tell whether any collection had preceded his time. We learn however that he had a collection consisting of ten Pauline epistles called ὁ ἀπόστολος; to which he added the

εὐαγγέλιον, apparently a mutilated gospel of Luke. Bertholdt thinks that the ὁ ἀπόστολος had previously existed in Pontus, and that Marcion merely adopted it and made it known more extensively, placing with it his εὐαγγέλιον. This was about the middle of the second century. Repairing from Asia Minor to Rome, Marcion spread a knowledge of the collection in Italy. Thus the ἀπόστολος was probably made in Asia Minor, being the earliest attempt to bring together a number of the sacred records of Christianity into one volume. We must recollect however that *the appellation* was not used so early. The name ὁ ἀπόστολος was of later origin. It comprehended, as has been stated, ten Pauline epistles, viz. one to the Romans, two to the Corinthians, one to the Galatians, one to the Ephesians, one to the Philippians, one to the Colossians, two to the Thessalonians, and one to Philemon.

From Pontus and Galatia this original collection must have spread into other parts, such as the western districts of Asia Minor. There, as well as elsewhere, it was immediately enlarged with additional books or epistles. About Ephesus and Smyrna, the epistles to Timothy and Titus, John's gospel and his first epistle, the Acts of the Apostles, with the gospels of Matthew and Mark which must have circulated in those parts, were probably put into the collection. Hence the εὐαγγέλιον received three other gospels—the ἀπόστολος, five other epistles or books. In like manner, the first epistle of Peter was attached; since Irenaeus had brought to Lyons from western Asia, about A.D. 170, the εὐαγγέλιον and ἀπόστολος, the latter of which contained the epistle in question.

In Syria the collection received two new books, viz. the epistle of James and that to the Hebrews, as is shewn by the old Syriac version or Peshito.

In Egypt, the ἀπόστολος of Clemens Alexandrinus embraced the same books as that of Irenaeus, viz. thirteen epistles of Paul, the Acts, the first epistle of John, and the first of Peter.

In northern Africa, the εὐαγγέλιον and ἀπόστολος were of the same extent as in the localities represented by Irenaeus and Clement; a fact we learn from Tertullian.

In Rome, the ἀπόστολος of Marcion was enlarged merely with the addition of the epistles to Timothy, Titus, and the Acts of the Apostles. Others *may have been* admitted, for several parts of the catalogue or fragment on the canon published by Maratori are very obscure, and conjectures as to the probable meaning of them have discovered in it the first epistle of Peter and the epistle to the Hebrews. But the case is more than doubtful regarding the epistle to the Hebrews. And though two epistles of John, the epistle of Jude, and the Apocalypse, are *mentioned* in that Roman catalogue, they are placed on a level with certain apocryphal writings, such as the Wisdom of Solomon. Thus though others are spoken of, and though they were even read in public in the churches, they were separated from the regular list which we know to have been made up of thirteen epistles of Paul with the Acts of the Apostles. The same rank and authority were not assigned to them. Yet soon after the catalogue was made, the first epistles of Peter and John were put into the ἀπόστολος in the churches of Italy, since Origen affirms forty years after, that the whole catholic church received the four gospels, the Acts, thirteen epistles of Paul, with the first epistles of Peter and John.

Such was the progress that had been made towards a complete collection of the New Testament books, or in other words, the formation of the Christian canon, about the middle of the third century, except in the old Syrian church, which had the epistle to the Hebrews and that of James besides.

Before this time, or about the beginning of the third century, the two collections, viz. εὐαγγέλιον and ἀπόστολος had been put together under one name, ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη, *Novum Testamentum*. Thus Tertullian, in his treatise against Marcion, applies *Novum Testamentum* to the whole collection.

Yet both he and Clemens Alexandrinus speak of the two as separate parts of a whole. Even Origen does so at a later period. Towards the middle of the third century, the two appellations disappear from the face of history, giving place to *the one* general title.

As far then as the very meagre evidence we possess will enable us to arrive at a conclusion on the subject, all the books of the New Testament we have specified were known, circulated, and highly regarded in different countries during the first half of the third century as one collection, and with a general title. The parts now belonging to the New Testament which were not usually included in the collection at that time were, the epistle to the Hebrews, the Apocalypse, the second epistle of Peter, that of Jude, with the second and third epistles of John. These had been known and quoted, probably looked upon as authentic and canonical by some in all countries where they were circulated; but they had not attained the position of the rest. They were not *commonly* regarded as of like authority.

With the exception of the six writings just mentioned, the remainder were appealed to as *sacred, inspired,* as *the rule and standard* of Christian truth. Hence we may say that the canon was *virtually* formed in the early part of the third century. We use the word *virtually,* because at that time it was not *fully* and *finally* settled as to all its parts. Hesitation and doubt still existed about some portions now included in the New Testament. Six books or epistles were not established in the public estimation as inspired. The inferior position assigned to them arose doubtless from different causes. It was owing to the remoteness of readers from the locality where a particular book first appeared—to the nature of the book itself, its character, peculiarities, and scope—to the subjective views of leading fathers in determining the claims of a work to be of *divine* origin. There is little doubt that some fathers enter-

tained suspicion of some books, which others did not share. Hence the canon was not *closed* at the period we speak of. The great body of it was fixed; but a few epistles had not been permanently attached.

The epistle to the Hebrews and the Apocalypse were fully received into the collection very soon after the middle of the third century. This was done, as might be readily supposed, earlier in some places than in others. Indeed some members of the Greek and oriental church had admitted the former as canonical even prior to that time—a treatment of it which speedily became general. The prevailing practice was to place the epistle to the Hebrews among the Pauline epistles not long after the middle of the third century, throughout the Greek church. The Apocalypse was not so favourably received in the same quarter. Yet it *was* deemed canonical by those who decided on *historical* rather than *doctrinal* grounds. Unfortunately however they were the fewer in number.

When Eusebius wrote his ecclesiastical history, the Apocalypse had not been admitted into the canon by many belonging to the oriental and Greek church. But he quietly puts the epistle to the Hebrews among the Pauline; indicating the prevailing sentiments respecting it. Thus in the first half of the fourth century, the epistle to the Hebrews and the Apocalypse were acknowledged as of equal authority with the other books of the New Testament by the Christians of the oriental and Greek church; although several still rejected the latter.

In the Western and Latin church the case stood differently. There the Apocalypse was generally admitted as canonical. This follows from the mode in which Jerome names it. In the beginning of the fourth century it was received as apostolic in the west. But it was otherwise there with the epistle to the Hebrews, which was not commonly ranked among the canonical books before the time of Jerome.

From these remarks on the reception of the Apocalypse and the epistle to the Hebrews among the early Christians, it appears that the collection already established in the third century had been enlarged by the addition of both, in the first half of the fourth century—of the Apocalypse in the west generally, in the oriental and Greek church partially—of the epistle to the Hebrews in the oriental and Greek church universally, but very sparingly in the Latin church.

About the middle of the fourth century the epistles of James, Jude, second of Peter, second and third of John, which Eusebius, at the beginning of it, placed among the οὐκ ἐνδιάθηκα (not included among the canonical) generally appear in the list. They must have obtained a sure place there by the operation of powerful but silently working clauses. Slowly was their credit finally established by *influences* prior to the council of Nice A.D. 325. All the present books except the Apocalypse are enumerated as canonical in the Acts of the council of Laodicea about 360 A.D. This was the state of opinion in the Greek church. In the Latin church also, all the writings had fixed themselves in the general opinion as canonical, during the fourth century, as is shewn by the Acts of the council of Hippo A.D. 393. Hence about the middle of the fourth century or soon after, the entire collection was definitely fixed as *the canon*, κανών. The canon was *closed* about that time. It is true that we hear of doubts and suspicions afterwards in regard to some portions. Some were still rejected by writers here and there in the Catholic church. Speculative and critical men gave expression to unfavourable opinions of certain parts of the New Testament in succeeding centuries. But the scepticism of *individuals* does not affect the close of the canon as a *historical fact.*

The preceding observations shew that the formation of the New Testament canon was *gradual.* The collection was not made by one man, one council, at one time, or in one place. The adherents of the Christian religion in different lands came

to agree in the same conclusion *progressively*, and by *tacit consent*. They did so *independently* to a great extent, in countries remote from one another. They judged by internal evidence, by tradition, by the fact of the writers being apostles or apostolic men. Some relied on one criterion, some on another; the majority perhaps on ecclesiastical tradition; the most reflecting and critical on internal evidence. Slowly and surely did they arrive at the entire separation of the sacred Scriptures from the spurious imitations which were then current. And in the result of their judgment modern scholars commonly acquiesce.

Having thus considered as nearly as possible, the time *about* which the canon was closed, it will be seen that it is not sufficiently definite or fixed to serve as a resting-point in the history of the text. We cannot look upon it as a convenient landmark for our present purpose. Hence we will not inquire what may be discovered as to the state of the text before the books were finally collected. We will not take the period marked by the close of the canon and ask, is it possible to gather from early writers what was the condition of the text, whether it had been accurately preserved, how far it had been kept pure.

There is difficulty in distinguishing periods in the history of the text, without presupposing a theory of *recensions* or a *classification*, which it is better to avoid at present. And yet the history of the text, as hitherto treated, has consisted of little more than the speculative views of ingenious men. We might, for example, distinguish the period of the text's disordered condition, and that of its revised state; but we should convey thereby an erroneous impression, and sanction some such system as that of Hug or Griesbach. There was a time when greater attention was given to the text; when more persons applied correcting hands to it; when professed critics and grammarians appeared who handled it more or less freely. But such time was not coincident in different countries; and

in some it never existed. Nor had it a *palpable* beginning in any region. Persons here and there in different lands, and at various times, made what they considered corrections in a few passages of the copies which they had; but at no period was there a *general* recension. A few persons *may have revised several* copies; as will be considered hereafter; but the influence of their limited labours was insignificant amid the multitude of current MSS. and versions taken from the original.

Seeing then that we have no good resting place in the history of the text, we may terminate the first division of it with Origen. It will be most convenient to take, first, the period till the middle of the third century, not because any very marked or decided change in the text then took place, but because some critics of note have supposed it an important era. Till then they have imagined a chaotic state of the text, uncorrected, unrevised, confused, corrupt; and afterwards a new phase and form of it in various lands under several distinguished men. There was first, as they conjecture, the absence of all revision; then the presence and effects of recensions in different countries, which influenced the general aspect of the text everywhere.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

HISTORY OF THE TEXT TILL THE MIDDLE OF THE THIRD CENTURY.

THE autographs of the New Testament books were soon lost. The material to which the sacred writers consigned their invaluable compositions was frail and perishable. If indeed by *autograph* be understood epistles or gospels written by the hands of apostles or apostolic men, such had no existence, at least in part. We know that Paul generally employed an amanuensis. He merely dictated a number of his letters. A few he wrote with his own hand, as the epistle to the Galatians: "Ye see how large a letter I have written unto you with mine own hand." To those which were simply dictated he himself appended the salutation—"The salutation of Paul with mine own hand, which is the token in every epistle; so I write." But epistles thus dictated and accredited as authentic had the same value as proper autographs. They were in truth identical with them. Hence there is no use in distinguishing between *idiographs* and *autographs*.

It is somewhat remarkable that no trace of these autographs or primitive exemplars can be found in early history. Writers living very near the time of apostles do not speak of or appeal to them. In the course of the second century, if not at the end of the first, most of them had probably disappeared. How or where they were kept, how long each lasted, whether they

were worn by degrees and repeated handling, or lost by accident, are questions to which no answer can be given.

Yet some have fancied that early traces of their existence are discernible. Thus in his epistle to the Philadelphians (chapter viii.) Ignatius refers to τὰ ἀρχαῖα *i.e.* βίβλια, which expression has sometimes been explained, *autographs*. The whole passage runs thus:—"Because I have heard some say, unless I find it in the ancient writings, I will not believe it in the gospel; and when I said to them it is written [in the gospel], they answered me, it is found written before [in the ancient writings]." Here both the proper reading and the sense are uncertain. It is doubtful whether ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις or ἐν τοῖς ἀρχείοις should be considered the authentic expression of Ignatius. But it is generally agreed that both refer directly or indirectly to *the Old Testament*, and not to the autographs of the New. Indeed the context plainly shews that the two Testaments are contrasted, and that the persons whom the writer censures were unwilling to admit the New except so far as it was corroborated by the Old.*

There is also a passage in Tertullian's works which has been referred to the autographs of the apostolical epistles. He speaks of *authentic* letters, *authenticae literae*, an expression which has been supposed to mean the epistles themselves written by apostles or at least by an amanuensis from their dictation, and sent to the churches.† But it is quite arbitrary to take it in this sense. Tertullian lived in a country where the sacred writings were circulated and read in one or more Latin trans-

* See Griesbach, Historia textus Graeci epistolar. Paulin. sect. ii. p. 66 in his Opuscula Academica edited by Gabler, vol. ii. p. 66, et seq.; and Gabler's Praefatio, p. 26, et seq.

† "Age jam qui voles curiositatem melius exercere in negotio salutis tuae, percurre ecclesias apostolicas apud quas ipsae adhuc cathedrae Apostolorum suis locis praesident, apud quas ipsae authenticae literae eorum recitantur, sonantes vocem et praesentantes faciem uniuscujusque. Proxime est tibi Achaia, habes Corinthum. Si non longe es a Macedonia,

lations. In contrast with such copies, he speaks of *authentic* epistles, *i. e.* copies of the epistles preserved uncorrupted and genuine. A greater reputation belonged to the churches founded by apostles themselves, or to those which had received epistles from apostles. Greater credit was given to the copies they possessed because they were better preserved. Hence Tertullian refers such as wished to obtain a knowledge of the doctrines of salvation out of authentic sources, to the holy archives of the churches at Corinth, Philippi, Thessalonica, Ephesus, Rome, &c. because in these churches the apostolic letters were to be met with *in their best accredited state*, and not because the autographs were there. Of course these copies were thought to be *pure* and *uncorrupted*. In that sense they were *authentic* as opposed to *adulterated* (adulteratum). Bertholdt and others explain the epithet to mean *Greek* copies, but though the word will bear this sense in itself, yet many reasons might be given against it in the passage before us. It has been clearly and copiously shewn by Griesbach* that *authenticae literae* in this place cannot mean Greek copies or *autographs*, but *genuine;* and he is followed by Gabler and Hug. It is certain that this father did not intend the *autographs*, else he would have appealed to them in his writings against Marcion, and so saved himself the trouble of conducting a lengthened argumentation. A single reference to *the originals themselves* would have *proved* Marcion's falsifications. But Tertullian did not terminate the controversy in this manner; and therefore it is fairly presumed that the autographs were not known to be in existence. The same remark may be applied to Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and other

habes Philippos, habes Thessalonicenses. Si potes in Asiam tendere, habes Ephesum. Si autem Italiae adjaces, habes Romam, unde nobis quoque auctoritas praesto est."—De Praescriptt. Haerett. c. 36.

* See Griesbach's Opuscula Academica edited by Gabler, vol. ii. p. 69, and Praefatio, p. 31.

fathers. In their disputations with heretics they never dream of appealing to what must have been an infallible tribunal. They reason and adduce proofs, as if they knew nothing of *autographs.*

The writings of *the apostolic* fathers furnish little help in judging of the state of the text in their day, because they are chiefly occupied with the practical aspect of religion, and have a hortatory character. Hence, though phrases and expressions occur in them which coincide with the language of the New Testament, they are mere reminiscences of the latter. Very rarely do these fathers quote literally; for literal citation was unnecessary for their purpose, and incongruous with their habits of mind.

Let us glance at all in them that has a bearing on our present subject. Hermas occasionally *touches* the expressions of the Old and New Testaments, but does not *quote* any. There is not a single passage which contains a *literal citation.*

Clement of Rome carefully extracts passages from both Testaments, yet he very seldom has quotations that can be compared with the New. He does not cite a single place *accurately* or *literally.* He was better acquainted with the Jewish than the Christian records.

In the epistle of Barnabas there is but one citation from the text of the New Testament, and that is made in a form coinciding with the reading of the Vatican MS. (B.) viz. *παντὶ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου,* omitting the article before the participle (Luke vi. 30).

Ignatius affords very small assistance to the critic, because he does not so much *quote* as *allude to* the words of the Christian records. He never makes a *verbal* citation. He repeats from memory. This is seen in the following places, where the most prominent and nearest allusions to the Greek text occur:—

Ὁ χωρῶν χωρείτω. See Matt. xix. 12.

Βεβαπτισμένον ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου, ἵνα πληρωθῇ πᾶσα δικαιοσύνη ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, Matt. iii. 15.

Περίψημα τὸ ἐμὸν πνεῦμα τοῦ σταυροῦ, ὁ ἐξιν σκάνδαλον τοῖς ἀπιστοῦσιν, ἡμῖν δὲ σωτηρία καὶ ζωὴ αἰώνιος· ποῦ σοφός; ποῦ συζητής; ποῦ καύχησις τῶν λεγομένων συνετῶν, 1 Corinth. i. 18, &c.

Φανερὸν τὸ δένδρον ἀπὸ τοῦ καρποῦ αὐτοῦ, Matt. xii. 33.

Πρέπον ἵνα ἐν μιᾷ ὑποταγῇ ἦτε κατηρτισμένοι τῷ αὐτῷ νοὶ καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ γνώμῃ, καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ λέγητε πάντες περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ, 1 Corinth. i. 10

Φρόνιμος γίνου ὡς ὁ ὄφις ἐν ἅπασιν, καὶ ἀκέραιος ὡσεὶ περιστερά, Matt. x. 16.*

Polycarp commonly quotes loosely, of which perhaps his omission of οὐ before κληρονομήσουσιν in 1 Corinth. vi. 10 is an example, though he may have omitted it because it was wanting in his copy, since very ancient authorities do not read it. He has however some citations which we may compare with the present text. In a few cases we learn what was in his copy. Thus he cites Acts ii. 24, ὃν ἤγειρεν ὁ θεὸς λύσας τὰς ὠδῖνας τοῦ ᾅδου. Here we cannot suppose that he really had in his copy ἤγειρεν instead of ἀνέστησεν. He confounded the one with the other. But there is no doubt that he had τοῦ ᾅδου for τοῦ θανάτου, since many ancient authorities have the same, such as D., the Vulgate, Syriac, &c.

In 1 Timothy vi. 7 for δῆλον ὅτι the received reading, this father has ἀλλ', which Augustine and other authorities also read.

In 1 John iv. 3 he reads, πᾶς ὃς ἂν μὴ ὁμολογῇ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθέναι, ἀντίχριστος ἐστιν. Here is ἐληλυθέναι for ἐληλυθότα, just as in the former verse the same infinitive occurs for the same participle in Theodoret.†

In a few extant fragments of Papias are quoted 1 Corinth. xv. 25, 26; and after an interval of some verses, one part of the 27th verse and the 28th. The citation agrees very nearly

* Prolegomena to Tischendorf's first Leipzig edition, p. 25.

† Ibid, p. 25.

with the received text, the only difference being that Papias has τότε αὐτός, as in many ancient authorities, for τότε καὶ αὐτός; and ὁ υἱός is omitted, as it is by many of the fathers.*

With regard to Justin Martyr, it is difficult to form a definite conclusion as to the state of the Greek text before him. We believe that he had our present gospels, and alludes to them under the title of ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων. The weight of evidence is decidedly favourable to that conclusion, notwithstanding all that has been recently written against it by the Tübingen school. But Justin has cited very much from memory. He has not been careful about the words. In passages descriptive of the *life and actions* of Christ he differs widely from our present canonical gospels, either relating what they do not contain, or speaking of facts in a different manner. Where he refers to the *sayings and precepts* of Christ he comes nearer the text, but does not commonly agree with it. In Matthew and Luke only it has been ascertained that he coincides with various witnesses in opposition to the received text, and often so as to present improbable readings. He has three varieties of reading, consisting in the omission of certain Greek words, the interchange of terms, and their transposition. Hence he seldom agrees with the characteristic readings of what has been called the Alexandrine family or recension, or even with the Constantinopolitan. For this fact it is easy to account, as will be seen from the following pages.

From the apostolical fathers to which we have referred, no certain conclusion can be drawn respecting the state of the text during the period which immediately succeeded that of the apostles. Little can be learned from them, except that in those days the Christians were not anxious about the purity of the text. They had not much reverence for the letter. They venerated *the spirit* more than *the words*. The latter were not so holy in their eyes as *the meaning* conveyed in them. Hence

* Prolegomena to Tischendorf's first Leipzig edition, p. 26.

alterations took place which would not have been made in other circumstances. Had they been studious about preserving the *ipsissima verba* they would hardly have allowed the autographs to disappear so soon. Their copies therefore had several diversities, and they did not think of revising them. They contributed indeed to those diversities by quoting loosely, by not adhering to the very terms of the New Testament and their proper position, by trusting to memory, by negligence. But when we proceed to examine a class of writers later than the apostolical fathers who were led to treat extensively of scriptural subjects and doctrines—when we come down to authors who wrote after 130 we begin to observe more important and extensive diversities in the text than those which had appeared before. This is observable in Justin Martyr, who might perhaps have been more appropriately reserved till the present section, though his habits of handling scripture are such as render his works of comparatively little utility. Before the year 127 the history of *proper* diversities in the text can hardly be considered as commencing. That there were mistakes and errors in it then must be allowed; but the greater part of them had arisen from the carelessness of transcribers. Ignorance, negligence, haste, and other like sources of corruption gave rise to most of them. They owed their origin to mere carelessness. But about the time mentioned other causes began to produce mistakes in considerable numbers. Not that they had been wholly inoperative till then, but that their fruits were neither many nor prominent before. And what, it may be asked, were these sources of corruption? Did writers who had MSS. in their hands, and copyists, deteriorate the text *knowingly?* They did so with more or less knowledge of what they were doing, yet not with the intention of spoiling and corrupting the text. They had not generally an evil purpose. Capriciousness and fancy led them to take liberties. Their design was commonly good, though they handled their copies

with freedom. They had little idea of blame attaching to them in consequence. Most supposed that they made the text no worse; that they did not treat it improperly; that they rather made it better.

These observations are justified by the complaints which several writers make with regard to corruptions in the text. And such complaints reach up to an early period, for they occur in Dionysius of Corinth, Irenaeus, and Clement of Alexandria. It would appear that even in their time false readings had got into the text of current MSS. Nor can the testimony of these and other fathers be reasonably questioned, especially as it is confirmed by quotations from scripture in their own and other ancient writings. Dionysius writes,—"As the brethren desired me to write epistles, I wrote them, and these the apostles of the devil have filled with tares, exchanging some things and adding others, for whom there is a woe reserved. It is not therefore matter of wonder if they have also attempted to adulterate the sacred writings."* Clement of Alexandria speaks of persons who turned the gospels into metaphrases (*τῶν μεταττθέντων τὰ εὐαγγέλια*) quoting a text (Matt. v. 9, 10) to shew in what manner they proceeded.† Irenaeus speaks of persons who affected to be more knowing than the apostles (*peritiores apostolis*), quoting a passage and showing how they read and explained it.‡ Tertullian

* Ἐπιστολὰς γὰρ . . . . ἔγραψα· καὶ ταύτας οἱ τοῦ διαβόλου ἀπόστολοι ζιζανίων ἐγεμισαν, ἃ μὲν ἐξαιροῦντες, ἃ δὲ προστιθέντες. Οἷς τὸ οὐαὶ κεῖται. Οὐ θαμαστὸν ἄρα εἰ καὶ τῶν κυριακῶν βαδιουργῆσαί τινες ἐπιβέβληνται γραφῶν. Ap. Euseb. H. E. iv. 23.

† Μακάριοι, φησιν, οἱ δεδιωγμένοι ἕνεκεν δικαιοσύνης, ὅτι αὐτοὶ υἱοὶ θεοῦ κληθήσονται. ἢ, ὥς τινες τῶν μετατιθέντων τὰ εὐαγγέλια, Μακάριοι, φησιν, οἱ δεδιωγμένοι ὑπὸ τῆς δικαιοσύνης, ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἔσονται τέλειοι. Stromata, iv. 6.

‡ "*Nemo cognoscit Filium nisi pater, neque patrem quis cognoscit nisi filius et cui voluerit filius revelare.* Sic et Matthaeus posuit et Lucas similiter, et Marcus idem ipsum. Joannes enim praeterit locum hunc. Hi autem qui peritiores apostolis volunt esse, sic describunt: *Nemo cog-*

too speaks of *adulterators* of the Scriptures (adulteratores).*

From the operation then of various causes, not merely from the carelessness of transcribers and negligence of Christians generally, or the unavoidable mistakes that happen to all documents which are multiplied in copies and transmitted from one generation to another, but from caprice, adventurousness, design, many errors had got into the New Testament text in the middle of the second century and afterwards. The text had been corrupted at the close of the second century both from accidental and intentional alterations.

We have spoken before of A.D. 127 as the proper commencement of the latter class of alterations, or at least as the best commencing point for them which can be obtained in history, although they could not have been wholly new even then. And why has this time been selected? Because Marcion then went to Rome with his *apostolicon* or collection of Paul's epistles; and we learn something both of him and his peculiar treatment of the text from various writers. In the explanations, insertions, alterations he had in his collection of the sacred books, are presented the beginnings of textual changes which may be distinctly traced in subsequent writers, and are even capable of classification to a certain extent. His collection of the sacred books was the largest, if not the earliest that had been made; and the very fact of bringing so many together into one volume drew more attention to them, and gave rise to peculiar changes in the text.

But it will immediately be asked in relation to Marcion,

novit patrem nisi filius, nec filium nisi pater et cui voluerit filius revelare: et interpretantur, quasi a nullo cognitus sit verus Deus ante Domini nostri adventum, et eum Deum, qui a prophetis sit annuntiatus, dicunt non esse patrem Christi."—Advers. Haeres. iv. 6. 1.

* "Quid est ergo: non ex sanguine neque ex voluntate viri, sed ex Deo nati sunt? Hoc quidem capitulo ego potius utar, quum adulteratores ejus obduxero," &c.—De Carne Christi, cap. 19.

does he not stand out from the Catholic Christians as *a heretic*, and should not his treatment of the text be regarded as peculiar on that account? If he proceeded to treat the letter of scripture unceremoniously, would orthodox believers do the same? Would they not rather handle it in an opposite way? And does not this follow from their statements respecting his *falsification* of the text? His treatment of it can have nothing in common with theirs. On the contrary, their accusations of him shew that they acted very differently.

In answer to these questions and conclusions we must look at Marcion a little more nearly. It is quite true that he is the heretic most blamed by the fathers for falsifying the text. They accuse him of corrupting and mutilating Luke's gospel. And there is good ground for that charge. It is clear from Tertullian's testimony that he partly *falsified* the gospel of Luke, and supplied it, in part, with extracts from other gospels. In like manner, it is asserted by Tertullian, Irenaeus, and Epiphanius, that he *falsified* the epistles. But this latter charge must be received with caution. It may be true in some cases, but it is not certainly well founded in all. We believe that it holds to a certain extent. The testimonies of the very fathers who bring the accusation do not fully substantiate it. Some of his readings which depart from the common text are grounded on the authority of MSS. Others are not only derived from MSS., but from correct ones. Others are mistakes which may be innocently committed. A few are *wilful corruptions* made to favour his own system. That the accusations of the fathers are exaggerated is plain from the fact that Tertullian and Epiphanius contradict one another in their statements respecting him. Thus the former cites *trifling corruptions* from the Thessalonian epistles; while the latter declares that those epistles were *thoroughly perverted*. In like manner Tertullian speaks of *small alterations* in the epistle to the Philippians, and says that the letter to Philemon was

unscathed; while Epiphanius pronounces both epistles *wholly corrupted* by Marcion. Let us look at some of the passages which he is accused of corrupting.

According to Tertullian* he is said to have interpolated οἷς οὐδέ in Gal. ii. 5. But this reading is the prevailing one among the Greek and Latin fathers. Doubtless he found it in MSS. And it is the right form of the text.

Again, we find from Jerome† that he omitted a number of verses in Gal. iii. 6-9, from καθὼς Ἀβραὰμ till σὺν τῷ πιστῷ Ἀβραάμ. The words of Tertullian‡ also favour the idea that Marcion erased something in this place. But this passage might have been left out unintentionally, especially as Ἀβραάμ stands at the beginning and end of it. There may have been here an omission by ὁμοιοτέλευτον. Perhaps this is more probable, since the sentiments expressed in the present passage are also contained in the fourth chapter of the epistle, as well as in the fourth of the epistle to the Romans, where Marcion made no alteration.

In 1 Thes. ii. 15 Marcion reads τοὺς ἰδίους προφήτας where Tertullian had in his copy τοὺς προφήτας. But Marcion's reading was doubtless in MSS., for many still have it.

In Ephes. iii. 9 ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνων ἐν τῷ Θεῷ, the preposition ἐν was wanting in his copy probably through oversight.

Epiphanius charged him with having δολοῖ in Gal. v. 9, whereas he reads ζυμοῖ. Here however weighty authorities support the heretic.

In 1 Corinth. ix. 8 Marcion reads εἰ καὶ ὁ νόμος Μωυσέως ταῦτα οὐ λέγει, whereas Epiphanius reads ἢ καὶ ὁ νόμος ταῦτα οὐ λέγει. Here there appears to have been no falsification. Probably ἢ and εἰ were interchanged by *itacism*.

In 1 Corinth x. 19, 20, Marcion reads τί οὖν φημί, ὅτι εἰδωλόθυτόν τί ἐστιν, ἢ εἰδωλόθυτόν τί ἐστιν; ἀλλ' κ. τ. λ.; but Epiphanius

* Advers. Marcion, lib. v. 3. † Comment. in epist. ad. Galat.

‡ Advers. Marcion, v. 3.

has τί οὖν φημί, ὅτι εἰδωλόθυτόν τί ἐστιν ; ἀλλ' ὅτι ἃ θύουσι, &c. Here ἱερόθυτον was a gloss upon εἰδωλόθυτον, which was ignorantly taken into the text, so that Marcion's copy had both.

In 1 Corinth. xiv. 19, Marcion reads διὰ τὸν νόμον, but Epiphanius τῷ νοΐ μου. Here there was an evident blunder. Perhaps it arose from διὰ τοῦ νοός μου being appended as an explanation to τῷ νοΐ μου.

Again in Eph. v. 31, either the words καὶ κολληθήσεται τῇ γυναικί, or simply τῇ γυναικί were wanting in Marcion's copy. Many authorities omit the former, and if the latter only was left out, it must have been purely accidental, for no sense is given by it.

In 1 Corinth. xv. 45, Marcion is also accused by Tertullian* of falsifying the passage by reading ὁ ἔσχατος κύριος instead of ἔσχατος Ἀδάμ. So too with xv. 47, where instead of ἄνθρωπος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ he is said to have first written ὁ κύριος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ.

In 2 Thes. i. 8 he left out ἐν πυρὶ φλογός *purposely* according to Tertullian.†

In Eph. ii. 15 he read τὸ μεσότοιχον τοῦ φραγμοῦ λύσας, τὴν ἔχθραν ἐν τῇ σαρκί without αὐτοῦ, and connected ἔχθρα ἐν σαρκί so as to be equivalent to σαρκική. This was a wilful corruption.‡ In like manner in ii. 20, καὶ προφητῶν was omitted through a bad motive.§

There was an omission in Colos. i. 16, with which Tertullian charges him that must have been intentional, viz. ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ ἐκτίσθη τὰ πάντα . . . . . τὰ πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἔκτισται. This evidently appears a falsification of the passage, as well as the omission of πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως in the preceding verse.‖ The same father Tertullian also complains of important corruptions in the epistle to the Romans on Marcion's part, but does not specify any. It appears that he omitted from x. 5 to xi. 32, so that xi. 33 follows x. 4.¶

* Adv. Marc. v. 10. † Ibid, v. 16. ‡ Ibid, c. 17. § Ibid.
‖ Ibid, c. 19. ¶ Ibid, c. 14.

In 2 Corinth. iv. 13, κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον· ἐπίστευσα, διὸ ἐλάλησα was wanting in Marcion's copy, according to Epiphanius. It is not clear whether this was an intentional omission or not. Probably it was designed.

Such is a specimen of Marcion's readings gathered from his two chief accusers Tertullian and Epiphanius. We do not deny that the charges against him were true in part, even in respect to the epistles of Paul. Origen* blames him for jumbling together the last two chapters of the epistle to the Romans; and we have no reason to doubt the statement. We have also seen that Tertullian speaks of extensive mutilations in the epistle to the Romans, for which statement there was reason. And in the case of various passages, the omission of important words or sentences must have proceeded from a bad motive. But he was not to blame for all his readings. Many instances laid to his account are innocent mistakes. In them his readings are very much like those current in orthodox copies. *His* corruptions were often similar to *theirs*. His readings in part should be treated as of the same kind with those found in Irenaeus and Clement of Alexandria. We intend therefore to quote some of them as belonging to the same class and originating in similar causes; to which the strong word *falsification* should not be applied. We shall not do Irenaeus or Clement any injustice by placing their readings in the same category with those of Marcion; neither shall we do a favour to Marcion which he deserves not. Heretic though he was, he should be treated justly. Doubtless he had very little regard for the text of Scripture in many places; but the fathers who have accused him have been more zealous than discreet in all their charges.

Other heretics are accused of falsifying the text. Thus Tatian is said to have made alterations in the Pauline epistles. The Valentinians are also charged by Irenaeus with an altera-

* Comment. in epist. ad Rom. ad. cap. xvi. 25.

tion in Matt. xi. 27. When Tertullian accuses them of changing the singular into the plural John i. 13, the plural is the right reading.*

It will appear from these observations that allowance should be made for the warmth and enthusiastic zeal of the fathers in bringing forward accusations of this nature. They were by no means cool, calm, and critical in their procedure; and therefore their assertions must be adopted with caution. They cannot be safely relied on, without an examination of the probable foundation on which they proceed. In whatever way the falsifications of the New Testament text on the part of the earliest heretics be viewed, the departures from the true reading that flowed from the source in question into MSS. generally, must have been inconsiderable. *Some* wilful corruptions made by Marcion did certainly get into various copies, but they never obtained an extensive footing. The orthodox church was awake to the importance of preserving their holy writings from the contamination of heretical hands, and prevented any material falsification. The heretics were comparatively few, and did not possess sufficient influence, even had they been so disposed, to corrupt the records extensively. The catholic christians, scattered as they were through many lands, opposed a barrier to radical alterations. The corruptions that took place *within* the catholic church were far more serious in their influence than those made out of it; because they were liable to be propagated and perpetuated. As long as one had not been hereticated for his doctrinal views, he might add, take away, and confound readings without exposure to suspicion. This is plain from the fact that Ptolemy, nearly contemporary with Marcion, quoted passages from Matthew, John, and Paul, with some peculiarities resembling those originating with Marcion himself, and yet, so far as is known, without being accused on that account of falsification.

* De Carne Christi, c. 19.

Thus he omitted τοῦ θεοῦ in 1 Corinth. ii. 14, without giving offence. He added to Matt. v. 39 ὅλως; to δωρον, τῷ θεῷ in Matt. xv. 5; ὁ πατήρ after εἰ μὴ εἷς ὁ θεός, in Matt. xix. 17; οὐκ οἶδα to καὶ τί εἴπω in John xii. 27. He also altered τὴν παράδοσιν ὑμῶν into τ. π. τῶν πρεσβυτέρων in Matt. xv. 6.*

Thus we may treat in many instances the readings found in the works of the early heretics and in those of the orthodox as similar. Taking them together as far as they can be justly associated, the question recurs, what indications do they afford of the state of the text about the middle and towards the close of the second century? What kind of corruption had it undergone. We must believe the writers who speak of falsifications in the records, though in some cases attaching a meaning to the word different from that intended by such as employed it; and above all, we must conclude from the works themselves of the catholic fathers belonging to this part of the century, that many alterations had been made in the text. As has been already hinted, the varieties of it are even capable of classification to some extent.

First. As much greater attention was given to the New Testament writings when *put together* in a greater or less collection, passages must have been observed in which the same ideas, events, or sayings were differently expressed. In the second century, such diversities of expression began to be noted either in the margin of copies or above the lines; the consequence of which was, that transcribers afterwards changed one expression for another, formed a new phrase out of several synonymous ones, or connected together various expressions descriptive of the same thing. Something like this must have been done by the persons whom Clement censures as μεταπιθέντες τὰ εὐαγγέλια. The gospels were peculiarly liable to such treatment, as they contain so much that is alike. But other parts of the

* Ptolemaei ep. ad Floram, in Epiphanii, oper. p. 216, ed. Petav.

New Testament, though of course in a much less degree, were not exempted from it.

Thus in Matt. x. 26, where was written at first *οὐδὲν γάρ ἐστι κεκαλυμμένον ὃ οὐκ ἀποκαλυφθήσεται καὶ κρυπτὸν ὃ οὐ γνωσθήσεται*, some one had written beside or above it, *οὐδὲν κρυπτὸν ὃ οὐ φανερωθήσεται οὐδὲ κεκαλυμμένον, ὃ οὐκ ἀποκαλυφθήσεται*, which latter had displaced the other in copies before Clement's time.

In Luke iii. 22 are the words *σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱός μου*. Beside them had been written the next words of the Psalm, *ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε*, which were afterwards taken into the text itself, so that Clement, Justin, and other early authorities found here *ὁ υἱός μου εἶ, σύ, ἐγω σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε.*

In Luke xvi. 9 there had been inserted at the end of the verse *εἰ τὸ μικρὸν οὐκ ἐτηρήσατε, τὸ μέγα τίς ὑμῖν δώσει.* This was taken into the text, and then for the sake of connecting it with the next verse, was added *λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν ὅτι ὁ πιστός*, &c.

Marcion had *μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐγερθῆναι* instead of *καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐγερθῆναι*, Luke ix. 22. This was doubtless derived from a parallel place, and is in other authorities.

In John vi. 51 we have *ἡ σάρξ μου ἐστίν, ἣν ἐγὼ δώσω ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ζωῆς*, where the clause *ἣν ἐγὼ δώσω* is a gloss formed from the analogy of the preceding *ὁ ἄρτος ὃν ἐγὼ δώσω*. This gloss is older than Clement.

In Acts xv. 20 *τοῦ πνικτοῦ* had been taken from the parallel in xxi. 25, and inserted prior to Clement's day.

In Mark xv. 28 there was inserted from Matthew and Luke *καὶ ἐπληρώθη ἡ γραφὴ ἡ λέγουσα: καὶ μετὰ ἀνόμων ἐλογισθη.* The addition is found in Origen.*

Secondly. In explaining and enforcing various doctrines drawn from the New Testament, diversities of exposition arose out of diversity of terms employed; and in cases of dispute it was judged best to take words in the sense in which they were

* Eichhorn's Einleitung in das neue Testament, vol. iv. pp. 223, 224.

used in the postles' time. This gave rise to an *exegetical tradition* which was marked in the margin of the text, but also occasionally inserted in the text itself.

Matt. i. 18 has τοῦ δὲ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἡ γέννησις οὕτως ἦν. Irenaeus nas τοῦ δὲ Χριστοῦ ἡ γέννησις. So other authorities. The omission of Ἰησοῦ arose from taking γέννησις, or as others read γένεσις, to refer to his eternal generation, not his nativity.

In Romans iii. 26 the original reading appears to have been, εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν δίκαιον καὶ δικαιοῦντα τὸν ἐκ πίστεως. Over αὐτὸν some one first wrote Ἰησοῦν. A transcriber, not knowing well where it should be, placed it at the end of the text——τὸν ἐκ πίστεως, Ἰησοῦν, as Clement has it. And because the accusative Ἰησοῦν does not give a good sense, it was altered into Ἰησοῦ the genitive, as it is in very ancient MSS.

In Matt. i. 25 αὐτης τὸν πρωτότοκον was left out in some very old MSS, lest it might be thought that Mary had children afterwards.*

Thirdly. Amid uniformity of diction it was perceived that considerable diversity existed. In one part of the collection of sacred writings the mode of expression was obscure, in another more perspicuous; in one more complete, in another more condensed and abridged; in one more definite, in another more vague; in one the usual form of expression, in another an unusual one. Hence, for the purpose of making every thing more intelligible, words and phrases not agreeable to the Greek idiom were made more conformable to it; obscure were rendered more easy of apprehension; unknown and unusual were explained by well known phraseology, and *metaphrases* or verbal translations placed in the margin or between the lines of the text. It is said that *metaphrases* were made by Tatian on Paul's epistles.

Examples are such as these:—

* Eichhorn's Einleit. vol. iv. pp. 225, 226.

Luke ii. 49, οὐκ οἴδατε is the reading both of Irenaeus and Tertullian for οὐκ ᾔδειτε.

Luke xii. 38, ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ φυλακῇ. Marcion has τῇ ἑσπερινῇ φυλακῇ. The same is found in D.

Luke xix. 26, τῷ ἔχοντι δοθήσεται. Clement has προστεθήσεται; D. προστίθεται; several cursive MSS., the Vulgate and Ethiopic, add to δοθήσεται, καὶ περισσευθήσεται.

Rev. i. 15, πόδες——ὡς ἐν καμίνῳ πεπυρωμένοι. Irenaeus reads πεπυρωμένῳ.

1 Corinth. xv. 49. Instead of φορέσομεν Irenaeus and most of the uncial MSS. have φορέσωμεν in a hortatory sense.

In Luke xi. 54 the right reading is ἐνεδρεύοντες αὐτὸν, θηρεῦσαί τι. But very early there was written as a gloss over or beside ἐνεδρεύοντες the more common ζητοῦντες, which was afterwards taken into the text and joined to ἐνεδρ. by καὶ. Hence the words ἐνεδρεύοντες αὐτόν, for which the gloss was substituted, are wanting in the old Latin and D.

Luke xix. 26, καὶ ὃ ἔχει ἀρθήσεται ἀπ' αὐτοῦ. Marcion reads δοκεῖ ἔχειν.

Luke xii. 27, οὐ κοπιᾷ, οὐδὲ νήθει. Clement has οὔτε νήθει οὔτε ὑφαίνει. So too D.

1 Peter i. 8. Irenaeus, and before him Polycarp, has the passage with a glossarial word inserted, εἰς ὃν ἄρτι μὴ ὁρῶντες πιστεύετε, πιστεύοντες δὲ κ. τ. λ.

In like manner something was omitted. Thus κληθῇς εἰς γάμους, as Clement reads Luke xiv. 8 without ὑπό τινος; ἀνάπεσαι εἰς τὸν ἔσχατον τόπον, Luke xiv. 10, without πορευθείς, which is also changed εἰς τὸν ἔσχατον τόπον ἀνάπιπτε, as Clement has it with D.; πατρὸς μου τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς, Matt. xviii. 10, where ἐν οὐρανοῖς is omitted by Clement and others.

Acts iv. 31, ἐλάλουν . . . . . μετὰ παῤῥησίας. Irenaeus and others have it in a more definite form, μετὰ παῤῥησίας παντὶ τῷ θέλοντι πιστεύειν. In Luke viii. 42, Marcion has καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ πορεύεσθαι. The usual text is ἐν δὲ τῷ ὑπάγειν.

Fourthly. Some circumstances as related gave offence or excited suspicion. Hence something was supplied which appeared necessary to justify their credibility, or desirable to supplement the narrative. It was this that gave rise to the words of Acts viii. 37, "if thou believest with all thine heart thou mayest." A confession of faith on the part of the Ethiopian eunuch appeared to be wanting, and it was inserted accordingly. Irenaeus has the addition to the text.

Fifthly. Synonymes are exchanged, as in

Matt. x. 42, *μὴ ἀπολέσῃ τὸν μισθὸν αὐτοῦ.* Cyprian and many other authorities have *μὴ ἀπόληται ὁ μισθός.*

Matt. xv. 6, *ἠκυρώσατε τὴν ἐντολήν.* Ptolemy in his epistle to Flora has *τὸν νόμον.*

Matt. xxiii. 27, *οἵτινες ἔξωθεν μὲν φαίνονται ὡραῖοι.* Clement and Irenaeus read *ἔξωθεν ὁ τάφος φαίνεται ὡραῖος, ἔσωθεν δὲ γέμει.*

Luke xiii. 27, *οἱ ἐργάται τῆς ἀδικίας.* Origen has *ἀνομίας.*

Luke xix. 5, *σήμερον γάρ.* Irenaeus and others read *ὅτι σήμερον.*

Luke vi. 29, *πάρεχε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην.* Ptolemy reads *στρέψον αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἀλλήν.*

Luke xii. 48, *περισσότερον αἰτήσουσιν αὐτόν.* Clement has *πλεῖον ἀπαιτήσουσιν.**

The preceding observations will serve to shew, that the deviations from the current text as it now is, were many during the first two centuries. It must be borne in mind too, that the means existing for the investigation of the subject are very scanty. If so much can be gathered from occasional quotations of the New Testament in the remaining works of very few fathers besides two, Irenaeus and Clement, a conclusion may be fairly drawn as to the manifold diversities presented by the text. But other sources of investigation soon appear, from which the prospect is not more favourable. The disorder does not lessen as our means of ascertaining it increase. Towards

* Eichhorn's Einleitung, vol. iv. pp. 228, 229.

the end of the second century two ancient translations were made, viz. the old Latin and the old Syriac, at the basis of which lay a Greek text somewhat older. Both represent the state of the text in the second century. And from them it is apparent how different were the copies whence they were taken from our present ones, in the two countries where they originated. It is true that the testimony of these witnesses to the state of the Greek text is necessarily imperfect because of their being in other languages. It is also deteriorated in consequence of the changes made in them since they appeared. Their own texts have suffered. Besides, they deviate from one another in a way embarrassing to the critic. But though it is somewhat difficult to discover, especially in regard to the old Latin, what was its original text, yet we may in most cases gather from passages in the Latin fathers of the third and fourth centuries cited from it, its near approximation to the original. It was literal at first, and is still literal; so that the critic may see with much probability what the Greek was which the translator had before him, *i. e.* the text as it was in the second century. If the two most ancient Latin fathers Tertullian and Cyprian be taken and their quotations examined, it will be seen that the Greek text discovered through the *versio vetus* they quote was extensively altered. It had suffered much from causes already mentioned. Let us look at it through the version in question.

In John iii. 6 the received reading is τὸ γεγεννημένον ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς σάρξ ἐστιν, καὶ τὸ γεγεννημένον ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος, πνεῦμα ἐστιν. This is quoted by Tertullian,* *quod in carne natum est caro est, quia ex carne natum est; et quod de spiritu natum est, spiritus est, quia Deus spiritus est et de Deo natus est.* Here the first additional clause ὅτι ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς ἐγεννήθη is in many authorities, which may be seen in Scholz. The second addition ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος ἐστιν is also not confined to Tertullian. The

* De Carne Christi, cap. xviii.

third, *quia Deus spiritus est, et de* (or ex) *Deo natus est*, is well supported. All are explanatory insertions.

In Mark xiii. 2 Cyprian* has, "*et post triduum aliud excitabitur sine manibus.*" This clause was borrowed from xiv. 58 and put into the present place. It is also in D., where the Greek is *καὶ διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἄλλος ἀναστήσεται ἄνευ χειρῶν.*

In Luke xviii. 14 the common text stands thus, *δεδικαιωμένος εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ ἢ ἐκεῖνος.* Cyprian† has *descendit hic justificatus in domum suam magis quam ille Pharisaeus.* This agrees with D. and other authorities, *μᾶλλον πάρ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν Φαρισαῖον.* The addition was made *exegetically.*

Acts iv. 8, *πρεσβύτεροι τοῦ Ἰσραήλ.* Cyprian has‡ *Seniores Israelis, audite.* In like manner *ἀκούσατε* is in other authorities.

Acts iv. 32. After *ἡ καρδία καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ μία* Cyprian reads§ *nec fuit inter illos discrimen ullum.* This is also in D., *καὶ οὐκ ἦν διάκρισις ἐν αὐτοῖς οὐδεμία.* A gloss was taken into the text.

1 John ii. 17. After *μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα* Cyprian has‖ *quomodo Deus manet in aeternum.* Others have the same addition.

The diversities in single words are very numerous.

In 1 Corinth. xv. 51, the received text has *πάντες μὲν οὐ κοιμηθησόμεθα· πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγησόμεθα.* This is quoted by Tertullian,¶ *omnes quidem resurgemus, non autem omnes demutabimur.*

In Acts ii. 38 the common reading, *ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ* is enlarged by the prefix of *τοῦ κυρίου* in Cyprian** and other Latin fathers, that Christ's full dignity might be put into the passage.

* Advers. Judaeos, lib. 1, cap. xv. † De Oratione dominica.

‡ Advers. Judaeos, lib. 2, cap. xvi.

§ De Opere et Eleemosynis, sub. finem.

‖ Testimon. ad Quirinum, lib. iii. 11. ¶ De Anima, cap. xlii.

** Epist. ad Jubaianum.

In Acts iii. 19 ὑμῖν is inserted in different places according to different authorities, either after ἐλθωσι or ἀναψύξεως. It was taken from the margin.

2 Corinth. xi. 14, ὡς for εἰς in Cyprian* and the old Latin.

The Peshito or old Syriac exhibits the same kind of arbitrary alterations. It is true that we have no Syrian fathers nearly contemporary with the origin of this version, from whose quotations it might be shewn that the translator had a Greek text before him with changes similar to those of the old Latin. But we learn from the works of Ephrem the Syrian, about the middle of the fourth century, that the Peshito then had many peculiarities in its text similar to or identical with those of the old Latin and the Cambridge MS. or D.

Thus in Matt. vi. 15 the common text has ἀφήσει τὰ παραπτώματα ὑμῶν. But in the Peshito, Ephrem, D. &c., ἀφήσει ὑμῖν τὰ παραπτώματα ὑμῶν.

Matt. x. 10, μὴ πήραν. The Syriac and Ephrem have, μηδὲ πήραν, *neque perum.*

Matt. xii. 14, οἱ δὲ φαρισαῖοι συμβούλιον ἔλαβον κατ' αὐτοῦ ἐξελθόντες. The Syriac and Ephrem read, καὶ ἐξελθόντες οἱ φαρισαῖοι συμβούλιον ἔλαβον κατ' αὐτοῦ.

Matt. xiii. 28, οἱ δὲ δοῦλοι εἶπον αὐτῷ. The Syriac and Ephrem, λέγουσιν αὐτῷ οἱ δοῦλοι. So the old Latin, *dicunt ei servi.*

Luke xi. 34. For ὅλον the Syriac and Ephrem read πᾶν. So also D.

Luke xiv. 5. The received text has ὄνος ἢ βοῦς εἰς φρέαρ ἐμπεσεῖται καὶ οὐκ εὐθέως ἀνασπάσει αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ σαββάτου. The Syriac and Ephrem read, τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ σαββάτου καὶ οὐκ εὐθέως ἀνασπάσει αὐτόν.

John x. 16, καὶ ἄλλα πρόβατα ἔχω. The Syriac and Ephrem read, καὶ ἀλλὰ δέ. The Cambridge MS. also has *et alias autem oves.*

* De Unitate ecclesiae.

John xi. 39, λέγει αὐτῷ ἡ ἀδελφὴ τοῦ τετελευτηκότος. Here the Syriac and Ephrem have *Martha* inserted before ἡ ἀδελφή. In like manner the Cambridge MS., *dicit ei Martha* (soror defuncti erat). The Colbert MS. has also *Martha.*

How then are we to deal with this problem of manifold and extensive alterations in the text of the New Testament, in the second century. Many of them exhibit the marks of industry and design, else they would not have been so numerous, and so much scattered throughout all the books of the New Testament. It appears remarkable that such liberties should be taken with books so highly esteemed and so authoritative. And yet the Christians were not deterred from officious meddling with them. Such insertions, omissions, and substitutions of one word for another, were owing to the practices of those who read the lessons from Scripture in the churches, to the presbyters, to grammarians and transcribers. And as there was much intercourse between the churches, the mother-church having a watchful care over those subject to it, the copies prepared and used in the one, were transmitted to the smaller and inferior ones.

In the first half of the third century we have an express and definite testimony relative to the degenerate state of the text and the causes of it. Origen, the first critical reader of the Scriptures who had appeared in those times, speaks of the condition of *the gospels;* and he was most competent to give a just opinion on the subject. Though he refers to the *gospels* particularly, yet we are warranted in applying what he says to the other books of the New Testament likewise, with the deduction that parallels were more frequently inserted in the gospels than elsewhere. The passage in which this father alludes to the corruption of the text occurs in his commentaries on Matthew's gospel: "But now without doubt there is a great diversity of copies, whether it has arisen from the indolence of certain scribes, or from the boldness of some who make

irksome emendations, or from the procedure of such as add or take away what pleases them in the correction of MSS."* According to these words, the corruption of the text is referred to three sources, the carelessness of transcribers, the caprice of those who undertook the revision or correction of copies, and the meddling of critics who ventured upon improvements according to their own judgment and so added or omitted.

In examining Origen's Greek works—for those which exist only in a Latin translation are too uncertain to be relied on—we find the same varieties of reading that occur in the oldest fathers as well as the old Latin and Peshito versions. Indeed he often agrees with them in their peculiar reading of a passage. If he does not, the forms of the text they present can be paralleled in other places of the Alexandrine fathers. It is also natural to expect that the readings of Clement and Origen should generally coincide, the one having been the pupil of the other, and living at the same place.

Additions from apocryphal writings and from parallel passages occur in Origen. Thus he has, along with Clement and Eusebius, in Matt. vi. 33, *αἰτεῖτε τὰ μεγάλα καὶ τὰ μικρὰ ὑμῖν προστεθήσεται, κ. τ. λ.*

In Matt. vii. 22, *κύριε, κύριε, οὐκ ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί σου ἐφάγομεν, καὶ ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί σου ἐπίομεν.* Origen has these words four times.

In Matt. x. 26, *οὐδὲν κρυπτὸν, ὃ οὐ φανερωθήσεται, οὐδὲ κεκαλυμμένον, ὃ οὐκ ἀποκαλυφθήσεται, κ. τ. λ.* instead of *οὐδὲν γάρ ἐστι κεκαλυμμένον, κ. τ. λ.* Here Origen and Clement agree, except that the former has *καὶ οὐδὲν* for *οὐδέ.*

In Luke ix. 27, for *ἕως ἂν ἴδωσι τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ,* Origen has along with D. *τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενον ἐν τῇ δόξῃ αὐτοῦ* from parallel places.

* *Νυνὶ δὲ δηλονότι πολλὴ γέγονεν ἡ τῶν ἀντιγράφων διαφορά, εἴτε ἀπὸ ῥᾳθυμίας τινῶν γραφέων, εἴτε ἀπὸ τόλμης τινῶν μοχθηρᾶς τῆς διορθώσεως τῶν γραφομένων, εἴτε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τὰ ἑαυτοῖς δοκοῦντα ἐν τῇ διορθώσει προστιθέντων ἢ ἀφαιρούντων.* Comment. in Matt. xv.

Even the single readings which are found in the old Latin and Syriac versions are repeated by Origen, doubtless out of the MSS. he used. It is evident therefore that they were at that time scattered through many MSS. Thus, in the gospels, Matt. xi. 19, the received text has τέκνων. But Origen, as well as the Vetus, the old Syriac, and other sources read ἔργων. In Matt. iii. 6, ποταμῷ is added to Ἰωρδάνῃ in Origen (twice), the Peshito, and other ancient authorities taken from Mark i. 5.

In Matt. v. 27 τοῖς ἀρχαίοις is omitted in the Peshito, several MSS. of the Vetus, and Origen.

In Matt. v. 44, εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμᾶς stands in the received text. This clause is omitted by Tertullian, Cyprian the old Italic in various MSS. and other Latin authorities, as well as by Origen seven times. It is *properly* omitted.

Matt. xxi. 1. The common text has ἤγγισαν . . . . ἦλθον. But the Peshito and Origen have ἤγγισεν . . . . . ἦλθεν.

Matt. xxi. 33, ἄνθρωπος τις. The old Latin and Origen read without τις, as in Luke xx. 9. And they are right.

Luke ix. 23, καὶ ἀράτω τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν. The last two words καθ' ἡμέραν are omitted in several copies of the old Latin and in Origen.

John v. 26, ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ἀληθῶς ὁ Χριστός. The ἀληθῶς is rightly omitted by the old Latin, Origen, and other authorities.

In the Acts and Epistles the following may suffice:—

Acts xvi. 16. Here the common text has πνεῦμα πύθωνος. The old Latin and Origen have πύθωνα, perhaps rightly.

1 Corinth. xv. 29. The received text has τί καὶ βαπτίζονται ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν. The old Latin, Ephrem, and Origen have ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, perhaps properly.

But though Origen was disinclined to follow the practices of those transcribers, revisers, and arbitrary critics, who made very free with the New Testament text, he did not himself

wholly refrain from conjectural emendation of it. Yet he did not insert what appeared most probable to him in the text itself. He put it into his commentaries. Wise as this procedure was, it gave rise to corruptions; for his admirers and followers took and placed either in the margin of MSS. or between the lines, many of these conjectural emendations, whence they were afterwards copied by transcribers into the text itself. Hence several varieties of reading which appear even in existing MSS. were derived from the works of Origen.

But although the Greek text as seen through Origen's quotations corresponds to its state as observed in earlier Greek fathers and in the oldest translators—though the peculiarities of reading found in the earlier fathers and most ancient versions can usually be paralleled in him—yet we do not say that they are as frequent in his writings as we should have expected them to be had they simply progressed by the usual multiplication of copies. Origen himself was a better critic than any of his predecessors. He had given far more attention to the Scriptures. Hence there is little doubt that he did something towards restraining the arbitrary procedure he had observed. He perpetuated it indeed in part, but he did something to check it. Doubtless he amended in some parts such copies as passed through his hands. So little however was his influence felt, that the corruption was in his day much the same as in that of his preceptor Clement.

The same state of the text as is observed in the writings of the fathers belonging to the second century, especially in the Peshito version, is contained in an existing MS. We allude to the Cambridge MS. or D., which throws much light on the history of the text during the period we are investigating. For though it was written in the sixth century, yet the text at the basis of it belongs to the commencement of the third. This is apparent from the minute and masterly exami-

nation to which Hug has subjected it,* shewing that the peculiarities of its text owed its origin to the causes already mentioned. Hence we find similar corruptions of the Greek text in it to those in the Peshito, Clement, and Origen. But the additions and insertions made in it are larger and more strongly marked, not only because it was taken directly from a copy or copies which originated after those current in the first days of the Peshito and old Latin, but from other causes peculiar to itself.

The brief sketch now given of the Greek text, as far as it can be gathered from the fathers and the oldest versions, will help to shew what it was in the second century and to the middle of the third. The memorials of it were on the whole alike. It was in a corrupt condition, to which various causes had contributed; carelessness probably the least. Arbitrary alterations had been made in it. The difference between MSS. lay not so much in the nature of the corruptions, for here there was a general resemblance, as in the number of them. One had more passages in which the original reading was disfigured than another. This difference in the number of variations must have depended on a variety of causes, on time, country, the use for which a MS. was destined or to which it was applied, the number of hands through which it passed. Many copies owed their peculiar text solely to the transcriber, many to revisers, many to their possessors. It is likely that copies containing parts of the New Testament intended for public reading departed most from the original text; private MSS. for individual use, the least. Although therefore the corruptions of the text as it was current in the first half of the third century may be divided into various classes, we must not expect particulars that can be ranged under each class in any one document. Two or three documents must be taken

* Einleitung, vol. i. p. 124, et seq.

together, out of which all the classes, with particular cases exemplifying them, may be collected.

It is useless to speculate on the country or countries whence this disordered state of the text proceeded at first. It may have been in Asia and Greece. Probably it was so. Its characteristics in different lands have also been investigated, but with too much subtlety to be distinctly recognised and admitted. *Peculiar* corruptions, it is thought, prevailed in Asia, northern Africa, Egypt. This may have been and probably was the case to *some extent;* but not to *such* an extent as to make the distinctions palpable and marked.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

HISTORY OF THE TEXT AFTER THE MIDDLE OF THE THIRD CENTURY.

It has been thought by Hug and others, that after the first half of the third century the text began to assume a different form. Whether this form brought it nearer to the original one is not now the question. Is it a fact that it underwent perceptible and extensive changes after the period stated? If so, the inquiry arises, how was this effected? Was it owing to mere accident; or were other causes in operation adequate to produce it? Did criticism begin now, having been inoperative before? How is it known or supposed that after the middle of the third century *revision* came to be practised. It has been gathered from an examination of the oldest existing MSS., versions, and interpreters belonging to the second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries. Looking at these together, and comparing them with one another, critics have speculated largely about their character and peculiarities. We do not deny that they indicate, for the first time, something different in the later from the earlier fate of the text—a difference between the treatment it met with in the second century for example, from that to which it was subjected in the third. But we demur to the conclusion that new causes in the third century, or if it be preferred in the fourth, produced new effects. A *palpable* transition from one period to another

has been made, which tends to convey a false notion of the state of the case. The same causes were in operation before as after the last half of the third century. There was always some attention paid to the text, with a view to keep it free from gross corruptions. But now *more persons* began to correct it. Causes hitherto operating produced fruit more extensively now. There were more critics and grammarians in Alexandria, who exerted an influence on the books of neighbouring countries. But we must not think of anything like *a general revision* of the text conducted on certain principles. *The revisions*, if they may be called so, were partial, fitful, arbitrary. Indeed the term *revision* or *recension*, corresponding to *edition* in a printed book, is inapplicable. What have been termed *recensions* have been more the result of accidental circumstances than of *pervading design*.

Bearing in mind these observations, let us proceed to note the state of opinion among the leading critics respecting such peculiarities of the text as have presented themselves, according to their opinion, in a comparison of the earliest MSS., versions, and interpreters, with one another, as well as with more recent documents.

The question suggested itself to the mind of speculating collators and editors, how comes it to pass that the text of the New Testament began to assume a form distinguished from the earlier one by characteristic peculiarities? The old answer was, that the causes already in operation must be looked to. Had this answer been deemed satisfactory, the criticism of the New Testament would not have been in its present state. It would not have passed through a variety of phases.

According to former views every MS. which was not a copy of another, every ancient version which proceeded from a MS. of this kind, every citation in the fathers made independently of a critical source, must have had separate, individual voices; and the leading canon of criticism would have been,

as many independent MSS., versions, and citations, *so many* separate authorities are there.

But when critics began to look closely at the phenomena, they thought of philosophising about them. In the sources of New Testament criticism they met with so many harmonious and discordant peculiarities as led them to believe that the usual causes of corruption were insufficient to account for them. The documents of antiquity, whether they be MSS. or versions made directly from the original, agree with one another in certain characteristic readings; and it was thought, therefore, that they naturally distributed themselves into *classes*. It is true that this general agreement does not extend through all the parts of a MS. or version; yet it can be traced in portions of them. It runs through whole books of the New Testament, occasionally even through the entire canon. If a peculiar various reading, for example, be found in a MS. or version; the same will commonly exist in a series or class of MSS. and versions.

It was also supposed that such harmony and disagreement in the sources of New Testament criticism is capable of geographical and ethnographical determination. Egyptian, Byzantine, Palestinian, Western writers cite according to forms of the text characteristically similar. The same holds good of all the leading MSS. whose country is known, and of all primary versions. Their text varies according to the different places where it belonged. Taking a certain circuit of country, the characteristic readings of such documents as first appeared there, or of such as were derived from the primary memorials belonging to the locality in question, are alike. They present a corresponding configuration, for example, in *the West* generally.

Such peculiarities appeared in the eyes of critics to betray *design*. They seemed to be the result of a critical handling of

the text, and that too not conducted arbitrarily, but agreeably to certain modes. Local causes contributed something; but it was conjectured they had no more than a secondary and inferior influence. The main cause was thought to be an industrious revision of the text. Various individuals seeing the corrupted state of the original records in relation to their words, and lamenting, as Origen did, that the codices were so very unlike one another, were prompted to do something to remedy the defect. They were not content to sit still, and allow it to continue and increase. Hence critical revisions of the text were undertaken by different scholars in different countries, quite independently of one another, so early as the third century. They did not, as we might suppose, apply the very same means to the correction of the disorder. Had they done so, the results would not have been characteristically diverse. After they had accomplished their task, the improved copy would be multiplied by transcripts and circulated throughout the region where the reviser himself was, as well as throughout a wider territory connected by ecclesiastical and literary influences.

Such was the state at which opinion had arrived through the speculations of Griesbach and Hug. The latter, improving upon the system devised by his predecessor, brought it to something like what has been stated, choosing the middle of the third century for the time when the text in different countries began to assume different appearances and forms.

Bentley was the first who gave tolerably plain intimations of a classification of MSS. It is strange that the idea did not suggest itself, or at least was not expressed by Mill. But Bengel perceived more clearly than his predecessor certain characteristic peculiarities according to which the critical materials of the New Testament might be classified. Yet he had a faint idea of the fact, compared with Griesbach.

Semler saw it much more distinctly, though by no means so definitely as would have led him to apply it to any extent.*

The hypothesis was afterwards developed by Griesbach with great ingenuity. He was the first to give precision and fixedness to the hints which had been previously thrown out by Bengel and Semler; by investigating the subject with much critical tact and acuteness. The characteristic forms of the text he called after Semler *recensions*, a name which has been more generally adopted than any other, whether *family*, *class*, or ἔκδοσις, *i.e. editio*. Perhaps some other appellation such as *class*, would have been more appropriate. Certainly it is less liable to misconception. When therefore one speaks of *recensions* of the New Testament text, he means, according to Griesbach's view, the different conformations in which it was commonly circulated in different circles and countries, arising either from critical revisions conducted on a definite plan, or from certain general and local causes.

This definite arrangement has *indirectly* facilitated the *practical* criticism of the Greek text, for MSS. versions, and

* "Codices nec sunt omnes ex una recensione Graeca descripti nec antiquioris recensionis (qua utebatur Origenes, Eusebius, et Latina translatio ante Hieronymum, ex qua et Copta fere est, et quæ ex Syriaca posteriori adnotatur) multa exempla ad nos venerunt. Haec fuit simplicior, rudior, antiquior recensio; brevior etiam et minus verbosa; ab ea recedit alia, quæ fere hoc eodem tempore Origenis sub initium certe seculi quarti in Orientis provinciis solebant jam describi. Antiochiæ et per Orientem seculo quarto obtinuerit recensio Græca alia, recentior, impurior. Chrysostomus et seriores scriptores hoc tantum textu utuntur, et differunt fere ab eo, quem secutæ erant vetustiores translationes. Diversa Græca recensio, quæ olim locum habuit, pro provinciarum diversitate fere obtinuit; Alexandrinam facile distinguere licet, Ægyptiacis scriptoribus et Origenis discipulis fere communem, ad Syros Coptas Æthiopas etiam vulgatam; alia per Orientem (Antiochiæ atque inde Constantinopoli, &c.) valebat; alia per Occidentem. Inde cum Origenis et Pelagii odium crevisset, ecclesiastica quædam et mixta recensio sensim orta est e plurium provinciarum codicibus, qua adhuc uti solemus."—Apparatus ad liberatem N. T. interpretationem, p. 45.

patristic quotations are no longer counted, and reckoned according to their individual independent voices; but the entire mass of materials is separated into classes, which again are either subdivided or may be so. No recension of the text has been preserved pure and unaltered in MSS. versions, or copies used by the fathers. All representatives of the recensions now existing are more or less corrupted. From coming in contact with others, each has partially lost its pristine form. There is a mixture greater or less in the texts of such copies as are the offspring and known types of the different recensions. In addition to this, alterations have been introduced by the carelessness or caprice of transcribers. To all the documents belonging to each recension one voice only belongs. The numerous MSS., versions, and citations, including all their degenerate offspring which constitute one recension, have but one voice assigned them in determining the original reading of a passage.

The following is Griesbach's system of recensions:—

1. *The Alexandrine* recension, which proceeded from Egypt and spread over the great majority of countries in the East. This is exhibited by the New Testament citations in Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Eusebius, Athanasius, Cyril of Alexandria, Isidore of Pelusium and others; and in the eighth century by Johannes Damascenus or John of Damascus. The versions of it are the Memphitic and Philoxenian *wholly*, the Ethiopic and Armenian *in part*. The uncial MSS. belonging to it are B. (in the last chapters of Matthew, and in Mark, Luke, and John), C. L. in the gospels, with the cursive ones 33, 102, 106; in the Pauline epistles the uncial codices A. B. C. and in a mixed form the cursive 17, 46, 47. According to Griesbach, this recension was made in the second half of the second century, for it was diffused with all its characteristic peculiarities at the commencement of the third century. Its main characteristic feature is grammatical purity and accuracy.

2. Another recension assumed by the same critic is called

the occidental, represented by the text followed in the quotations of Cyprian, Tertullian, the Latin translator of Irenaeus, Hilary of Poictiers, Lucifer of Cagliari, Ambrose, and Augustine. Among the ancient versions it is represented by all the Latin ones, (if there were several), the Sahidic and Jerusalem-Syriac. It is contained in the Greek-Latin MSS. generally; in the gospels, by D. in particular, and by 1, 13, 69, 118, 124, 131, 157; in the Pauline epistles by D. E. F. G. Griesbach supposes that it originated in the second half of the second century, either at Carthage or Rome, and spread over nearly the entire west. Its main feature is *exegetical*. Hence it is distinguished by paraphrases, glosses, additions of every kind, transpositions of words and clauses, all intended to *elucidate* the text. In it also are the unusual, harsh, Hebraising, and grammatically incorrect expressions of the original text.

3. The *Constantinopolitan* recension, which appears in the writings of almost all the ecclesiastical authors that belonged to Greece, Asia Minor, and other neighbouring countries, from the end of the fourth till the close of the sixth century. Of ancient versions, the Gothic and Slavonic have flowed from its text. Of the uncial MSS. of the gospels it appears in A. E. F. G. H. S; and the Moscow MSS. of Paul's epistles. This recension arose out of the other two. It is properly an amalgamation of both. Oriental MSS. got into the west, and occidental ones into the east, so that the two recensions denominated the Western and Alexandrine were mixed with each other. The leading peculiarity of this recension is, that it exhibits more *Graecisms* than the Alexandrine, *i. e.* it rejects still more Hebraisms and harshnesses than the latter, while it adopts more explanatory glosses. It approaches nearer the received text than any other.

It will be seen that the old Syriac version has not been mentioned as belonging to any of the three recensions. Ac-

cording to Griesbach its text agrees in many cases with the Alexandrine, in more with the Western, in some with the Constantinopolitan. Hence, its text was revised at different times, receiving contributions from different Greek MSS. So too the text of Chrysostom in the gospels is a mixture of various recensions. There are several MSS. too whose text has arisen from the readings of two or three recensions of which P. Q. T. are examples, agreeing as they do sometimes with the Alexandrine, sometimes with the Western. There are MSS. besides which, though belonging in the great majority of their readings to the Constantinopolitan recension, contain at the same time mixed readings out of the other two, such as K. M. 10, 11, 17, 22, 28, 36, 40, 57, 61, 63, 64, 72, 91, 108, 127, 142, 209, 229, 235.

Such an amalgamation has been called by a disciple of Griesbach the *younger Constantinopolitan*, and exalted into a fourth recension. The Ethiopic, Armenian, Sahidic, and Jerusalem-Syriac versions are said to contain interpolated readings belonging to this younger Constantinopolitan, as also the writings of Theophylact and Œcumenius.*

According to Griesbach, the Alexandrine recension was made in the second half of the second century, at the time the two divisions of the New Testament books called the Εὐαγγέλιον and Ἀπόστολος were put together.

As to the occidental, he admitted at one time that the name *recension* was improperly applied to it as well as to the Byzantine, because neither was the revision of any particular critic.

The occidental originated about the same time as the Alexandrine, being derived from ancient copies of single books of the New Testament, or from partial collections of those books,

* Prolegomena in New Testament, vol. i. ed. Schulz, p. 70, et seq.; and Curarum in historiam textus Graeci epistolarum Pauli specimen 1. Opuscula Academica by Gabler, vol. ii. p. 1, et seq.

which were retained or preserved after the union of the εὐαγγέλιον and ἀπόστολος by the Latins or Western christians.

As to the Byzantine, it was made up out of the other two in the fourth century, and gradually changed in the two following.

But it is not easy to give a concise and accurate statement of Griesbach's classification. In various publications he did not always agree with himself. He wavered and altered.

The classification of authorities thus proposed, though ingenious and plausible, was criticised and objected to by many succeeding critics. In Germany it was either found fault with or modified by Eichhorn, Michaelis, Hug, Scholz, Schulz, Rinck, Gabler, Tischendorf, Reiche, De Wette, and others. Dr. Laurence in our own country assailed it with much acuteness and critical ability. It has also been attacked by Norton in America. Criticised therefore as it has been by so many writers, and attacked from so many points, it must be weak and vulnerable. Its credit is indeed gone. Instead of standing the test of public opinion, it has been cast down. In his last publication the distinguished critic himself all but abandoned it.*

The chief objection to it is the distinction made between the Alexandrine and Western recensions. But this was virtually given up by himself after the appearance of Hug's classification.

Let us see what Hug's system is.

1. In the MSS. of the gospels D. 1, 13, 69, 124; of the epistles D. E. F. G., and of the Acts of the Apostles D. E., as also in the old Latin version and the Sahidic, he finds a text substantially the same as the occidental recension of Griesbach. This was the unrevised and corrupted state of the text which had been gradually formed till the middle of the third century.

* Commentarius Criticus in textum graecum Novi Testamenti, Particula ii. p. 41, et seq.

To such disordered form of the text he gives the name κοινὴ ἔκδοσις. It was multiplied by the Alexandrine scribes and circulated chiefly in the west, where MSS. representing it were in common use long after remedies had been applied to the disorder. Hug reckons the old Syriac version, and even the citations of Clement and Origen as belonging to it. In both respects he differs from Griesbach. The latter however afterwards assented in a great degree to Hug's view of the Peshito. But with regard to Clement and Origen he hesitated. He would only allow that the two Alexandrine fathers approximated in some respects to the occidental recension, and shewed that Origen used a western MS. merely in his commentary on Matthew.*

2. This first period of the text was succeeded by a very different one, which began with the middle of the third century. About that time a limit was put to the licentiousness which had prevailed. The call for a revision was so urgent, that three men undertook the task in different countries almost contemporaneously.

Hesychius in Egypt attempted an amendment of the text. Lucian in Syria made another recension which spread from Syria over Asia Minor, passed the Bosphorus and became current in Thrace and at Byzantium.

Origen's emendation obtained in Palestine.

The Hesychian appears in B. C. L. of the gospels; A. B. C. 17, 46, of the epistles; in the Memphitic version, the writings of Athanasius, Cyril of Alexandria, the monks Marcus and Macarius, and Cosmas Indicopleustes.

The Lucian recension also called the Constantinopolitan appears in E. F. G. H. S. V. b. h. of the gospels; G. of Paul's epistles, and almost all the Moscow MSS. of Matthaei. The Slavonian and Gothic versions belong to it.

The Origenian recension is contained in A. K. M. 42, 106,

* Meletemata i. and ii. in Commentarius Criticus, part ii.

114, 116, 10 of Matthaei in the gospels, in the Philoxenian Syriac, the writings of Theodoret and Chrysostom.*

Griesbach made some valid objections to parts of this system, to which others have been added by Scholz, Rinck, Tischendorf, De Wette, &c.

The Hesychian recension does not rest on a good historical basis. It seems to have had a very limited circulation even in the country where it was made. After subtracting the passages quoted by Hug which refer to the Septuagint, there are but one in Jerome and one in Pope Gelasius, which speak of the emendation of the New Testament made by Hesychius, and these are unfavourable to the idea of its wide extension.

The passages are these:—"I omit the codices named after Lucian and Hesychius which the perverse contentiousness of a few persons upholds. These critics could not amend anything in the whole Old Testament after the Septuagint, nor did it avail them to do so in the New; since Scripture formerly translated into the languages of many nations shews that their additions are false."†

Again, in the decrees of a council held under Pope Gelasius A.D. 494, it is declared that "the gospels which Lucian and Hesychius falsified are apocryphal."‡

Surely this language is unfavourable to the idea of an extensively adopted revision of the New Testament made by Hesychius in Egypt. It implies that what he *added to* the text was false, which is not like a reviser but an *interpolator*.

* See Hug's Einleit. vol. i. p. 168, et seq.

† "Praetermitto eos codices, quos a Luciano et Hesychio nuncupatos paucorum hominum asserit perversa contentio: quibus utique nec in toto Veteri Instrumento post LXX interpretes emendare quid licuit, nec in Novo profuit emendasse: quum multarum gentium linguis Scriptura ante translata doceat false esse quae addita sunt." Praefat. in quatuor Evang. ad Damasum.

‡ "Evangelia, quae falsavit Lucianus et Hesychius apocrypha." Decret. P. I. distinct. 15, § 27.

Besides there is nó good ground for the suspicion that such additions were made to the text of the copies derived by Hug from Hesychius and Lucian. The suspicion does not fall on them, but rather on D. E. F. G. The fruits of Hesychius's labours must have been small, by no means amounting to a *recension* of the text, nor is it likely that they have continued down till the present time. And then that form of the text ascribed to him appears to be in reality older, since Origen and even Clement exhibit the Alexandrine recension.

Besides, the principal MSS. of the κοινὴ ἔκδοσις, viz. D. the Laudian E., and the Clermont D., are stichometrically arranged; whereas the stichometrical division was first adopted or invented by Euthalius at Alexandria soon after the middle of the fifth century. Hence the revision of Hesychius did not supersede the κοινὴ ἔκδοσις even at Alexandria.

The recension of Lucian likewise wants a historical basis, as may be seen from the preceding testimonies. It does not appear to have had any general influence, but was confined to a narrow circle of usage. Jerome's testimony is against the view of it taken by Hug, for he says, "Lucian laboured so much in the study of the Scriptures, that even to this day some copies of the Scriptures are called Lucianic."*

Again, it is improbable that Origen undertook to amend the κοινὴ ἔκδοσις. The passages on which Hug builds are in Jerome's commentaries on Matthew and Galatians. "In some Latin copies it is added, *neque filius;* whereas in the Greek ones, and especially those of Adamantius and Pierius, this clause is not written."†

* "Lucianus . . . . . tantum in Scripturarum studio laboravit ut usque nunc *quaedam exemplaria* Scripturarum nuncupentur."—De viris illustr. c. 77.

† "In quibusdam Latinis codicibus additum est: *neque filius;* quum in Graecis, et maxime Adamantii et Pierii exemplaribus, hoc non habeatur adscriptum."—Praefat. ad. Matth. xxiv. 36.

"We have omitted this because not found in the copies of Adamantius."*

Here "the copies of Origen" mean no more than some which he had used and sanctioned, and were therefore valuable. Origen himself employs words implying that he did not make a revision of the copies of the New Testament.† He was now old, worn out with his previous labours and the persecutions he was exposed to. Hence it is extremely improbable that he did anything more than make a few corrections in some copies which he used. The MSS. of the Origenian recension are according to Hug, A. K. M. 42, 106, 114, 116, Mosc. 10, whose text however was not employed by Origen himself in his writings. There is no peculiarity in the readings of these documents to constitute a recension, or at least there is too little to do so. They agree almost always with D, or with B. L. or with the oriental (Alexandrine) class, as Griesbach has observed.

Thus the system of recensions proposed by this eminent critic has not sufficient authority to commend it to general approbation. It rests on slender grounds which history does not sustain.

Eichhorn's recension-system was *substantially* the same as Hug's. He assumes the κοινὴ ἔκδοσις or unrevised disordered state of the text, in the second and till the middle of the third century. This κοινὴ ἔκδοσις prevailed throughout Christendom, the only difference between Asiatic, Egyptian, and Grecian MSS. being that the first had suffered fewer arbitrary alterations than the last two, because the Greek language was not so well understood by the ecclesiastics and copyists of Asia as in Egypt and Greece.

* "Hoc quia in exemplaribus Adamantii non habetur, omisimus."—Ad Galat. iii. 1.

† "In exemplaribus autem N. T. hoc ipsum me posse facere sine periculo non putavi."—from. xv. in Matth. vol. iii. 671.

After the middle of the third century Hesychius and Lucian made recensions of the text—the former revising it as it was current in Egypt, the latter doing the same to it as existing in Asia from Syria to Constantinople. From this onward there were three states of the text different from one another. (1.) The African or Alexandrine. (2.) The Asiatic or Constantinopolitan. (3.) One compounded of both.

To the first belong the readings placed by Thomas of Harkel in the margin of the Philoxenian version, the Jerusalem-Syriac version, the Memphitic, the Sahidic, the Ethiopic, the Armenian. Of MSS. A. B. C. D. L. &c. &c. in the gospels; A. B. C. E. in the Acts; A. B. C. D. H. &c. in the Pauline epistles. To the *Asiatic* belong the Gothic and Slavonic versions; the MSS. E. F. G. H. M. S. in the gospels; 63, 67, &c. in the Acts; 1, 63, 67, &c. in the Pauline epistles. Various causes enumerated by Eichhorn contributed to introduce alterations into the Hesychian and Lucianic texts. The biblical text continued thus till the seventh century, after which no more critical labours were bestowed on it till after the invention of printing. Eichhorn differs from Hug in denying the existence of an Origenian recension.*

The same objections lie against parts of this system as have been stated against similar parts of Hug's. Too much importance is attached to the recensions of Hesychius and Lucian. They were by no means of the extent here assigned to them.

According to Michaelis four principal *editions* have existed.

1. The Western, to which belong the Latin version and the quotations of the Latin fathers, including those who lived in Africa.

2. The Alexandrine or Egyptian edition. With this coincide the quotations of Origen and the Coptic (Memphitic) version.

* Einleit. in das Neue Testament, vol. iv. p. 278, et seq.

3. The Edessene edition, comprehending the MSS. from which the old Syriac version was made.

All these three editions harmonise very frequently with one another.

4. The Byzantine edition. Almost all the Moscow MSS. belong to this or rather to the later Byzantine edition, the quotations of Chrysostom and Theophylact, and the Slavonic version.*

Many objections lie against this classification. It is one of the most improbable that has been proposed. Although it is obviously meant to be an improvement on Griesbach's, it cannot be so regarded. Most of the remarks made in opposition to the latter will apply to Michaelis's.

The system of Nolan consists of three recensions—the Egyptian, the Palestine, and the Byzantine. Latin versions, or rather varieties of the Latin version, were made from MSS. belonging to each of the three. That contained in the Brescian MS. is the most ancient. But the text of the Brescian MS. agrees with the Byzantine, and as the most ancient of the three texts should prevail over the other two, the Byzantine text is the most faithful representative of the primitive one. The Egyptian text was imported by Eusebius of Vercelli into the west, and is represented by the Vercelli MS. of the Latin version; while the Palestine was republished by Euthalius at Alexandria, and has the Vulgate of Jerome corresponding to it.†

Here an antiquity is ascribed to the Latin version *as it exists in the Brescian MS.* which does not belong to it. The cod. Brixianus belongs to the Itala, *i.e.* it is one of those copies of the old Latin which were revised after Greek MSS. and circulated in northern Italy. The cod. Brixianus itself is scarcely

* Introduction to the New Testament by Marsh, vol. ii. p. 175, et seq.

† Inquiry into the integrity of the Greek Vulgate or received text of the New Testament.

older than the sixth century, while the cod. Vercellensis belongs to the fourth. There is no good reason for making the condition of the text represented by the former *older* than that in the latter. The reverse is the fact. The cod. Vercellensis contains the old Latin *unrevised*, and since it was made in the second century the basis of the text is very ancient. But the cod. Brixianus contains the *Italic revision* of the same old Latin or *vetus*. In it is found the old Latin revised after MSS. which were then coming into use in northern Italy—later and worse Greek MSS. than those from which the version itself was originally made—MSS. of the (so-called) Constantinopolitan cast with which the Gothic version generally accords. Hence it will be seen that the importance attached by Nolan to the cod. Brixianus, and the resemblance of its text to the Constantinopolitan recension appear in a most fallacious form in his system. The system itself is therefore untenable.

Scholz proposed a system very different from those of Hug and Griesbach.

He finds two recensions, the Constantinopolitan and the Alexandrine. In this way the western and Alexandrine families of Griesbach are grouped together under the one head *Alexandrine*. To the former belong almost all the MSS. made in the last eight centuries, the Philoxenian, Gothic, Georgian, and Slavonic versions, as also almost all the fathers and ecclesiastical writers inhabiting Asia and the eastern part of Europe. To the latter class belong most of the uncial MSS. and a few later ones, most of the versions (Memphitic, Latin, Ethiopic) and fathers which belonged to Africa and the west of Europe. The Constantinopolitan recension represents the original text diffused in Asia Minor, Syria, and Greece; the Alexandrine was the result of the carelessness and caprice of Egyptian grammarians who vitiated the text during the first three centuries, or did not preserve it pure. *

* See Prolegomena in N. T. vol. i. capita i. and ix.

This system is no more free from objection than its predecessors. The ablest opponent it met with was Tischendorf, who undertook to examine the arguments of Scholz at considerable length, and with much effect.* The great objection to it is the assumed fact of the later Constantinopolitan MSS. having faithfully preserved the primitive text which circulated in Asia Minor and Syria. Eusebius has related a fact which goes to prove that the Constantinopolitan copies were not free from the influence of the Alexandrine. At the request of Constantine he made out fifty copies of the New Testament for the use of the churches at Constantinople;† and as we know that he gave a decided preference to Alexandrine documents, there is little doubt that he followed such as Origen had sanctioned. Eusebius therefore had not the same opinion of the Alexandrine MSS. as Scholz. It is true that Scholz endeavours to reply to this fact, but in a very unsatisfactory method.

Rinck divides all MSS. into two classes, *occidental* and *oriental*. To the former belong the uncial copies A. B. C. D. E. F. G.; to the latter almost all the cursive ones.‡ To the former belong the African and Latin fathers and interpreters. This twofold variety already existed in the fifth century and was known to the learned, so that Euthalius in the year 462 compared the Alexandrine text with an exemplar written by Pamphilus.

To the former class belong subdivisions or families. Thus from the western source flowed two streams, the African in A. B. C., with which the Egyptian fathers and interpreters agree; and the Latin in D. E. F. G., which harmonise with the old Latin and the Latin fathers. Some MSS. are of a mixed character which flowed together from the oriental class and the

* See the Prolegomena to his Leipzig edition of the Greek Testament (1841) p. xxx. et seq. † De Vita Constant. Mag. iv. cap. 36.

‡ This division, in which A. B. C. D. *E. F. G.* belong together, is confined of course to the MSS. so denoted in Paul's Epistles.

African family. Of this sort are in the Acts and catholic epistles 15, 18, 25, 36, 40; Moscow d.; and in the Pauline epistles 17, 31, 37, 39, 46, 47, 67. According to this critic the western class is for the most part the fruit of arbitrary correction and licentiousness. Into the oriental class, on the other hand, errors mostly crept through ignorance.*

Tischendorf's view, as proposed in the first edition of his Greek Testament published in 1841, was very like Rinck's. In the second edition it also approaches very near to the same critic's. We shall state his latest sentiments, as contained in the new edition. He specifies four classes, Alexandrine and Latin, Asiatic and Byzantine, wishing them however to be taken in pairs, not singly. There are then two pairs of classes. The Alexandrine was that which prevailed among the Jewish christians of the east, whose Greek diction depended chiefly on the Septuagint. The Latin was among the Latins, whether they employed the Latin or Greek language. The Asiatic prevailed chiefly among the Greeks, whether throughout Asia or in their own country. The Byzantine was spread through the Byzantine church, and gradually brought into a certain uniform state. Hence it is easy to see how it happened that Byzantine copies received the Asiatic method or that of the Greeks. The Alexandrine and the Latin were also conjoined in some degree. The Alexandrine documents are placed by him in the first rank as being the most ancient, while the Byzantine are placed lowest, as they present a text made up by multifarious admixture from more ancient classes.

But while learned men were concocting recensions, others rejected them all as untenable, improbable, and useless. This was the case with Matthaei, who unceremoniously cast aside

* Lucubratio Critica in Acta Apostolorum, epistolas catholicas et Paulinas, p. 2, et seq.

the idea which prompted Griesbach and others to classify their materials of criticism.* Professor Lee in like manner uses strong language of similar import.† Nor are Mr. Penn's words less dogmatical and decided. "The diversities," says he, "resulting from all these causes gradually but continually multiplying through several ages of transcription, in different and distant countries, produced at length texts characteristically differing from each other, and from the most ancient surviving text; and the innate propensity of the mind to clear its notions by endeavouring to reduce its confused ideas to systematical arrangement, prompted some late learned critics to persuade themselves that they had discovered in the chaos of various readings certain fixed marks or tokens by which they could be reduced into true *classes* or *orders*.‡

With the language of these scholars we do not wholly sympathise. We are not yet prepared to set aside the whole matter as an ingenious riddle. Though several attempts to erect recension-systems have not been satisfactory, we need not therefore look upon *all* such endeavours as airy and unsubstantial, or as terminating merely in fine-spun theories and webs of gossamer. Intricacy and obscurity must rest on the subject. It may be difficult to disentangle classes of documents from one another. Averse to subtility and minuteness, some scholars will make this their natural aversion an easy transition to the sentiment that the whole is futile. But in an undertaking so important as the establishment of a pure text, it facilitates the labour of a critic to classify MSS., versions, and citations, so that he may be helped in deciding on the

* Ueber die sogenannten Recensionem welche der Herr Abt. Bengel, der Herr Doctor Semler und der Herr Geheime Kirchenrath Griesbach in dem griechischen Texte des N. Testaments wollen entdeckt haben, 1804.

† Prolegomena in Biblia Polyglotta Londinensia Minora, p. 69.

‡ Annotations to the book of the New Covenant, Preface, p. 37.

claims of a particular reading. In the formation of a standard text it may be of some use to lay such a foundation. Hence we do not feel ourselves justified in rejecting at once the whole system of classification as visionary. With all the conjectures which have been indulged in, and the intricacies of the subject, it must not be rudely dismissed. It may be that historical facts are scarcely sufficient to furnish data for any system of recensions properly so called. It may be that conjectures have been put forth too liberally regarding revisions of the text in early times, and the nature of the text itself. It may be that the speculations of German critics have taken too wide a scope, agreeably to the natural tendency of the nation's mind. It is quite true that there is a vagueness and an indefiniteness about the topic which excite rather than gratify a curiosity to know it thoroughly. We admit that it is difficult for the framers of the recension-system itself to distinguish the class to which a particular reading belongs. The characteristics of the text belonging to a document may be almost equally divided between two classes. Or, they may be indistinctly indicated, so that it is very difficult to discover the recension with which it should be associated. The marks of its relationship may be defined so obscurely as to make the question of determining its appropriate class a delicate one. It is also freely admitted that no one document exhibits a recension in its pure or primitive state; but that each form of the text is now more or less corrupted. Still however, with all these drawbacks, the whole system of classification need not be abandoned as visionary. Meagre as are the means within our reach of obtaining a good acquaintance with the early treatment of the New Testament text, we need not despair of all success. No system may be historically sustained, because history says little or nothing on the subject; and yet some system may be convenient. We *may* arrive at a well founded classification, without the ability to shew from early history

its probable origin and existence. As long as the existence of certain characteristic readings belonging to various memorials of the text can be perceived, we will not abandon the idea of recensions or families. And we believe that *classes* in the whole mass of materials may be distinguished from one another. Their *number* here is of no moment; their *existence* is all we claim; and few critics will hesitate to admit the latter as a fact, believing that the critical documents of the New Testament text separate themselves by means of characteristic readings into certain classes.

CHAPTER XXXV.

OBSERVATIONS ON MODES OF CLASSIFYING THE NEW TESTAMENT DOCUMENTS, AND THEIR CRITICAL APPLICATION.

THERE are two points which deserve attention.

First, *the kind* of classification that appears to be the simplest, and best sustained by all the phenomena; secondly, the critical use to be made of the classification adopted.

1. We cannot see that the Alexandrine and the occidental classes are different. The line of distinction drawn between the MSS. said to belong to them is neither wide nor palpable. The quotations of the Alexandrine fathers Clement and Origen did not differ much from those of the western fathers Tertullian and Cyprian. On the contrary, they agreed with the latter more nearly than with those of the later Alexandrine fathers Athanasius and Cyril. Of 226 readings of Origen in Paul's epistles coinciding with western or Alexandrine authority, or with both, 118 are supported by western authority alone, 90 by western and Alexandrine united, and only 18 by Alexandrine alone. Again, Griesbach enumerates 75 joint readings of A. and C. common to Origen, but Laurence only finds 72. But of these 72 there are not more than seven which do not coincide with the Latin version or some western MS. as with A. C. and Origen. The 65 coinciding with the western text are generally in alliance with several versions, fathers, or

MSS., while the seven exceptions which do not coincide with the same text are little more than isolated readings. In the first epistle to the Corinthians there is *an agreement* of all or some documents of the Alexandrine and western recensions in 194 passages, where there is a departure from the oriental or Byzantine. It is also against the existence of an occidental as separate from an Alexandrine class that the Sahidic version belongs to the former, not to the latter. How can such fact be explained on the supposition that there was a real line between the two? For these and other reasons the existence of a western class appears problematical. In truth the Alexandrine alone should be held, for the occidental is not far from being identical with it. Eichhorn is right in saying that the dream of a twofold recension, an Alexandrine and an occidental, has no foundation in history.

In contradistinction to the Alexandrine class of MSS. is the Constantinopolitan, characterised by great uniformity. On the other hand the Alexandrine exhibits very considerable diversities. Whatever be the cause or causes, the readings of the one class are characteristically different from those of the other. Let us first speak of the name assigned to documents bearing resemblances to one another, whether MSS., versions, or quotations.

We object to the name *recension* as liable to convey an erroneous impression. According to Griesbach's notion, it was *properly* applied by him to his Alexandrine class, but *improperly* to his two other classes. According to Hug, it was *properly* applied to the three forms of the text which arose after the middle of the third century. But it can neither be proved nor rendered probable that the diversities existing between what have been called *recensions* were attributable each to one leading person, or that they resulted from a formal revision and correction of the text. There was no *general revision* of the text at any time by any person, in

any country. Nor did such a thing proceed from *a number of persons* acting in concert for the one object. We must dismiss the idea of Origen, Hesychius, Lucian, the grammarians of Alexandria, Eusebius, Euthalius, being each or all the authors of extensive *recensions*. The different forms of the text to which the objectionable name has been given were more the result of chance than design. They were formed gradually and in a great measure imperceptibly. Out of the confluence of single corrections, scholia, glosses, mistakes, arose such conformations of the text. Thus, studied purpose and intention contributed but little to their production. No doubt individual correctors helped occasionally to bring them about. There were persons now and then who were imbued with some critical taste who probably revised one or more copies. But this was only one influence among many, and by itself would have been both insignificant and imperceptible. All the copies in different lands which have been distributed into recensions were as a whole *unrevised*. No one recension had been corrected. A number of documents came by degrees through fortuitous circumstances to present more or fewer cognate readings. The influences to which they had been exposed were various. Country, national habits, intercourse with other peoples, general culture, reputation of particular churches, monasteries, schools, biblical students, these and innumerable other things all conspired to the production of a certain form of text in a certain country, or in a certain wide territory more or less closely associated.

In thus asserting that all the documents are properly *unrevised*, we do not forget that single passages in several of them were revised, and that a few of a mixed character bearing the same impress may be distinguished. If however any recension be selected and looked at as a whole, it will be found to consist of unrevised, uncorrected documents. It has not the marks of design *throughout it*. The nature of

the single copies of which it consists shews that it arose out of a great number of fortuitous concurrent circumstances. Neither do we forget the opinion of Hug that D. E. F. G. represent the old unrevised text, the κοινὴ ἔκδοσις; while the text of A. B. C. is purer, and evidently revised. Such distinction, however, between the two classes of uncial MSS. is futile. The reasons given for it are nugatory. Clement of Alexandria, who according to Hug belonged to the κοινὴ ἔκδοσις period, agrees with some notable readings in D. E. F. G. Hence D. E. F. G. must be exempted from revisal, while the Alexandrine A. B. C. have a purified text. But Clement of Alexandria agrees as much at least, if not more, with A. B. C. as with D. E. F. G. Besides, the κοινὴ ἔκδοσις is not uniformly corrupt. Sometimes it is more than the text of A. B. C., sometimes less so. Single documents of it are more degenerate, others less. Besides there are various passages where D. E. F. G. have the true reading and A. B. C. not. In some places too, A. B. C. have mistakes which did not originate with them but were derived from some other source, while D. E. F. G. contain *primary* errors. In fact, there is no good reason for exempting D. E. F. G. from the influence of the early critics any more than A. B. C. They may have come under the hands of less intelligent, skilful, adventurous critics than the latter. The *degree* of revision they underwent was less. But that is a very different thing from the representation given by Hug, which proceeds on a wrong assumption. We cannot believe that the edition of D. is the basis of the edition in B. C. L. It cannot be shewn that it is so. On the contrary, sometimes that of the one, sometimes that of the other is the later transmitted form. And if D. presented the most ancient state of the text, it would present *the truer* state, which it does not. Wherever there is an abundance of good readings, *there* is the more ancient text. But D. is much more interpolated than B. C. L.

If these observations be correct, the memorials of the New Testament text should be distributed into *classes*, not recensions.

But here arise a number of perplexing circumstances which throw a degree of vagueness over the subject of classification. The metes and bounds of even two classes are not well defined. No MS., no version, no father whether Greek or Latin, presents that condition of the text which is called *a class*, accurately and constantly. All the documents, even the most ancient ones, present some marks of another class than that to which they belong. This is admitted and pointed out by Griesbach himself, especially in B. and A.

Again, the question comes up how many and what kind of individual readings are required to constitute a class. It is admitted that all the documents of each class are more or less impure and mixed together in their readings: of how many then is the class to consist, and what is the test for including an individual document in a class? There is no doubt that *country* has been made an important particular in separating classes; but country itself may be overbalanced by other circumstances, and is in every case modified by a variety of influences.

Another question which perplexes the critic is, in what does *the genius* of each class adopted consist? What are the respective natures of two classes, if that number be fixed on?

It is also true that a great number of the various readings that have been collected have had their origin in accidental circumstances. They are trifling mistakes, consisting in negligences, or imperfections of sight and hearing, slips of the pen, omissions, changes, transpositions of letters, syllables, words, and cognate clauses. Of what avail, it may be asked, are such trifling things in determining distinct classes? Are they not fortuitous variations; and how can such avail to the ascertainment of *a class?*

If, on the other hand, such various readings as originated in *design* be taken in order to shape out a class of documents, it is by no means easy to distribute the immense multitude of readings according to their origin in *intention* and in *accident*. Many that owed their *existence* to design were propagated *unintentionally*. Thus a gloss was put at first into the margin of a copy. But a transcriber, through mere mistake, afterwards put it into the text.

The circumstances now stated are embarrassing to the critic. They shew how many considerations should be taken into account in any attempt to distribute the New Testament documents into classes, and favour the idea of adopting the simplest division possible. We believe that they recommend a division of all the critical materials into two classes as the freest from difficulty and the most easily apprehended.

The proposed plan does not aim at niceness of distinction, neither does it demand a power of minute discrimination. It draws a tolerably plain line, which is all the better, as the subject is inexact by its very nature, and abhorrent of palpable presentation. It cannot be so bounded and fixed as to preclude considerable latitude. After all, something depends on the subjective notions of the critic respecting the proper *extent* of a class whether the number should be limited to two, or whether it ought to be increased. Some may put as a sub-class or family what others would not hesitate to exalt into a proper class. There may be advantages in enlarging the number of classes as far as probability will warrant. Griesbach himself admits the propriety of an extended division; for he supposes the existence of *five* or *six* classes, in his *Curae in epistolas Paulinas*.* But the advantages arising from an increase of classes, are counterbalanced by serious inconveniences. *Utility in practical application* is on the side of as few as possible. And as *the critical system* to which a classification leads depends

* Opuscula Academica, vol. ii. p. 49.

on the classification itself, the simpler must be preferred. A complex *classification* will not readily admit of a simple *application.*

Assuming then the existence of two classes, an eastern and western, how shall each be characterised? To what kind of errors does each incline? In the eastern the mistakes of the text arose for the most part from ignorance and such oversights as are usual and indeed unavoidable in propagating documents by copies from one generation to another. The mistakes necessarily multiply with the multiplication of copies, so that the latest written documents contain the most blunders. But in the western, the variations seem to be the result of caprice and a taste for correcting. The transcribers of the former class were less intelligent than those of the latter. The occidental copyists and possessors of MSS. were not scrupulous about their treatment of the text. They handled it freely. They added, omitted, introduced glosses, changed synonymous expressions, transposed others. On the other hand, the oriental copyists and possessors of MSS. made mistakes from imperfect sight, from ὁμοιοτέλευτον, from abbreviations, from being misled by glosses or scholia. In their case there was more negligence; in the case of the others more license and caprice.

These remarks will perhaps account in part for the fact, that the one class is characterised by considerable diversities of text, the other by much more uniformity. There was no general revision in either case; but in the occidental class there was more individual revising, if so it can be termed, than in the oriental. But as these individuals were guided by no principle, and corrected according to no uniform method, as they had little reverence for the mere words of the text, they proceeded very much *subjectively.* They were *presumptuous* rather than *careless* transcribers. This was especially the case at Alexandria, where grammarians and learned men abounded.

To the western class belong the MSS. B. D. L. in the

gospels; in the epistles A. B. C. D. E. F. G. the Alexandrine, Carthaginian and Latin fathers and interpreters.

To the eastern belong the cursive MSS. generally, with the fathers and versions belonging to the east.

Certain documents are of a mixed character, such as A. C. K. M. in the gospels. The Peshito Syriac, if what is said of it by Hug and Griesbach be correct, cannot well belong to either class. The same applies to the Jerusalem Syriac, whose text is both ancient and valuable.

This twofold variety of documents may be exemplified thus:—

In 1 Corinth. iii. 4 we have both readings, οὐκ ἄνθρωποί ἐστε and οὐκ or οὐχὶ σαρκικοί ἐστε. A. B. C. D. E. F. G. as also 17, 67, a secunda manu, 71, and Joh. Damascenus, Origen, Augustine, Ambrosiaster, Pelagius, the Memphitic, Æthiopic, Vetus, Vulgate, read ἄνθρωποι. In this the common origin of those uncial MSS. is seen, for the copy whence they were derived, doubtless through intermediate transcripts, had the scholium ἄνθρωποι above σαρκικοί, which gave rise to the taking of ἄνθρωποι *instead of* σαρκικοί into the text. The same uncial MSS. agree in omitting with a *very* few cursive ones the words in the epistle to the Romans xiv. 6 from καὶ ὁ μὴ φρονῶν . . . . . φρονεῖ. This is an example of ὁμοιοτέλευτον. They also agree in omitting ἐλεύσομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς in epistle to Romans xv. 24, and in the omission of τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τοῦ in Romans xv. 29. In 1 Corinth. x. 1, A. B. C. D. E. F. G. have γάρ, whereas the oriental class of MSS. with the Peshito have δέ, which the context appears to require. In 1 Corinth. xi. 11, the uncial MSS. generally have οὔτε γυνὴ χωρὶς ἀνδρὸς, οὔτε ἀνὴρ χωρὶς γυναικὸς. But the oriental class with the Peshito and Vulgate read πλὴν οὔτε ἀνὴρ χωρὶς γυναικὸς, οὔτε γυνὴ χωρὶς ἀνδρός.

From these and many other like examples we may fairly assume a relationship between these leading uncial MSS. A. B. C. D. E. F. G.

Again, all the cursive MSS. with a very few exceptions, read Ἀχαΐας in place of Ἀσίας, Romans xvi. 5. They also put Romans xvi. 25-27 at the end of the fourteenth chapter. In like manner, the same documents, with five exceptions which harmonise with the uncials, add the words καὶ ἐν τῷ πνεύματι ὑμῶν, ἅτινά ἐστι τοῦ θεοῦ to 1 Corinth. vi. 20, which were at first a marginal gloss. So too with a few exceptions they have ὀφειλομένην εὔνοιαν (a gloss) in place of ὀφειλήν, 1 Corinth. vii. 3; σχολάζητε for σχολάσητε, 1 Corinth. vii. 5; where they also add τῇ νηστείᾳ καί, and admit the gloss συνέρχεσθε for ἦτε.

This twofold variety of copies already existed and *was recognised* in the fifth century, for Euthalius (A.D. 462) compared the Alexandrine text with a MS. copy of Pamphilus at Caesarea, as he himself states. This is corroborated by the fact that 46 (Pauline ep.) of Griesbach, and 109 Acts and epistles, which are transcripts of the Euthalian copy, occupy an intermediate place between the occidental and oriental classes, agreeing sometimes with the uncial, at other times with the cursive MSS.

The origin of the two classes cannot be historically traced to single persons or places, or to definite times, else there would not have been a total silence in antiquity respecting such particulars. They arose and were formed *gradually.*

If these observations be just, they will serve to shew the vain endeavours of the followers of Hug to prove that about the commencement of the fourth century three forms of a revised text came into general use—one in the churches of Egypt, called the Egyptian or Alexandrine; another in Greece, Thrace, Asia, Syria; and another extending as far as the four gospels only. The attempted proof miserably fails. That there were three recensions of the text at this time, is an assumption resting on no good foundation. Hug's forms of the κοινὴ ἔκδοσις in different countries, and then the revised forms of it in the same and perhaps other districts, are for the most part imagi-

nary. Even Jerome has been pressed into the service of a theory like Hug's. Because he writes that in preparing a revised edition of the Latin version, "this present preface promises only the four gospels of which the order is, Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, amended from the collation of Greek copies but ancient ones; and lest the gospels should differ much from the usage of the Latin text, I have used the pen with restraint, so that while correcting the things only which appeared to alter the sense, I allowed others to remain as they had been."* It will surprise the reader to learn the fact of which this is said to be *a proof*, viz. that a revision or recension of the original had been introduced, supposed to be more critically correct, and which had on that account superseded the old uncritical copies formerly in circulation. But how is this strange conclusion deduced? In the strangest possible way. Jerome went back for ancient MSS. to amend the text of the Latin, not because they were better than the more recent ones, *but because they were worse.* The recent ones being more correct because they had been revised, were not easily adapted to his purpose. The Latin translation could not be readily accommodated to the better MSS. then in circulation. He resorted to the old unrevised copies which had been laid aside because they differed less from the Latin version than the critically revised ones. Surely this is most perverse and strange reasoning. Jerome must have been very silly to write to Damasus, if this were his meaning, and innocently declare what he had done. Doubtless he went back to the ancient codices, because he thought their text better. Besides, he says

* "Igitur haec praesens praefatiuncula pollicetur quatuor evangelia; codicum graecorum *emendata* collatione, sed *veterum*, quae ne multum a lectionis Latinae consuetudine discreparent, ita calamo temperavimus, ut his tantum, quae sensum videbantur mutare correctis, reliqua manere pateremur, ut fuerant."—Praefat in Evang. ad Damasum.

that he sometimes consulted the codices of *Origen*, manifestly because they were good.

Neither can any induction founded on the phenomena of the oldest existing MSS. prove that about this time three forms of revised text had come into general use among Christians. Let any one examine the documents of the fifth century, compare previously made versions with them, trace their influence as far as it can be discerned in transcripts, and it is impossible for him to make out such recensions to the satisfaction of those who know what the term means, or ought to mean if rightly used. Here Hug has indulged his imagination to a large extent; nor has Griesbach, in various concessions which he made in his old age to the new theory of Hug, perceived the untenable propositions which the ingenuity of his younger fellow-labourer had set forth in a plausible dress.

We have seen that two classes existed in the time of Euthalius, and were recognised at that time by the learned. Neither *two*, nor *three*, nor *four recensions* were current. The classes did not originate by means of critical revisions conducted on certain principles. There had always been scribes and correctors of the text wherever copies circulated; but what they did was so inconsiderable as to leave the general mass of codices much as they were before, till the multiplication of transcripts and the various treatment to which the text was exposed, with the increasing number of critics, led by degrees to the appearance of certain general features among the documents. Such scribes and correctors existed in the second, third, and fourth centuries, in varying numbers and with various habits in different countries. During these early times it is thought that they took very considerable liberties with the text, especially at Alexandria. Griesbach thinks that the licentiousness of transcribers in regard to the text ceased very much from the fifth century among the Greeks, and among

the Latins somewhat later. Doctrinal controversies had arisen, many commentaries on Scripture had been written, the Catholic fathers insisted more on the words of the text when they wished to confound heretics or to instruct their disciples in the faith. Besides, the churches came to be more closely united, and to have frequent intercourse with each other. They communicated copies of the sacred Scriptures to one another, and adopted a fixed edition of the text from which they did not venture to depart. And the monks especially were most diligent in transcribing the sacred books with exemplary accuracy and patience. Their very superstition kept them from meddling freely with the text.

But though the occidental and Alexandrine of Griesbach constitute but one class, yet this may admit of subdivision. There are two subdivisions or families in it, viz. the African and the Latin. To the former belong B. L. in the gospels; to the latter D. with the Egyptian fathers and interpreters; in the Acts and epistles A. B. C. belong to the African; D. E. F. G. to the Latin.

Agreeably to this classification and subdivision, Rinck found that in the ninth chapter of John's gospel B. D. L. (or B. D. or D. L.) differed from the mass of MSS. in thirty-three cases, having the African and Latin interpreters consenting; while B. L. without D. agreed in nine places against the oriental class. Thus B. L. had more agreement with D. against the oriental class, than disagreement with D. *and* the oriental class. When the African and Latin families vary, the former evinces an inclination for greater elegance of style and for avoiding Hebraisms, agreeably to Griesbach's sententious statement, "*grammaticum* egit Alexandrinus censor, *interpretem* occidentalis," *i.e.* the Latin family.

2. The critical use to be made of classification.

The use which Griesbach made of his recensions is well known. He laid down certain rules respecting them. But he

did not consistently apply them. He departed less from the received text than he should have done by his own critical system. In not a few cases, notwithstanding his own principles, and in opposition to them, he allowed *the internal goodness* of a reading a superior influence. Hence his text exhibits better readings than his recension system would have properly recommended. But yet he gave too much scope to his system of recensions in the determination of his text. It became too mechanical. And in the hands of some of his admirers it assumed this character to a very injurious extent. Griesbach's ingenuity and critical tact prevented him from a mechanical mode of procedure, which others possessed of less subjective ability incautiously adopted. On the whole, it cannot be said that Griesbach's recension-system led him easily, naturally, and consistently to the determination of a right text. Probably it could not be consistently and successfully applied to any great extent. The differences between the text of the second edition and the text of the minor Leipzig edition confirm the truth of this remark.

If again we look at Scholz's application of *his* classification, the same observations will hold good. He has not consistently and uniformly adhered to his own principles. He has frequently departed from them, especially in the second volume, and that too for the better.

We believe that no mode of classification can be of much utility to the critic in ascertaining the right reading. Here the entire theory is worthless to a considerable extent. So many conditions and limitations must be taken along with any classification however good, that the influence of itself ceases to be much recognised.

As to the western and eastern classes, opinions have differed respecting their comparative value. According to some the authority of the junior MSS. decidedly preponderates over the older ones, or in other words the Constantinopolitan over the

Alexandrine. There are others again who greatly prefer the Alexandrine, giving them a decided weight above the Constantinopolitan. To the former party belongs Matthaei, who abused the Alexandrine MSS. and their admirers. Their peculiar readings were "Origen's spittle" which those who pleased might lick. They were "dunghill MSS.," through the fumes of which poor Griesbach had lost the use of his eyes. Such language disgraced the person who stooped to its use.

Another advocate of the Constantinopolitan text was Nolan, who vindicated it however, because he thought it the most ancient! His proof of its great antiquity, we need scarcely say, is a complete failure. Nothing can be more perverse than his style of argument.

Another admirer of the Constantinopolitan MSS. is Scholz. It is strange however that he has not always followed them in his text. Notwithstanding his excessive partiality for them, he has inserted not a few Alexandrine readings.

To the latter party belong Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, Penn.

Others again, in determining the value of readings are influenced not so much by the fact of their being found in a more ancient or a modern family, but by their *internal goodness*. They do not think that because they are in the Alexandrine family they are ancient on that account solely; or because they exist in the Constantinopolitan family they are therefore modern; but they determine the value by internal goodness aided by antiquity, and allow that an ancient reading may be found in a copy comparatively modern. Hence they do not at once prefer either an Alexandrine or a Constantinopolitan reading, simply on account of the class to which it belongs.

We do not agree with the sentiments of the first party. *Ceteris paribus*, the reading of an ancient copy is more likely to be authentic than that of a modern one. But the reading of a

more modern copy may be more ancient than the reading of an ancient one. A modern copy itself may have been derived not from an extant one more ancient, but from one still more ancient no longer in existence. And this was probably the case in not a few instances. If indeed the oldest MSS. extant were *fair* and *correct* transcripts of others still older now lost, the nature of the case would be different. But that is sometimes questionable. The texts of old extant MSS. bear traces of revision by arbitrary and injudicious critics.

As it has been too much the fashion to decry the oriental class of MSS. because they are junior, let us see how far they deserve the inferiority and neglect to which some consign them. Griesbach found that as often as his Alexandrine and Western recensions coincided in their readings in the epistle to the Romans and the first to the Corinthians, 58 readings were certain, 64 probable, 41 not improbable. Thus 163 were more or less weighty and valuable. On the contrary, 11 were manifestly bad, 20 improbable, and 25 scarcely probable. Thus 56 were without the appearance of being true. Here some allowance should be made for Griesbach's opinion of the western class, which was too high. Let us compare with this estimate the oriental class. Over against 56 readings in the western class (made up of the Alexandrine and western recensions) more or less devoid of the appearance of being true, let us put as many certain ones in the oriental class; opposite to the 41 not improbable of the western, let us put as many probable of the eastern; over against the 64 probable of the western let as many be placed not improbable of the eastern; and thus there will be 161 readings of the eastern class of greater or less value, and only 58 either plainly false, or improbable, or scarcely probable. Hence by this computation the number of inferior readings in both is about equal.

In like manner Rinck found* that out of A. B. C. D. E. F.

* Lucubratio Critica, p. 13.

G., where, in the first epistle to the Corinthians, they agreed in opposition to all or most of the cursive MSS. (with the occasional exception of E.) 32 readings should be adopted, 46 rejected. He also found that in almost all the uncial MSS. only 13 readings, in the same epistle, not in the Oriental class are to be preferred, and 103 to be rejected. Griesbach himself has admitted out of all the uncials in this portion but 37 readings, rejecting 41. Surely then these conclusions will moderate the views of such as lay undue stress on the western class because it consists of the oldest MSS., and depreciate the oriental because almost all its MSS. are junior ones. They shew that though there may have been more critical handling of copies in the west, there was probably corruption too; that in Italy, Gaul, and Africa, the text was subjected to greater innovations than in the east. The circumstance mentioned by Scholz that it is chiefly Alexandrine and western writers who speak of the deterioration of the Scriptures, while we scarcely hear of an author belonging to Asia and Constantinople making the same complaint, is not without force.

It should also be observed that the readings of A. in the epistles of Paul agree much more with those of the Byzantine text which is in our junior codices, than with those found in the old MSS. representing the western or Alexandrine text.*

But it must not be supposed that we sympathise in the sentiments of such critics as Scholz and Matthaei, who unduly exalt the Constantinopolitan above the Alexandrine.

A more recent and popular classification of MSS. is into *ancient* and *more recent*. Bentley was the first person who proposed to edit the Greek Testament from ancient MSS., rejecting the evidence of modern ones. The same idea was afterwards applied by Lachmann, but not fully, nor exactly in the way that Bentley intended. Tischendorf has followed the

* See Laurence on Griesbach's classification of Greek MSS. p. 49, et seq.

same classification, but without restricting it in the manner Lachmann does; and it is also approved by Tregelles. In drawing the line between ancient and modern MSS. different critics will necessarily have different sentiments.

But here again it is obvious that many modifications must be taken into account by such as take a text from the ancient documents alone. Lachmann has acted too mechanically. As he has not regarded the internal goodness of readings, which indeed he did not profess to do, he has not produced a critical text. He has merely given the text of a certain class of documents. Tischendorf, whose purpose was to give a critical edition containing as pure a text as possible, has succeeded better than any other who follows the new classification. That he has entirely succeeded is more than he himself would claim. Had he taken a wider range of authorities, and spent more time over his edition, he would have made it much better.

What then, it may be asked, has been the result of classification-theories? Have the time and labour spent upon them been all in vain? The principal good resulting from them has been the examination and description of many documents which might otherwise have been neglected at the time. The collations made by the ingenious framers of recensions and classes have been valuable. But we are unable to see their other benefits. Divide the documents as we may, either into eastern and western, or ancient and more recent, the scale in favour of a particular reading as probably the original one, is seldom turned by the orientalism and occidentalism of the testimonies, or even by their ancient and modern character. The *ceteris paribus* cases, where such things would at once settle the question, scarcely occur. *External* is but one part of the evidence. The *internal* is equally valuable and important. It modifies, changes, outweighs the other in many examples. We are thankful to the collators of MSS. for their great

labour. But it may be doubted whether they be often competent to make the best critical text out of existing materials. They are too prone to give undue authority to external evidence. Here lies their temptation; their weak point is here. It is true that critical sagacity may be united with unwearied diligence and accuracy of collation. But it is not commonly so. And then it is sufficient for one man to *collate well* several important documents, whether they be versions, MSS., or patristic citations. It exhausts his patience and energy. Hence we should rather see the collator and the editor of the text dissociated. We should like to have one person for each department.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

HISTORY OF THE PRINTED TEXT.

THE Greek Testament was not printed so early as the Vulgate or the Hebrew Bible, because the influence of the Romish church was opposed to the circulation of the original text.

The first part of the Greek Testament which was printed consisted of the thanksgiving hymns of Mary and Zacharias, Luke i. 42-56, 68-80, appended to a Greek Psalter published in 1486. The next consisted of the first six chapters of the gospel by John, edited by Aldus Manutius at Venice, 1504, 4to. In 1512 appeared the entire gospel in Greek and Latin, at Tübingen, 4to.

The entire New Testament was first *printed* in the Complutensian Polyglott, which was prepared under the auspices and at the expense of Cardinal Ximenes. The whole of the work is distributed into six *parts*, making four *volumes*, the *first* part consisting of the Greek Testament and the Vulgate version, with the title prefixed, "Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine nouiter impressum." It is in folio, and a subscription at the end of Revelation gives the date of the completion of the New Testament, 10th January 1514. The sixth and last part ending with the three books of Maccabees, has at the close the date 10th July 1517. But though the printing of

the whole work was finished in 1517, it was not *published* till 1522, because the Pope's permission had not been obtained for the distribution and sale of the work. Of the MSS. used in preparing this edition of the Greek Testament, we have no knowledge, as the editors, Ælius Antonius Nebrissensis, Demetrius Cretensis, Ferdinandus Pintianus, and Lopez de Stunica, give a very imperfect account of them. In the preface it is said that they were sent from the Pope's library at Rome, and no hint is given about others. But Stunica, in his controversy with Erasmus, frequently refers to the *Cod. Rhodiensis* as a MS. which the editors used. It is now the general opinion that they were modern ones. The character of the readings found in the edition is sufficient to shew this. And since almost all the readings are found in six or eight copies collated by Mill, Wetstein, and Birch, the MSS. must have been few in number. Hence the boast of the editors that they had good and very ancient MSS. is vain. On thing is certain, that the celebrated Cod. B. was not one of them. As Ximenes's MSS., according to his biographer, were deposited in the University Library at Alcala, inquiries were made at the place respecting them by Moldenhauer and Tychsen when travelling at the expense of the King of Denmark, in the latter half of the eighteenth century (1784), for the purpose of collating ancient copies of the Bible. But the professors in question were informed that the MSS. had been ignorantly sold to a rocket-maker by an illiterate librarian in 1749. Dr. Bowring subsequently made inquiries and believed that the report was incorrect, the same MSS. being there as those described by the Cardinal's biographer Gomez, and in Bowring's opinion they are both *modern* and *valueless*.* But Bowring's letters are by no means clear or decisive on the subject, for he says that "the number of *Hebrew* MSS. in the University was only

* See the Monthly Repository, vol. xvi. for 1821, p. 203, and New Series, vol. i. for 1827, p. 572.

seven, and seven is the number that now remains." Of these seven he affirms that they are *modern* and *valueless*. His attention therefore was not specially directed to *Greek* MSS. but to Hebrew ones. Indeed he states that there are at Alcala no Greek MSS. of the whole Bible.

Subsequent inquiries made by Dr. James Thomson clear up the matter. All the MSS. formerly known to belong to Cardinal Ximenes and preserved in the library at Alcala, are now, with the rest of that library, at Madrid; and the catalogue made in 1745 correctly describes the MSS. which still exist. The librarian at Madrid communicated to Dr. Thomson a catalogue of the Complutensian MSS., whence it appears that the chief MSS. used in the Polyglott are still preserved in safety; but the Greek New Testament is not contained in any of them. All the MSS. used in the Greek Testament by the editors were furnished from the Vatican, to which they were probably returned. It would appear that none containing the Greek MSS. were ever in the library at Alcala or in the possession of Ximenes, and therefore they are not now in the library at Madrid.

A sale to a rocket-maker *did* take place about the time mentioned. But the librarian was a learned man, and could not have sold *MSS.* Probably he sold only waste and useless paper when he got all the books in the library rebound.*

It was believed by Wetstein and Semler, that the text had been altered by the editors in conformity with the Vulgate. But Goeze, Michaelis, Marsh, and others shewed that the charge was true to *a very limited* extent. There is little doubt that 1 John v. 7 was taken from the Vulgate in consequence of *the form* it appears in; and some other passages were probably adapted to the same version, such as Matt. x. 25; yet there are more than two hundred passages in the Catholic epistles in which the Complutensian

* See Biblical Review for 1847, vol. iii. p. 186, et seq.

Greek text differs from the text of the Vulgate as there printed. Hence the charge generally is incorrect.

The *first published* Greek Testament was that of Erasmus, which appeared at Basel in 1516, folio, printed by the celebrated Froben. The title is, "Novum Instrumentum omne diligenter ab Erasmo Roterodamo recognitum et emendatum, non solum ad graecam veritatem, verum etiam ad multorum utriusque linguae Codicum, eorumque veterum simul et emendatorum fidem, postremo ad probatissimorum autorum citationem, emendationem et interpretationem, praecipue Origenis, Chrysostomi, Cyrilli, Vulgarij, Hieronymi, Cypriani, Ambrosij, Hilarij, Augustini, una cum annotationibus quae lectorem doceant, quid qua ratione mutatum sit," &c. The work contains a Latin translation partly based on the Vulgate as well as the Greek text, together with notes. In the preparation of this edition, Erasmus used five MSS., three chiefly, the other two very cursorily, viz. 2 (of the four gospels), 2 (of the Acts and epistles), and 1 (of the Apocalypse). From 1 (gospels, Acts, and epistles) he improved the text somewhat, but did not make it *the basis* of the text, though it was the oldest and best of all, belonging to the tenth century. He also made use of 4 (Acts and epistles) for retouching the text. Thus he took his text from modern MSS., and those very few, as well as of little value. But the editor did not confine himself wholly to them, nor to the writings of the fathers; for he made some use of the Vulgate, and even of critical conjecture. The only copy of the Revelation he had appears to have wanted the last six verses, which he supplied by his own translation from the Latin. Hence much value cannot belong to the text, especially as the editor spent little time upon the work. It was proposed to him on the 17th April 1515, and the subscription announces that it was finished in February 1516. Truly therefore might Erasmus himself say of it, "praecipitatum fuit verius quam editum;" for *the printing* of the text and annotations could not have occupied

more than six months, and from the time Froben first proposed the edition till the completion of the printing, was only nine months and a half. Hartwell Horne has *improved* upon Mill's words, by saying that "the work was executed in the short space of five months," only by departing farther from the truth; for Mill carefully qualifies his statement by putting *ferme*, "intra menses ferme quinque." It was very unfortunate that Erasmus had but one MS. (1.) of the Apocalypse, which is now lost.

A second edition appeared in 1519 at the same place and by the same printer, in folio. In 1522 appeared the third edition with 1 John v. 7, inserted for the first time, having been taken from the cod. Montfortianus. The fourth edition appeared in 1527; and the fifth in 1535 all in folio, from the same press.

In the second edition he used one MS. at least which he did not consult in the first, viz. 3 in the first part, or the gospels. Mill says * that the text of the second edition is much more accurate than that of the first; that the editor restored the true reading which had been vitiated in the former, in more than 330 places; but departed from the first edition to adopt bad readings in about 70 places.

According to Mill† the third differs from the second in about 118 places, 36 of them being altered after the Aldine edition.

In the fourth edition the Complutensian Polyglott was used by Erasmus for the first time especially in the Revelation. According to Mill,‡ it differs from the third in 106 places, 90 of them relating to the Apocalypse alone. This edition contains the Vulgate as well as his own Latin version. The text of the fifth is so very like that of the fourth, that Mill detected only four places where it departs from its predecessor.§

From these two primary editions the *textus receptus* or *common text* has been mainly derived. But as they were

* Prolegomena, 1134. † Ibid, 1138. ‡ Ibid, 1141. § Ibid, 1150.

based on few materials, and those not of the best kind; as the editors also conformed their texts to the Vulgate in several places, and occasionally translated from the Latin into Greek, their editions cannot be highly valued. And if the main source or sources of *the common text* be of little worth, the stream must be proportionately inferior.

From the Complutensian and Erasmian a great many editions were taken, with slight alterations. The *former* was followed in the first edition of Robert Stephens, termed the *O mirificam* edition, because the preface begins with those words, referring to the extraordinary liberality of Francis I. It was published at Paris 1546, 12mo. Sixteen MSS. were used by the editor. According to Mill,* he departed from the Complutensian, in the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles 581 times; and followed the authority of his codices only 37 times. In other places he preferred to the Complutensian the readings of other editions, especially the fifth of Erasmus, whether his MSS. agreed or not. In the Apocalypse he scarcely ever deviated from Erasmus's text. The second edition appeared at the same place 1549, 12mo. Mill says that it differs from the former in no more than 67 places.† The preface begins in the same manner.

The Plantin editions also followed the Complutensian text. They appeared at Antwerp 1564 12mo, 1573 8vo, 1574 32mo, 1590 8vo: 1591 24mo, by Rapheleng at Leyden, 1601 16mo, also by Rapheleng at Leyden: 1612 32mo, by the same.

A number of Genevan editions also flowed from the same text, 1609 24mo, 1619 4to, 1620 4to, 1628 4to, 1632 24mo.

In like manner the text printed in the Paris Polyglott of Le Jay, ninth and tenth volumes, follows the same exemplar, 1645 folio.

* Prolegomena, 1177 † Ibid, 1120.

So too the edition of Hermann Goldhagen at Mainz 1753 8vo. This is accompanied by various readings, the object of which was to enhance the authority of the Vulgate. The editor belonged to the society of Jesuits.

The *text of Erasmus* was followed in the Aldine edition of Andreas Asulanus, Venice, (Aldus Manutius) 1518 folio. But the text of this very rare edition is *not* a mere reprint of Erasmus's first, as has sometimes been said. Though it is very like it, the Aldine has been amended in more than 100 places, notwithstanding it has been corrupted in as many. The editor appears to have had ancient MSS. though nothing is known of them. Some have thought that he occasionally gave readings from conjecture.

The same text was repeated by N. Gerbelius in an edition dated Hagenoae 1521 4to; by John Bebelius at Basel 1524 8vo, 1531 8vo, 1535 8vo; by Cephalaeus at Strasburgh 1524 8vo, 1534 8vo; by Thomas Platter at Basel 1538 8vo, 1540 8vo, 1543 8vo; by Brylinger at Basel 1533 8vo, 1543 8vo, 1548 8vo, 1549 8vo, 1553 8vo, 1556 8vo, 1558 8vo, 1586 8vo; by John Valder at Basel, 1536 16mo; by Heerwagen at Basel 1545 folio; by Froben and Episcopius at the same place 1545 4to; by Curio at the same place 1545 16mo; at Leipzig 1542 8vo; by Voegel at the same place in 1563, 1564 8vo, 1570 8vo; by Leonhard Osten at Basel 1588; and at Wittenberg by Erasmus Schmid, 1622 4to, 1635 8vo. Among these reprints of the Erasmian text, some are more distinguished than the rest, such as that of Colinaeus published at Paris in 1534 8vo. Here the Erasmian text is altered in many places on the authority of the Complutensian and some Greek MSS. such as Griesbach's 119, 120. The editor has been charged with altering the text from the Vulgate, a conjecture; but several critics have vindicated him from these accusations. In the edition of Paris 1543 8vo, some alterations were made from MSS. Wetstein and others call it

Bogard's edition, but improperly, as Bogard had nothing to do with the publication.

In 1550 appeared Robert Stephens' third edition in folio at Paris. This is called the Regia or royal edition, and is elegantly printed. In it he followed the fifth of Erasmus (with which he compared 65 MSS. marking the variations in the margin), and the Complutensian text. "The learned," says Hug, "have taken great pains to discover the MSS. which Stephens used in his third edition. This solicitude has been occasioned by 1 John v. 7."* They are marked by the Greek letters α, β, γ, δ, ε, ς, ζ, η, θ, ι, $\iota\alpha$, $\iota\beta$, $\iota\gamma$, $\iota\delta$, $\iota\varepsilon$, $\iota\varsigma$. Stephens states that he got eight of them from the Royal Library at Paris, viz. γ, δ, ε, ς, ζ, η, ι, $\iota\varsigma$. About the commencement of the last century Le Long tried to identify them with existing MSS., and appeared tolerably successful in the attempt. His observations were published first in the Journal des Sçavans for May 1720, and subsequently in a better form in the Bibliotheca Sacra, vol. i. But Martin expressed doubts as to the identification; and Marsh subjected Le Long's remarks to an acute criticism in his letters to Travis and notes to Michaelis's Introduction. Wetstein, Fleischer, and Griesbach also assisted in finding out these Parisian MSS. Travis had less merit, though he paid much attention to them. In consequence of all these inquirers, the codices were tolerably well known even before Griesbach published his last edition; α is the Complutensian text; β is the cod. Cantabrigiensis D.; γ is probably cod. 4 of the gospels in Griesbach; δ is 5 of Griesbach in the gospels, Acts, and epistles; ε is 6 of the same in gospels, Acts, and epistles; ς of the gospels is cod. 7; ζ is 8 in the gospels, and Pauline epistles, 50 in the Acts and Catholic epistles of Griesbach; η of the gospels is L. of Griesbach; $\iota\alpha$ is Griesbach's 8 of the Acts and Catholic epistles, 10 of the Pauline; $\iota\beta$ is 9 of the gospels in

* Einleitung, vol. i. p. 272.

Griesbach; ιγ discovered by Marsh at Cambridge is Griesbach's 9 of the Acts and Catholic epistles, 10 of the Pauline; ιδ is 120 of the gospels in Griesbach; ιε is Griesbach's 10 in the Acts and Catholic epistles, 12 in the Pauline, 2 in the Apocalypse; ις of the Apocalypse is 3 of Griesbach. Of ια and ιε no trace has been found in modern times. The question however, in regard to this edition of Stephens is, not what MSS. he made use of in it, but *how* he used them. Did he make any or all of them the real basis of his text? It is certain he did not. His text is taken from the fifth of Erasmus with a few variations, except in the Apocalypse where the Complutensian is followed in preference. Wetstein states on Mill's authority that in the gospels, Acts, and epistles, he hardly departs from the Erasmian text twenty times, but Mill does not say so. There must be a mistake here, and the number is probably greater. Besides, Stephens often cites *all* his collated MSS. for a reading not in his text, shewing that his text was not based on his collations, but that the latter were entirely *supplemental.* If his MSS. had even been ancient, good, numerous, and collated with the greatest care, to none of which descriptions they correspond, they could not demonstrate the goodness of the text unless the text were based on them. But it was *not* so based.

All the fifteen had been collated by his son Henry. Only 598 readings according to Mill (but Marsh 578) are noted by Stephens in the margin, where the Complutensian text differs from his own. But Mill found more than 700 additional instances in which they differ. Among the 578 readings attributed by Stephens to the Complutensian edition, according to Marsh's reckoning the same distinguished scholar found 48 inaccurately ascribed to it. "Hence," says Griesbach, "every twelfth reading in Stephens' margin is erroneous."*

As Stephens follows the Erasmian text in this edition, he

* Prolegomena in Nov. Test. vol. i. p. 23, ed. Schulz.

has the words of 1 John v. 7 in the same form as he found them. But through carelessness, the semicircle is erroneously put as if the only seven MSS. of 1 John which Stephens had, omitted no more than the words ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, whereas they omit the entire passage from ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ to ἐν τῇ γῇ.

In 1551 appeared the fourth edition of Stephens in 8vo at Geneva, in Greek and Latin. This contains exactly the same text as the third, except in two places where it is made to agree with the first. It is remarkable as being the first into which the division of verses was introduced. Another edition, sometimes called the fifth, was published by Robert Stephens the son, at Paris 1569, in 16mo.

These last editions of Stephens were followed in the Basel edition of Oporinus, 1552 16mo; in the Frankfort editions of Wechel, 1597 fol., 1600 16mo, 1601 fol.; and in the Basel edition of Brylinger, 1563 8vo, where various readings taken from Stephens' third edition are put in the margin; but there are some not from that source. Hug says that they are from Aldus and the Vulgate. The Stephanic text of the later editions is also followed in the editions of Crispin at Geneva, 1553 8vo, 1563 12mo, 1604 16mo; in the Zurich editions of Froschover, 1559 and 1566, both octavo.

The Complutensian text chiefly, with some readings from the Erasmian, formed the basis of the text in the Antwerp Polyglott, 1571, 1572, vol. v., and of the editions published by Plantin at Antwerp in Greek and Latin, 1572, 1584 folio, and 1574, 1583 8vo. The editions of Rapheleng, Leyden, 1609, 1613 8vo, are nothing but reprints of Plantin's; which is also the case with the Commelin editions, 1599 fol., and 1616 fol.

The next person after the Complutensian editors, Erasmus and Stephens, who advanced the criticism of the Greek Testament was Theodore Beza, who had fled from France to Switzerland on account of his religion and become the disciple of Calvin at Geneva.

The first edition, properly so called, was published in 1565 folio at Geneva. The basis of the text in it was the third edition of Stephens. But Beza had more materials than those used in that edition. He got from Henry Stephens some printed edition (exemplar) of the Greek Testament prior to any of those published by the father, in which the son had noted the readings of the MSS. he had collated for his father's editions. The collection formed by H. Stephens having come into Beza's hands, and it being known that more than thirty MSS. had been *seen* by the collator, though only fifteen were actually quoted in the edition of 1550, Beza says at random, "Ad haec omnia accessit exemplar ex Stephani nostri bibliotheca cum *viginti quinque* plus minus manuscriptis codicibus." &c.

The edition is accompanied by the Vulgate, a Latin version made by Beza himself, and exegetical remarks.

The second edition appeared in 1582 folio, also at Geneva. For this impression he had the assistance of two new MSS., viz., the Clermont and the Cambridge. He also made some use of the Syriac version, and an Arabic one of some books in the New Testament. The *seventeen* MSS. of Stephens mentioned in the dedication, is a mistake for *sixteen*. The third edition was published in 1589 folio, Geneva, from which the translation of our present English Bible was *chiefly*, but not *invariably* taken. The fourth appeared in 1598 folio, Geneva.

The editions of Beza were often reprinted, especially in Holland, and contributed very much to the settlement of the text hitherto somewhat fluctuating. But though Beza had better materials than Stephens, he did not use them as well as he should have done. He does not seem to have carefully examined them, or to have applied them on any recognised principles. He acted negligently and inconstantly with regard to them. Hence his editions vary considerably. According to Wetstein, his text disagrees with Stephens' in about fifty places. He has besides expressed 150 places differently from those of his predecessor, *in his version*, or *approved of them* in

his *notes*. In 600 places at least he threw doubts on the received reading.* He preferred without reason the readings of many other editions; while he sometimes followed the Syriac version alone, or the Latin, or one or two MSS., or conjecture. Hence he was by no means a good critic; though we should not expect in that day what we do at the present.

The first Elzevir edition appeared in 1624 16mo, Leyden. The editor's name is unknown, and therefore it goes by the printer's. As to the text, it follows the third of Stephens' very closely, differing from it only in 145 places, which are enumerated by Tischendorf in various editions of his Greek Testament. The editor does not appear to have consulted any Greek MSS., for all his readings are found either in Stephens or Beza.

The second edition appeared in 1633 from the same press, in 12mo, and is the best of all the Elzevir editions. In the preface to the reader it is stated, "textum ergo habes nunc ab omnibus receptum."—words which became prophetic; for the edition became the *editio recepta* in succeeding centuries. Subsequently the latter text was repeated in 1641, 1656, 1662, 1670, 1678. It was this text which was commonly followed on the continent till of late. Perhaps we should say with Tregelles *professedly* followed, for very few, says the same critic, "really follow throughout the Elzevir text; in places in which it differs from the Stephanic they sometimes follow the latter; and sometimes they differ from both."†

From the descriptions already given we may easily discern the value of the commonly received text. It is *substantially* that of the Elzevirs. That again flowed from Beza's editions and the third of Stephens. Beza himself had mostly followed Stephens' third. The latter, with a few exceptions, was derived from the fifth of Erasmus, and from the Complutensian

* Prolegomena in N. T. vol. ii. pp. 7, 8.

† The Book of Revelation in Greek, Introduction, p. xiv.

in the Apocalypse. Erasmus again nearly repeated in his fifth the text of his fourth, in which he usually followed the Complutensian, particularly in the Apocalypse, and some modern MSS. The MSS. from which the Complutensian was printed were few and comparatively valueless. Thus the more closely the original sources of the received text are examined, the less important do they appear. The materials in possession of the earliest editors were scanty. They were of inferior quality. And those who employed them did not even make the best use of them. They did not thoroughly collate them. They took no pains to ascertain their age and value. They did not give *all* their readings. They were very negligent in citing them. Indeed, they had no critical rules by which they professed to be guided. They did not follow any definite plan in deciding between discrepant readings. All this is not to be wondered at in the infancy of criticism. It is very much what might have been expected. But it *is* matter of surprise that the same text should still be upheld as superior to all that have been more recently published with the assistance of very superior and more numerous testimonies. Nothing can be more effectual or more just than the analysis of this text given by Griesbach in a single paragraph, with the most appropriate brevity, "Editiones recentiores sequuntur Elsevirianam; haec compilata est ex editionibus Bezae et Stephani tertia; Beza itidem expressit Stephanicam tertiam, nonnullis tamen, pro lubitu fere ac absque idonea auctoritate, mutatis; Stephani tertia presse sequitur Erasmicam quintam, paucissimis tantum locis et Apocalypsi exceptis, ubi Complutensem Erasmicae praetulit; Erasmus vero textum, *ut potuit*, constituit e codicibus paucissimis et satis recentibus, omnibus subsidiis destitutus, praeter versionem Vulgatam interpolatam, et scripta nonnullorum, sed paucorum, nec accurate editorum, Patrum."*

* Prolegomena in N. T. p. xxxvii.

The editions of Stephen Curcellaeus, from the press of the Elzevirs at Amsterdam, deserve to be mentioned. The first appeared in 1658 12mo, and was reprinted in 1675, 1685, 1699. The editor gave various readings, for the first time, from two Greek MSS., beside those copied from former editions, chiefly from the Wechelian margin. He has been charged with favouring the sentiments of the Socinians. The editions of Boecler, at Strasburgh, 1645, 1660 12mo, follow the Elzevir text chiefly, with some readings from Stephens' third. The two editions of Henry Stephens, 1576, 1587 16mo, depart from Beza's text. Morin follows the Elzevir text, Paris 1628. The beautiful edition of Blaw at Amsterdam, 1633 12mo, is a mere reprint of the second Elzevir. Wetstein and Smith at Amsterdam also reprinted the text of the Elzevirs, with the Vulgate, and Arias Montanus' Latin version. It was superintended by Leusden, 1698 8vo.

Brian Walton, the celebrated editor of the London Polyglott, furnished a better and more copious collection of various readings than had appeared before in any edition, and gave a new impetus to the criticism of the text. The fifth volume of that work contains the Greek text with a Latin version, as also the Vulgate, Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic, and in the gospels the Persic, each version with its own translation. Under the Greek text are readings from the Alexandrine MS. (A.) The collection of various readings is in the sixth volume. It contains the readings of sixteen MSS. collated under the superintendence of Ussher; the Velezian readings, which Marsh has since demonstrated to be forgeries; those which Stephens had printed in the margin, and those of Wechel, taken from Curcellaeus. Walton's text is that of Stephens' third edition

This rich collection was enlarged by Dr. John Fell, Bishop of Oxford, in his critical edition published at Oxford in 1675 12mo. The editor, whose name does not appear in the work,

states, that he collated twelve MSS. in the Bodleian, gave the various readings of two in the library of Dublin College, of four procured from France, Marshall's extracts from the Coptic and Gothic versions, and those of twenty-two Roman MSS. collected by Caryophilus at the command of Pope Urban VIII., and afterwards published by Possinus in his Catena on Mark's gospel, Rome, 1673 folio. As stated in the title-page, the edition contains various readings from more than 100 MSS. The edition was reprinted, with additions by John Gregory, at Oxford, 1703 folio. But Gregory's extracts from the Greek fathers and Greek profane authors are of little value. The editor died before it was published. The first edition was twice reprinted in Germany, at Lejpzig, in 1697 and 1702 8vo.

Here, it has been said, the infancy of the criticism of the Greek Testament terminates, and its manhood begins.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

HISTORY OF THE PRINTED TEXT (CONTINUED).

DR. JOHN MILL, encouraged and aided by Bishop Fell, gave to the world a new edition in 1707, folio, Oxford. The text fluctuates between the Elzevir and that in the third edition of Stephens, accurately reprinted, with the various readings and parallel passages below. The work was the labour of thirty years, and was finished only fourteen days before his death. In it the learned editor brought together all the collections of various readings existing before his day. He also made very considerable additions, for he gave some which Fell had left in MS. He collated several ancient editions more accurately than they had been before, got extracts from Greek MSS. which had not been collated, and better extracts from others that had been examined. He also revised and increased Fell's readings from the Coptic and Gothic versions, and selected very many with his own hand from the oriental versions printed in the London Polyglott, unhappily in consequence of unacquaintedness with the originals, from their Latin translations. Nor did he neglect quotations from the fathers—a source of criticism looked upon by his patron as useless. To the work are prefixed learned prolegomena in which he accurately describes his MSS., their localities, ages, peculiarities, &c., the editions of the Greek

Testament, with various other topics, such as the formation of the canon, which few scholars even now should wish to be absent. The prolegomena were printed separately, and accompanied with notes, at Koenigsberg, by Salthenius. It has been said that the work contains no less than 30,000 various readings, many of them, doubtless, trifling, and not a few manifest *errata*. "He was too painfully accurate," says Michaelis, "in regard to trifles." In consequence of this immense collection Mill was exposed to many attacks, both in England and Germany, as though his labours tended to shake the foundation of the Christian religion. The numerous mistakes and inaccuracies which have since been found in this great work are natural; for who in such circumstances could have wholly avoided them?

Ludolph Küster reprinted it at Amsterdam in 1710 folio, adding the readings of twelve new MSS., eleven of which were collated for him by others, and one of which, viz., cod. Boernerianus (of Paul's epistles) he collated himself. Another, which has on the title page *editio secunda*, Leipzig, 1723 folio, is *the same* with a new title page.

In two editions published at Amsterdam, 1711, 1735 8vo, Gerhard of Mastricht gave various readings from Fell's collection and a Vienna MS. which he himself collated. After the preface by Henry Wetstein the publisher, are forty-three critical canons for judging of various readings by G. D. T. M. D. (Gerhardus de Trajectu Mosae doctor); prolegomena by the same; the prefaces of Curcellaeus, Fell, and Whitby. At the end are thirty-seven pages of critical notes relating to the 23d canon. Various maps accompany the work, and a great many parallel references in the inner margin chiefly taken from Mill. According to Michaelis, Mastricht was not happy in his choice of various readings. The second edition was revised by the celebrated Wetstein. The text is the Elzevir. In 1729 there appeared at London, in two volumes octavo,

" the New Testament in Greek and English, containing the original text, corrected from the authority of the most authentic manuscripts; and a new version formed agreeably to the illustrations of the most learned commentators and critics; with notes and various readings." The editor's name is not given. The first volume contains the gospels and Acts; the second, the remaining books. The critical notes are few, especially in the first volume. The editor (Mace) seems to have used no other edition than Küster's Mill for the various readings he gives; and to have collated no MS. But he has supplied a good deal by his own conjecture, and introduced readings into the text without any authority. Dr. Leonard Twells afterwards published a critical examination of it.

The first real attempt to apply the accumulated materials, or in other words to amend the *textus receptus* (for Mace's can hardly be reckoned an *earnest* attempt to do so), was made by John Albert Bengel, Abbot of Alpirspach in Wirtemburg. His edition appeared at Tübingen, 1734 4to, to which are subjoined his " Introductio in crisin Novi Testamenti," treating of MSS., versions, and editions, with critical rules; his collection of various readings taken chiefly from Mill, and an " Epilogus." The " Introductio" contains his view of families, or *recensions*, as they were afterwards called; and gave the first impulse to the investigation of that doctrine. Important additions were made to the readings selected from Mill, partly from MSS. before uncollated, partly in readings selected with more accuracy than his predecessors from ancient versions, and partly by means of extracts which, though printed, had not been brought together. Under the text are some select readings, of which Bengel expressed his opinion by the Greek letters α, β, γ, δ, ε. In forming his eclectic text, the pious editor imposed on himself the singular law not to give any thing which had not been printed before. But he was obliged to depart from this in the Revelation; for there he inserted readings not before printed.

Many opponents were raised up against him, of whom the most violent, as well as the ablest, was Wetstein.

Bengel's edition was reprinted several times at Stuttgard in 1739, 1753 8vo; at Tübingen 1762, 1776, 1790 8vo—the last superintended by his son Ernst Bengel, who introduced several improvements. They are all however without the critical apparatus, which was retained in the improved edition superintended by Burk, 1763 4to, Tübingen.

John James Wetstein, a native of Basel, contributed in no small degree to the advancement of sacred criticism by his celebrated edition of the Greek Testament, published at Amsterdam in two folio volumes, the first containing the gospels, dated 1751; the second containing the other books, 1752. He had before published *Prolegomena ad Novi Testamenti Graeci editionem accuratissimam*, in 1730 4to, treating in sixteen chapters of MSS., versions, Greek writers, editions, and other particulars. Though it was his wish to give a new and corrected text, yet various circumstances necessarily led him to print merely the *textus receptus*. But such readings as he did prefer are indicated notwithstanding, partly in the text itself by the sign of omission, partly in the inner margin by the addition of the reading he reckoned authentic. His collection of various readings, with their respective authorities, far exceeds all former works of the same kind both in copiousness and value, the fruit of untiring labour for thirty years. He corrected and increased the extracts given by Mill from editions, versions, and the fathers. Bengel's extracts from MSS. he transferred entire into his materials. He also collated anew many MSS. that had been examined only superficially, examined others for the first time, used extracts furnished to him by other parties, and employed the Philoxenian version for the first time. In search of these materials he repaired to Germany, France, Holland, England; but he obtained most in the Royal library in Paris. A goodly number of MSS. were collated by

him, but for the most part *cursorily*. This is exclusive of the collations he procured from others. The uncial MSS. he designated by the letters of the alphabet, and the cursive by numbers—a very convenient expedient, which has been followed by subsequent editors and critics. In addition to all this apparatus there are many *exegetical* notes, consisting for the most part of extracts from Greek, Latin, and Jewish writers, designed to elucidate the meaning of words and clauses. These annotations are often useless, having little reference to the passages to which they are appended, and contributing nothing to their right interpretation. They have also subjected him to various charges of partiality and heterodoxy.

Notwithstanding the defects and inaccuracies observable in the work, it is still indispensable to all who are occupied with sacred criticism; and will ever remain a marvellous monument of indomitable energy and diligence, united to an extent of philological learning rarely surpassed by any single man. The editor does not seem to have apprehended the doctrine of recensions, at least he has made no use of it in practice. Hence, some think that the value of the work is diminished. The prolegomena occupy a fourfold place. To the gospels is prefixed that portion which relates to the authorities used in them. To the second volume is prefixed that part relating to the documents of the apostolical epistles. Similar prolegomena precede the Apocalypse. Prolegomena also precede the Acts and Catholic epistles. Though these prolegomena taken together are *substantially* the same as the treatise he had published twenty years before, yet many things are altered and many added. The whole contain a treasure of critical learning which few will dispense with even at the present day. They were republished by Semler at Halle (1764, 8vo), who affixed valuable notes and an appendix. The Apocalypse is followed by three tracts, the first entitled *Animadversiones et cautiones ad examen variantium lectionum N. T. necessariae*, which was the last chapter in the

former edition of the prolegomena; the second, *De interpretatione Novi Testamenti;* the third, *De interpretatione libri Apocalypseos.* At the end are two Syriac epistles of Clement of Rome, taken from a MS. of the old Syriac version. But they are not authentic, though Wetstein so believed them. We cannot do justice to this distinguished scholar, without considering him as a critic and as a theologian separately. As a critic, his judgment has been variously estimated. All must admit his *general* accuracy in collecting and arranging his materials. His diligence in amassing materials was great. His profound erudition is everywhere apparent. But his judgment in respect to the character of MSS., their value, their age, and the form of text he preferred, was hardly commensurate with his ability in collating documents, his diligence in bringing their readings together, his *general* accuracy, or his honest candour. He was probably deficient in critical tact and analysis. Where he has most erred in opinion is in respect to the value of the Vulgate version, which he unjustly depreciated. He also entertained an unfavourable opinion of the *codices Graeco-Latini,* supposing that the Greek text in them had been altered from the Latin, by which their value is greatly deteriorated. Even the MSS. whose readings coincide with the Latin, such as A. he depreciated. By these views the most ancient and important witnesses are deprived of the right of giving evidence, and the critic must have recourse to modern ones. But such opinions were combated and disproved by his annotator Semler, by Woide, Griesbach, and Michaelis. Hence, his judgment of the more ancient MSS. was not correct. Such however were not his first sentiments, as his prolegomena published in 1730 shew, where he takes a juster view of the more ancient documents.

As a theologian, he is accused of having entertained Socinian sentiments, or sentiments at least inclining that way; and perhaps the charge is not wholly unfounded, as some of

his notes will shew. But these peculiar opinions did not prejudice him as a critic, or warp his judgment. Unfortunately, his work exposed him to many attacks. Opponents appeared against him. Charges were freely adduced to injure him. But his fame has survived them all. Even Michaelis was prejudiced against him, but Marsh vindicated him against the learned professor. In 1831 appeared at Rotterdam, in royal quarto, the first volume of a new edition of Wetstein's work, enlarged and amended, professing to contain the four gospels, by J. A. Lotze. Various additions, omissions, and improvements are introduced into the prolegomena by the editor, in consequence of whose death the work was discontinued, without any part of the text having appeared.

In 1763, Mr. Bowyer, a printer in London, published the Greek Testament with a text conformable to Wetstein's ideas. Part of the second volume consisted of conjectural emendations of learned men collected together. Both were in 12mo. It would appear from the list at the end of the text that the number of alterations made in the text, exclusive of omissions, amounts to 334. In this sum the Revelation is not included, because there the changes were very numerous. Part of the second volume has been reprinted more than once, at London, 1772, 1782, 1812, with an English title.

We have next to speak of a scholar who is pre-eminently distinguished in the history of New Testament criticism, Dr. John James Griesbach. His labours in this department began with an edition of the historical books, in two volumes 8vo, published at Halle 1774, 1775, the former containing the first three gospels synoptically arranged; the latter, John's gospel and the Acts. In the year 1775 he also published the epistles and Apocalypse. But in 1777 he gave the four gospels and Acts in their natural and usual form, styling the volume, *volumen I.* to accompany the volume containing the epistles and Apocalypse which had appeared two years before.

The common text is altered according to the judgment of the editor, founded on a careful comparison of his materials. Nothing however is changed by conjecture; nor is anything taken into the text on the sole authority of versions and citations, without the sanction of MSS. The idea of *families* or *recensions* recommended by Bengel and Semler, the editor adopted and carried out with great acuteness and ability. The apparatus of various readings is placed below the text. This is carefully selected from Mill, Wetstein, and Bengel, with the omission of all extracts that were unimportant, or appeared to be mere errata, or conjectures. He corrected many mistakes that had been made by his predecessors in their quotations, especially from oriental versions. Nor did Griesbach merely sift and amend the materials already existing. He also enlarged them. He added extracts from nine MSS. in the libraries of England and France, two collated by Knittel at Wolfenbüttel, one at Giessen; and extracts from the old Latin versions published by Sabatier and Blanchini. He also gave new extracts from the Greek fathers, especially Origen. In his *Symbolae Criticae* (Halle, 2 vols. 8vo, 1785, 1793), he afterwards gave a full account of his collations. Such was the commencement of Griesbach's researches, the first fruits of those literary labours which constitute an important era in the criticism of the Greek Testament.

In 1776 was published at London in 2 vols. 12mo, Dr. Harwood's "New Testament, collated with the most approved MSS.," &c. Here the editor freely departs from the common text. Two MSS. especially are much followed, viz. the Cambridge or D. in the gospels and Acts; and the Clermont or D. in the epistles. Hence little value attaches to the edition, especially as the editor evinces strong partialities for the tenets of Arianism.

Between the years 1782 and 1788, Christian Frederick Matthaei, Professor at Moscow, published at Riga in octavo, a

new edition accompanied by the Vulgate, in twelve parts or volumes, commencing with the Catholic epistles, and ending with Matthew's gospel. His text approaches the common one, being chiefly derived from MSS. in the libraries of Moscow, which he collated for the first time. The edition contains many critical remarks, excursus, Greek scholia before unpublished, and copper plates representing the characters of his Greek MSS. The collection of various readings is taken from nearly a hundred Moscow MSS. which he generally collated throughout. It is true that some contain a small part of the New Testament, some mere fragments, very few the whole; but several of them are ancient and valuable, such as V. which belongs to the eighth century. The editor avowed himself an opponent of the recension-theory, a despiser of the ancient MSS. especially the cod. Cambridge (D.), and of quotations in the fathers. He exhibited undue predilection for his junior codices, all belonging to the Constantinopolitan family, and spoke in an unjustifiable tone of severity respecting Griesbach and others. His chief merit, therefore, lies in his having collated many new MSS. with great care, thus augmenting the materials available in the preparation of a correct text. Michaelis says, that when he began the work, he was at least an age behind the rest of Germany in the knowledge of sacred criticism.

After Matthaei's return to Germany he prepared and published a second edition in three volumes 8vo, vol. i. Wittemberg 1803; vol. ii. Curiae Variscorum 1804; and vol. iii. Ronneburgi 1807. Here the various readings are placed at the foot of the page, and the critical annotations at the end of each volume. In addition to his collations of the Moscow codices, several in Germany were examined previously to this edition, making the entire number collated by him 103. Tischendorf enumerates nearly all the places in which Matthaei

changed the text as it appears in this edition, contrary to the Elzevirs, Knapp, and Scholz.*

Before the completion of Matthaei's first edition appeared that of F. C. Alter at Vienna; vol. i. dated 1787, vol. ii. 1786, 8vo. The text is that of the Vienna MS. cod. Lambecii 1, Griesbach 218. With this text he collated twenty-two MSS. in the imperial library, giving their readings. To these he added extracts from the Coptic, Slavonic, and Latin versions. A great objection to the edition is obvious; it contains the text of a single MS., and it too not of great antiquity or value. Surely the *authentic* text is exhibited by no one copy however ancient or perfect.

In 1788 Professor Birch of Copenhagen enlarged the field of criticism by his edition of the four gospels published at Copenhagen, folio and quarto. The text is simply a reprint of Stephens' third edition, and is therefore of no use. The value of the work consists in the collection of various readings given. Extracts were taken by Birch and Moldenhauer in their critical travels, from MSS. at Rome, Vienna, Venice, Florence, the Escurial, as well as the library at Copenhagen; while Adler who travelled with them on the same errand made extracts from the Jerusalem-Syriac, and the other Syriac versions. Birch himself collated all the Greek MSS. except those in the Escurial, which were examined by Moldenhauer; and the entire number was 120. He was also the first editor who collated the cod. Vaticanus except in Luke and John, where he used a collation formerly made for Bentley. Here lies the chief value of his work. The publication of the second volume was hindered by a fire in the royal printing house, which destroyed many of the materials and put a stop to the work, at least in the form it *first* assumed. But in 1798 Birch gave to the world his collations of the Acts and epistles in an octavo volume; in 1800 in the same form, those of the Apoca-

* See his first Leipzig edition, Prolegomena, p. lxviii. et seq.

lypse; and in 1801 the various readings of the gospels revised and enlarged.

Such was the collection of new materials which had been made since Griesbach published his first edition. In preparing his second and principal edition he proceeded on the same principles as before, *selecting* the most important and valuable readings which he could find. For his object was not so much to supersede the labours of Wetstein, nor to exhibit all the extracts contained in that expensive edition and others of less compass, but to furnish a convenient and portable edition provided with such critical apparatus as might give New Testament students an adequate idea of the state of the text. Besides incorporating into the new edition the results of the labours of Matthaei, Alter, and Birch, he supplied a great many readings from Wetstein and others not given before, and noted the readings in which Stephens' third edition differs from the Elzevir. He also amended and enlarged the extracts from ancient versions, especially from the two Syriac and the Memphitic version. He examined again the copies of the old Latin version published by Sabatier and Blanchini, and took many new readings from them. He procured extracts from Latin MSS. at Emmeram, Prague, Toledo, and Vienna, and added the readings of the Vulgate version in the Sixtine edition. He procured in like manner a new collation of the Armenian version, a large number of readings from the Slavonic, and some from the Bohemian. The Sahidic and Jerusalem-Syriac also furnished readings. The quotations from the fathers were materially enlarged, especially from Origen, whose works he collated very carefully more than once. With such new materials, or more accurate extracts obtained from a re-examination of materials already employed by him, he produced, as indeed his aim was, not so much a new edition as a new work. In 1796 the first volume appeared at Halle and London, containing the four gospels; and in 1806 the second volume, both

in octavo. Very valuable prolegomena are prefixed, giving an ample account of his authorities, rules of criticism, &c.; and at the end of the last volume is a diatribe on 1 John v. 7. The work was reprinted at London in 1809, 1810, and again in 1818.

With regard to the text formed by Griesbach, he has carefully marked by means of a smaller Greek character all that he has adopted in place of what is in the received text. He has also employed marks to indicate his opinion of the degrees of probability of a reading, or the contrary. In the inner margin are put all the readings of the commonly received text which he has rejected, and various others worthy of attention. Beneath the text, under the space called the inner margin, are the authorities for the various readings. The accuracy, sound judgment, good taste, and critical ability of Griesbach are everywhere conspicuous. In these respects he excels all his predecessors. Greater reliance can be placed on his references and extracts than on any that had before appeared, though not a few mistakes have been since discovered in them, as might have been expected. We need hardly say that the volumes are indispensable to every critic, were it only for the learned prolegomena. Beautifully does Hug, no mean judge, say, "with this work he adorned the evening of a laborious and praiseworthy life, and in it left behind him an honourable memorial, which may perhaps be surpassed in respect to the critical materials it contains, but hardly in regard to delicate and accurate criticism." The text of this edition was printed in a splendid edition 4 vols. folio at Leipzig 1803-1807, without a critical apparatus, and only a few select readings. In 1805 Griesbach also published a manual edition, with a selection of readings from his larger, at Leipzig, in two parts, making one volume octavo, which was reprinted very inaccurately in 1825. The text of this manual edition does not always agree with the other. His opinion of some places differed at different times.

New materials having accumulated, a third edition was undertaken by Schulz of Breslau, and the first volume, containing the prolegomena and four gospels, published at Berlin 1827 8vo. The second volume did not appear. This edition contains various readings from nearly twenty new sources, many corrections of Griesbach's references and citations, besides several other improvements, which are all specified in a preface. The chief things which the editor did were, that he examined again the Alexandrine MS. edited by Woide, the Cambridge MS. edited by Kipling, and the Latin copies edited by Sabatier and Blanchini. To these he added a collation of the Vat. cod. B. made for Bentley, printed in the appendix to Woide's edition of the Alexandrine MS., and which frequently differs from Birch's. He also used Barrett's fac-simile of the Dublin MS. of Matthew's gospel, the collation of K. or the cod. Cyprius by Scholz, and extracts from various Paris MSS. given by Scholz in his Biblico-critical travels. He had also a Berlin MS. of the four gospels collated and described by Pappelbaum, and the readings of several MSS. (237, 238) belonging to Birch, relating to the gospels, which were not published till 1801. In addition to these, he gave the more remarkable readings of the codex Rehdigeranus, containing the Latin ante-Hieronymian version of the four gospels. He also examined the Gothic version as edited by Zahn in 1805, and the new readings contained in the fragments of it published by Angelo Mai, fragments ot the Sahidic version from Oxford MSS. published in the appendix to Woide's codex Alexandrinus, and the fragments of the Bashmuric version published by Engelbreth. He had also a copy of Küster's Mill deposited in the Orphan House at Halle, containing many MS. notes relating to the readings of the Syriac, Arabic, Persian, and Ethiopic versions. He gave besides the more remarkable readings from two MSS. collated by Dermout, viz. 245 or Gronovi 131 of the four gospels, 246 or the Meermann, containing the gospels,

Acts, epistles of Jamès, Peter, 1 John, with a fragment of that to the Romans. He says that he had also continually before him the editions of Wetstein, Bengel, Stephens, Mill, Birch, both of Matthaei, Knapp's, and Griesbach's own Leipzig one, exhibiting that form and condition of the text which Griesbach's maturest judgment thought to be just. More than eighteen pages of closely printed *addenda and corrigenda* are put at the end of the volume, consisting chiefly of Dermout's collations which did not arrive in time to be inserted in their places. It will be seen therefore, that the additions are numerous, most of them being *improvements*. Before leaving Griesbach's edition we may state the leading objection to it, viz. that the authorities given are usually for deviations from the common text, and not for the text itself.

A great many minor editions have been mainly derived from that of Griesbach, their editors following the text of this distinguished critic with more or less closeness according to their individual judgment. It is unnecessary however to dwell upon them, as they did not advance the criticism of the New Testament by the addition of any important materials. Such are the editions of Knapp (1797-1840, five editions), Tittmann, Vater, Schott, &c.

For many years previously to the appearance of his large critical edition of the Greek Testament, Dr. J. Martin Augustus Scholz, one of the Roman Catholic professors at Bonn, had been making extensive preparations for it. In 1820 he published his "Curae Criticae in historiam textus Evangeliorum commentationibus duabus exhibitae," Heidelberg, 4to, containing the result of a collation of forty-eight MSS. in the royal library at Paris, nine of which had never been collated before, and of which he collated seventeen throughout. In 1823 appeared his "Biblische-Kritische Reise in Frankreich, der Schweitz, Italien, Palaestina, und im Archipel, u.s.w." Leipzig, 8vo, containing a description of MSS. which he had examined in his

travels, and the most valuable various readings they contain. From this time he was still employed in gathering and preparing materials till at length the first volume appeared in 1830 4to, Leipzig, containing the four gospels. The second volume was published in 1836, completing the work. More than twelve years of incessant activity were spent by the editor in amassing materials for his work. He says in the preface that he visited personally public and private libraries, such as the royal library at Paris, that of Vienna, of Munich, Landshut, Berlin, Treves, London (the British Museum), Geneva, Turin, the Ambrosian at Milan, that of St. Mark's in Venice, Mute in Sicily, Parma, three in Florence, that of Bologna, nine in Rome including the Vatican, that of Naples, and those of the Greek monasteries at Jerusalem, St. Saba, and the isle of Patmos, collating either wholly or in part all the copies of the New Testament he could find in them, Greek, Latin, Syriac, Arabic, &c. with the text of Griesbach's edition. He also re-examined ancient versions, and the passages cited in the acts of Councils and works of the fathers. In addition to all this he used the readings which others had extracted from the fathers and versions, and the readings of the MSS. which others had already made public, or obligingly communicated to him. Besides the new readings, he states that he has retained such as appeared certain, and the best of the collections of Mill, Wetstein, Alter, Matthaei, Birch, and Griesbach. The prolegomena prefixed to the first volume consist of 172 pages, containing a history of the preservation of the New Testament books and their text, an exposition of his system of classification, a description of the codices, versions, fathers, and acts of Councils used by him as authorities, and some other particulars. The text is accompanied in the inner margin with the general readings characteristic of the two families into which he divides all the ancient witnesses, and those of the received text. Below it are the various readings with their authorities. To the

second volume are prefixed 63 pages of prolegomena, containing a description of the MSS. relating to that part of the work, with addenda. The whole number of MSS. described and used is 674, of which 343 had been collated by others, so that 331 were first collated by Scholz himself, *i.e.* 210 of parts of the New Testament and 121 evangelistaria. His revised text comes nearer the *received* one than Griesbach's—a fact arising from his preference of the Constantinopolitan to the Alexandrine recension. Whatever opinion may be formed of his text compared with that of his distinguished predecessor, it is certainly an improvement on the *textus receptus*. The *value* of it depends on the relative value assigned to the two classes into which Scholz divides the ancient documents. Such as prefer the readings of the most ancient MSS. will not estimate it highly; while those who are partial to the junior copies will attach more importance to it.

In judging of the merits of this edition the text can hardly attract much consideration or claim any special authority. This arises not so much from his recension theory, as from the application of the critical principles advocated. The theory is one thing, the application a very different one. His classification may be right, his ideas of the Asiatic readings correct, while the practical result at which the critic arrives may not fairly represent his ideas. A great many things may vitiate the conclusions *fairly* deducible from a good theory. Many qualities may be wanting to him by whom the operation is conducted. There are internal considerations which contribute largely to the formation of a pure text. It is not external evidence *by itself* that should be considered, but also the nature of the context, the intrinsic fitness of the readings to certain places, and a great variety of causes and influences which no rules can define, and no diplomatic criticism control or command. Sagacity, tact, skill, a delicate and nice perception of minute adaptations, acuteness, sound judgment, are required for the

successful application of *any* theory of textual criticism. In these qualifications Scholz is much inferior to Griesbach. Hence he has failed in producing a good text from his multifarious materials. He has not even been consistent with his own principles. They are not carried fully and fairly throughout the work. He might have exhibited a far better text with the same view of recensions, had he possessed the critical perception and delicate skill of his great predecessor.

If then the merit of the editor be small in regard to the text he has produced, we must look in another direction for the basis of his reputation. And here his collations of so many MSS. before unexamined, are his chief claim to the gratitude of every scholar. In this respect he has accomplished much; for he has greatly enlarged the materials of criticism. In the critical apparatus of the work of Scholz lies its value. And yet, important as that apparatus is, it is very inaccurately printed. His collations have been hasty and superficial. They are often incorrect. They cannot be relied on. Their errors are very numerous. But surely rigid accuracy in references and extracts belonging to a critical edition, is the very highest quality it can possess. It is of primary importance. And it is very remarkable, that Scholz has sometimes implicitly copied Griesbach's words, even when they lead to a different result from his own. In proof of this, we refer the reader to the note on 1 Timothy iii. 16. Even Griesbach's typographical errors are given in the text, and then copies quoted in the notes to support the variations! Thus in Apocalypse xxi. 2 κεκοσμένην, which Griesbach has in the text by a mere typographical mistake, is given by Scholz also, and in favour of κεκοσμημένην is cited cod. 2. In Apocalypse xv. 2 he gives ἔχοντες in the text, and quotes cod. 13 for ἔχοντας. In Phil. 11 he has in the text νυνὶ δὲ σοὶ καὶ εὔχρηστον, omitting ἐμοὶ after καὶ, and quotes 44, 174, 219 al. In Eph. vi. 1 he has ἡμῶν after τοῖς γονεῦσιν, citing for it I. 44, 219 al., whereas

in Griesbach it is a mere typographical error for ὑμῶν. In 2 Peter i. 15, καὶ is omitted for the same reason before ἑκάστοτε, and G. 38, 78, 80, 137, quoted for the omission. Haste, negligence, superficiality, are apparent on almost every page and none who uses the edition can fail to see them. In short, the work wants a thorough sifting and correction, before it can be employed with facility, ease, and certainty.

After these remarks, our readers will not be surprised to learn that Scholz's edition never gained the confidence of German critics; and that a general scepticism has always prevailed with respect to his qualifications for the great task. It could not supersede Griesbach's in public estimation. Nor will it do so even in this country. Welcomed as it was with avidity, the few biblical scholars in Great Britain whose opinions *ought to guide* the many, never praised or exalted it as *the work* which was destined to take the place of all former editions. It has its importance to the critic; but that importance is by no means commensurate with the laborious preparations, the great bulk, and the high price of the work. As a whole it occupies an inferior place, not the high rank universally conceded to Wetstein's and Griesbach's, though time has unavoidably diminished the value even of their labours.

Before leaving Scholz, it is but fair to state that he has been most unwarrantably decried and blamed for having formerly proposed a theory of recensions different from that which he propounds in the prolegomena to his edition of the Greek Testament. In his first publication, whose title we gave before, he thought he had perceived a fivefold classification, into which the materials of criticism might be distributed. This however he abandoned for a twofold one. He simply changed his views on the subject. For such alteration he is rather to be *commended* than blamed. He had a perfect right to adopt another opinion, if he saw he was wrong. Nor should his former view induce any one to prejudge his later one; or to

think it erroneous because it proceeds from a man who had altered his sentiments.

In 1831 a small edition of unpretending appearance appeared at Berlin, in duodecimo, edited by Charles Lachmann. There are also copies with London on the title page. There is no preface, but at the end are 43 pages exhibiting the readings of the commonly received text where it differs from this one. A few lines at the commencement of these readings contain a reference to the *Studien und Kritiken* for 1830, pp. 817-845, for an account of the edition, and a statement that the editor has in no case followed his own judgment, but the usage of the most ancient oriental churches. The volume is neatly and accurately printed, the verses being numbered by small letters in the middle of the lines.

Words are occasionally bracketed in the text, to express doubts as to their authenticity. Others are placed at the bottom of the page when the evidence is considered to be balanced between them and those of the text.

In 1842 the first volume of a large edition appeared from the same scholar at Berlin, in octavo, with the title "Testamentum Novum Graece et Latine—Carolus Lachmannus recensuit Philippus Buttmannus Ph. F. Graece lectionis auctoritates apposuit." The second volume, containing from the Acts to the Revelation, was not *published* till 1850. In this edition as in the former, words are occasionally bracketed in the text; and readings given in the inner margin, for the same reasons. The deviations of the received text are among the critical authorities which Buttmann added. The authorities for the various readings are given under the text; and at the foot of the page stands the Vulgate, in a text chiefly formed from two ancient documents. Both editions, especially the smaller one, attracted much notice in Germany, and notwithstanding many adverse opinions and objections stated both to the editor's principles and text, they attained a degree of authority unknown to Scholz's.

The text of the *small* edition is wholly based on *oriental* (in his sense) sources, and where these differ among themselves, he adopts the readings 'quae Italorum et Afrorum consensu comprobarentur.' In his *large* edition, he uses the combined evidence of *eastern* (in his sense) and *western* authorities. In the latter his only MSS. are A. the codex Alexandrinus; B. the Vatican; C. the cod. Ephraemi; D. the cod. Cantab. in the Gospels and Acts; Δ the cod. Claromontanus in Paul's epistles; E. cod. Laudianus in the Acts; G. cod. Boernerianus of Paul's epistles; H. the Coislin fragments of Paul's epistles; P. and Q. the Wolfenbüttel fragments of the gospels; T. Borgian Greek and Sahidic of John's gospel; Z. the Dublin MS. of Matthew's gospel; a the Vercelli Latin MS. of the gospels, b the Verona MS.; c the Colbert MS.; d the Cambridge of the gospels, Acts, and 3 John; e the Laudian of the Acts; f the Clermont of Paul's epistles; ff the St. Germain of Paul's epistles; g the Boernerian of the same; h Primasius on the Apocalypse; v the Vulgate Hieronymian version; ϛ stands for the Elzevir text of 1624. For the Vulgate as edited by him he takes principally two MSS., viz. the Fulda one F. and the cod. Laurentianus or Amiatinus L.; while V. denotes the former as corrected by Victor bishop of Capua. Other MSS. of the Vulgate were used by him, which he marks by *al.* i. e. *alii* praeter Fuldensem et Amiatinum.

As he does not come down lower than the fourth century, the only fathers cited are Irenaeus, Origen, Cyprian, Hilary bishop of Poictiers and Lucifer bishop of Cagliari.

Following these authorities and rejecting all others, he has produced a peculiar text considerably different from that presented in any other edition. The two volumes are printed in a good distinct type, but the quality of the paper is inferior.

In the prefaces prefixed to each, the editor gives an account

of the nature of his work and the sources he has used, accompanied with remarks on various reviewers, objectors, and former editors, expressed with far too great asperity.

There is no doubt that the merits of this second work of Lachmann are very considerable. His plan is clear, definite, palpable. He draws a line between ancient and modern authorities, and usually adheres to it. And if the work be meant as a *contribution* to the procurement of *the authentic* and *original* text, not *the very best representation* of that text which can be given, it must be highly valued. In the former light it is important; in the latter it is defective. We believe that Lachmann himself looked at it in the latter point of view. He has thus explained his object in the *Studien und Kritiken* for 1830 (817-845), and more briefly in the preface to the first volume, where he freely allows that his text contains *erroneous* readings, and even gives examples of such.* His design was to give the best *historically attested* readings of the first four centuries from oriental sources—a design which he endeavours to carry out most consistently, even to the exhibition of widely spread *mistakes* in the text. He professes to follow *authority alone* in presenting the most *ancient form* of the text, admitting at the same time that *emendation* is necessary in order to elicit in every case the readings which proceeded from the sacred writers; but modestly refraining from such emendation because he was not a *theologian*. Had this his *true* object been perceived, it would have saved a great deal of misapprehension on the part of his censors, who have written against him through ignorance. It would have shortened, for example, the critique of Scrivener, who labours under much mistake, and prevented him from affirming, what is not true, that Lachmann by means of his slender apparatus of critical materials, "hopes

* Studien und Kritiken, p. 839, et seq.

to supersede the labours of all his predecessors, and to establish on a firm foundation a pure and settled text of the Greek Testament."* Hence the edition does not satisfy the wants of general readers and students. Other editions are necessary. For it must be apparent, that the line drawn by the learned writer between *ancient* and *modern* authorities is an arbitrary one. Why does he not come down lower than the fourth century? Why does he confine himself to so few witnesses, and those belonging to one class? Why does he disregard so much the internal goodness of readings, and all those considerations arising out of the text itself, which modify and regulate the external evidence in its various applications? Has he not proceeded in a *mechanical* way, looking solely at his testimonies, few and one-sided as they are? Is he not obliged by his plan to place here and there readings in his text for which the evidence is very slender? Very few authorities are all that is available in certain cases. In one instance at least, De Wette thinks that his plan gives a senseless reading. See Matt. xxi. 28-31. But Lachmann denies the allegation. His reply may be seen in vol. ii. pp. 5, 6 of the preface. Tregelles also justifies the reading in opposition to De Wette.† Of course the mere mistakes of the few ancient copies on which he relies, are given in his text, such as τὴν without ἀγαπὴν in Ephes. i. 15, and εἰ μὴν for ἢ μὴν in Heb. vi. 14. We do not find fault with him for such mistakes, since in exhibiting them in his text he follows out his plan, according to which he furnished a *contribution* to serve as *part of a basis* for a pure text. His principle is meant to exclude subjectiveness and caprice. If so, why is the text of the larger edition different in several instances from that of the smaller?

* Supplement to the authorised English version, introduction, p. 26.

† Kitto's Journal of Sacred Literature, Jan. 1850, p. 55, et seq.

The defects of Lachmann's edition consist in the imperfect collations of MSS. on which he sometimes relied when he *might have* availed himself of much better ones. These have been pointed out by Tischendorf. Besides, he has not *always* been consistent in following out his own principles. Tischendorf has given a number of instances where his text is incorrect.*

Before the appearance of the first volume of Lachmann's large edition, that of Tischendorf had been published at Leipzig, 1841, square 12mo, containing a selected text, and the most important readings, with the variations found in the leading critical editions. The text was based mainly on ancient Alexandrine (and western) authorities, being formed after those of Griesbach and Lachmann, the latter in particular. The influence which Lachmann's authority had upon the editor is apparent. It was a useful manual on the whole; but as it is now superseded by another, we forbear to make farther remarks on it. The prolegomena are *now* the only part of it worth having, containing, (I.) a copious discussion of recensions, with special reference to Scholz's theory; (II.) the plan pursued in preparing the edition; (III.) the editions collated with the text of his own; (IV.) an index of the critical aids, MSS. versions, fathers, and ecclesiastical writers.

Tischendorf also published three editions at Paris in 1842, two dedicated to Archbishop Affre, and one to M. Guizot. One has the Latin Vulgate in a parallel column, and the Greek text conformed as often as MS. authorities would allow to the Clementine Latin. Another has the same Greek text without the Latin and without the various readings at the end. The third, or *Protestant* one, has a text nearly the same with the Leipzig of 1841, without a critical apparatus, but with the variations of the editions of Stephens, Elzevir, and Griesbach at the end.

* Prolegomena in editionem secundam Lipsiensem, pp. 45, 46.

In the meantime, the critical materials had been accumulating. The year before the publication of Lachmann's smaller edition Rinck had made known the results of a careful collation of seven MSS. in the library of St. Mark's at Venice. Reiche had published extracts from several Paris MSS. in 1847. Rettig had published a beautifully lithographed copy of the cod. Sangallensis; and above all Tischendorf himself had been incessant in his collation and publication of MSS. preserved in various countries. He had published the text of C. or the codex Ephraemi, in 1843; and "Monumenta sacra inedita," in 1846, containing the text of nine MSS. including L. of the gospels, with the purple fragments I. N. Γ., the Barberini fragment Y. the Paris fragment W. and others. Of Latin MSS. he published the Evangelium Palatinum in 1847, a copy of the gospels at Vienna on purple vellum; and the codex Amiatinus, far more correctly than Fleck, in 1850. Accordingly, a second and much improved edition appeared at Leipzig in 1849, in one vol. 12mo, to which are prefixed two prefaces, and 96 pages of prolegomena. The text of this edition is very much superior to that of 1841, and differs considerably from Lachmann's, though based mainly on *ancient* authorities. It is also in every way more correctly printed, though by no means faultless, for even the critic's own MS. collations are not faithfully copied in the *printed* text. On the whole, it is the best critical edition which has been published for such as desire to have *but one.* It is both portable and cheap. There are indications in the text here and there of rash and hasty judgment. Perhaps the learned editor was not controlled throughout by very definite or fixed principles on which to form his text; for though he has always had regard to external authority, he has not been able in all instances to suppress an arbitrary and subjective tendency unfavourable to calm impartiality.*

* See an able review of it by Tregelles, in Kitto's Journal of Sacred Literature for October 1849 and January 1850.

In 1846 appeared at Hamburgh a very small volume (square 18mo) containing the New Testament in Greek, chiefly after the text of the Vatican MS., by Eduardus de Muralto. This was followed two years after by a larger edition, with prolegomena extending to 115 pages. The prolegomena treat of the collations of the early fathers, the use of the versions, the Vatican MS. (B), other MSS., of which collations are given, a table of all the passages in the New Testament either cited or referred to by the earlier fathers, with references to the most ancient Slavonic Evangelistarium, &c. After the text are the various readings of certain MSS., the Syriac version, the Slavonic, &c., the whole ending with a small lexicon of grammatical and orthographical forms found in many ancient MSS.

As to the text itself it merely professes to be that of the Vatican MS., not a critical text. Marks of various kinds, such as brackets, parenthetic signs, &c., are employed where other leading MSS. exhibit some variation. The pastoral epistles, and end of that to the Hebrews, are supplied from H. or the Coislin MS., and where that is defective from cod. Passionei (J). The Apocalypse is taken from B. or 2066, formerly Basilianus 105, published by Tischendorf.

According to the editor's own account, he had the collations of B. by Bartolocci and Birch, furnished with which he was allowed three days to *examine* the MS. (perlustrandus) in 1844, which time he states to be sufficient to remove the differences between the two collations by ascertaining the true reading. As far as his text goes, it agrees in the main with Bartolocci's collation. Unfortunately, however, doubt rests on the statement whether Von Muralt ever *used* the MS. itself. One thing is certain, that the text published is by no means a faithful or accurate representation of that in the MS. It is very incorrect. The editor did not employ the collation made for Bentley. Hence the edition is all but worthless to the critic. We refer to a critique upon it by Tischendorf at

p. 47 of his preface, where it is handled very severely, "opus est incredibili inscitia, socordia, perfidia."

Such is a brief history of the principal labours that have been expended on the text of the Greek Testament, with the view of bringing it nearer to the state in which it first appeared. The materials have gradually accumulated till the present time. But they are still in an incomplete state. If one person had applied himself to the thorough collation of a really valuable MS., instead of amassing a heap of extracts necessarily imperfect and often inaccurate, criticism would have been in a better condition. The thing most wanted is good fac-similes of the best MSS., or at least collations of them which can be relied on as every where accurate—collations which should save other scholars the trouble of re-examining the same documents. But this is the work of time. Every year is doing something for the purification of the text. Critical editors and collators appear, who, amid all disadvantages, pursue their arduous task of exploring those ancient monuments which contain the text of the Christian records. Here the name of Tischendorf is conspicuous, who has already brought to light many valuable codices and fragments, making them accessible to the learned, and is still ardent in the same work. Others might be named who are now and have been for some years engaged in the same pursuit, the fruits of whose labours will ere long, we trust, appear. Dr. S. P. Tregelles is one of them, who has been preparing a large critical edition of the Greek Testament for many years. We look for the completion of his great undertaking with solicitude, hope, and high expectations, knowing that he unites in himself most of the qualities which will ensure a critical edition worthy of comparison with any of the continental ones. We believe that his accuracy in making collations and faithfully recording them is superior to that evinced by any of the great editors, Mill, Wetstein, Griesbach, Lachmann, or Tischendorf.

Having thus given a history of the text printed as well as unprinted, and having shewn the various attempts made to restore it to its pristine purity, we may add a few words on the general result obtained. The effect of it has been to establish the genuineness of the New Testament text in all important particulars. No new doctrines have been elicited by its aid; nor have any historical facts been summoned by it from their obscurity. All the doctrines and duties of Christianity remain unaffected. Hence the question arises, of what utility has it been to the world? Why have all this labour and industry been applied? Have all the researches of modern criticism been wasted? We believe they have not. They have proved one thing—that in the records of inspiration there is no material corruption. They have shewn successfully that during the lapse of many centuries the text of Scripture has been preserved with great care; that it has not been extensively tampered with by daring hands. It is not very different from what it was 1700 years ago. Critics with all their research have not been able to shew that the common text varies essentially from what they now recommend as coming nearest its earliest form. It is *substantially* the same as the text they propose. Thus criticism has been gradually building a foundation, or rather proving the immovable security of a foundation on which the Christian faith may safely rest. It has taught us to regard the Scriptures as they now are to be divine in their origin. We may boldly challenge the opponent of the Bible to shew that the book has been materially corrupted. Empowered by the fruits of criticism, we may well say that the Scriptures continue essentially the same as when they proceeded from the writers themselves. Hence none need be alarmed when he hears of the vast collection of various readings accumulated by the collators of MSS. and critical editors. The majority are of a trifling kind, resembling differences in the collocation of words and synony-

mous expressions which writers of different tastes evince. Confiding in the general integrity of our religious records, we can look upon a quarter or half a million of various readings with calmness, since they are so unimportant as not to affect religious belief. We can thank God that we are able to walk without apprehension over the sacred field he has given us to explore. Our faith in the integrity of his word is neither a blind nor superstitious feeling, when all the results of learning incontestably shew that the present Scriptures may be regarded as uninjured in their transmission through many ages; and that no effort of infidelity can avail to demonstrate their suppositious character. Let the illiterate reader of the New Testament also take comfort by learning, that the received text to which he is accustomed is substantially the same as that which men of the greatest learning, the most unwearied research, and the severest studies have found in a prodigious heap of documents. Let him go forward with a heart grateful to the God of salvation, who has put him in possession of the same text as is in the hands of the great biblical editors whose names stand out in the literature of the Scriptures. "Of the various readings of the New Testament," says Mr. Norton, "nineteen out of twenty, at least, are to be dismissed at once from consideration, not on account of their intrinsic unimportance—that is a separate consideration—but because they are found in so few authorities, and their origin is so easily explained, that no critic would regard them as having any claim to be inserted in the text. Of those which remain a very great majority are entirely unimportant. They consist in different modes of spelling; in different tenses of the same verb or different cases of the same noun, not affecting the essential meaning; in the use of the singular for the plural, or the plural for the singular, where one or the other expression is equally suitable; in the insertion or omission of particles, such as ἀν and δε, not affecting the sense, or of the article in

cases equally unimportant; in the introduction of a proper name, where, if not inserted, the personal pronoun is to be understood, or of some other word or words expressive of a sense which would be distinctly implied without them; in the addition of 'Jesus' to 'Christ,' or 'Christ' to 'Jesus;' in the substitution of one synonymous or equivalent term for another; in the transposition of words, leaving their signification the same; in the use of an uncompounded verb or of the same verb compounded with a preposition—the latter differing from the former only in a shade of meaning. Such various readings, and others equally unimportant, compose far the greater part of all, concerning which there may be or has been a question whether they are to be admitted into the text or not, and it is therefore obviously of no consequence in which way the question has been or may be determined."*

* Genuineness of the Gospels, vol. i. additional notes, pp. 38, 39 (American edition).

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

ANCIENT VERSIONS.

THE PESHITO.

HAVING completed our history of the New Testament text, we proceed to describe the sources whence various readings are derived, and by which it may be restored to its original condition. As already stated, these are four, viz. ancient versions, manuscripts, quotations, and conjecture. Let us consider the first.

Among ancient versions of the New Testament, the first place is due to the old Syriac or Peshito. Allusion has been made in the first volume to the *name* and *age* of this version. But in regard to the latter, there are certain circumstances belonging to the New Testament part which deserve to be noticed.

The fact that the version wants the second and third epistles of John, the second of Peter, that of Jude and the Apocalypse has been employed as an argument in favour of its antiquity. The translator must have made his version, it is asserted, either before these books were written, or at least before they were acknowledged in Syria as of divine authority. But the fact of its wanting these portions does not necessarily or consistently carry it up to the close of the first or the earlier part of the second century. Nor do the other

arguments that have been adduced by Michaelis* and Laurence† render this high antiquity either probable or certain. Bishop Marsh has shewn‡ that the arguments of Michaelis are invalid; and Laurence has failed to refute his statements. No man could think, as Marsh rightly affirms, of translating the Greek Testament before its several parts were collected and united in a volume, that is, before the canon was formed. But the canon was not formed before the middle of the second century. Hence we should not assign the origin of the version to an *earlier* date; nor can it be brought lower down than the time of Ephrem, or beyond the middle of the fourth century. It belongs in all probability to the end of the second or beginning of the third; and the fact of its wanting certain books may be explained by the non-reception of them in the district where the version was made. They were not acknowledged there as of equal authority with the other parts of the New Testament. Nor need we be surprised at this; since the same epistles and treatises were suspected or positively rejected in other countries. In the east these writings belonged for a considerable time to the ἀντιλεγόμενα class of Eusebius. The fact is significant that the version contains the epistle to the Hebrews, which was not received in some places for a time; but there was less doubt of that epistle in the east than in the west.

But whatever date be assigned to the origin of the version, none can well separate the New Testament part from the Old by attempting to give them very different dates. In the absence of all historical notices about either being first translated, they must be classed nearly together. Internal evidence goes so far as to shew that the Old preceded the New, since the quotations from the Old Testament are usually

* Introduction to the New Testament by Marsh, vol. ii. pp. 31, 32.

† Dissertation upon the Logos, pp. 67-75.

‡ Notes to Michaelis, vol. ii. p. 551, et seq.

given in the New from the Peshito, but it is not likely that the two parts of this version were widely separated in origin.

There is no doubt that the Peshito was made immediately from the Greek. Nor has any other opinion ever been entertained. No hypothesis that it was made from some Latin translation has at any time prevailed. Bengel hazarded *a conjecture* that possibly it was not taken immediately or solely from the Greek, but that the translator *also* made use of the Latin version.* And even Bengel's doubts did not respect the genuine Peshito, but merely our printed editions. Hence it is absurd to argue against an opinion which none ever believed.

Two circumstances are sufficient to shew the version's immediate derivation from the original. There are mistakes and misconceptions which find their explanation in no other cause than the Greek text lying at the basis; and there are many Greek words which recur frequently, because the translator found them repeatedly used in the original before him.

(*a.*) Ἕτερος is confounded with ἑταῖρος in Luke xiv. 31; 1 Corinth. iv. 6, xiv. 17; 2 Corinth. viii. 8. Καὶ ἀκολουθοῦσιν and ἐκολλήθησαν are similarly confounded in Mark vi. 1. So too ἐπουράνιος and ὑπουράνιος in Eph. vi. 12. ἔβρεψεν and ἔβρηξεν were also mistaken for one another in Luke ix. 42.

It is possible however that all, or at least some of these, may be owing to transcribers. In 1 Peter i. 13, χαράν and χάριν were confounded; in Matt. xxi. 41, κακῶς κακῶς is translated, instead of κακοὺς κακῶς; in Acts xvi. 29, αἰτήσας is confounded with αἰθήσας. In Acts xiii. 12 there is a false construction, *miratus est et credidit in doctrinam Domini.*

(*b.*) ἀνάγκη occurs in Matt. xviii. 7, Heb. ix. 23; στοιχεῖα,

* "Coptica versio et Syriaca valde inter se, et cum Latinis congruunt: ambae autem permultis in locis Graecos codices a Latinis desertos ita sequuntur, ut fere pro immediatis haberi mereantur."—Introductio in crisin N. T. p. 44.

Gal. iv. 9, Colos. ii. 8, 20; στάσις in Mark xv. 7; τιμή, Matt. xxvii. 6, Acts v. 2; ἀγρός, Matt. xxvii. 7, 8, 10, Mark vi. 36; ἀγών, Phil. i. 30, Colos. ii. 1, &c.; ξένος, Matt. xxv. 35, 38, 43, 44, Heb. xi. 13, &c.

Hug discovered in the 27th chapter of Matthew's gospel alone no less than eleven Greek words, for which the translator might have found equivalent ones in his own language.*

The *original* extent of this version has been matter of debate. All known MSS. of it with one exception, contain the four gospels, the Acts, fourteen epistles of Paul, including that to the Hebrews, first of Peter, first of John, and the epistle of James. Internal evidence abundantly attests that the Bodleian MS. containing other catholic epistles, does not exhibit them as a constituent part of the genuine Peshito. Is the Peshito therefore, as we are able at present to determine its extent, the same as it was at first? Did the MSS. of it never contain the portions now wanting?

Hug believed that it had them at first.† The Apocalypse gradually disappeared, as he thinks, in the fourth century. The other portions also fell away before the sixth century. The proof of this is derived from Ephrem. That writer frequently refers to the Apocalypse in his works. But he could not have done this had not a Syriac version of it existed, as he did not know Greek. In like manner he cites Jude, 2 Peter, 2 John. There is little probability in the view thus propounded by Hug; and accordingly it has remained peculiar to himself. It is not very clear that Ephrem was quite unacquainted with Greek. Hug indeed produces the testimony of Sozomen and Theodoret to that effect—these writers declaring him to be without ἑλληνικὴ παιδεία so that in his intercourse with the Greeks he had to employ an interpreter. Yet it does not follow from this that he was without so much Greek as prevented him from reading the books of the Bible, especially

* Einleitung, u. s. w. vol. i. p. 301. † Ibid, pp. 306, 307.

as he often alludes in his works to the difference of the Hebrew, Greek, and Syriac reading of a passage. And then the gradual falling away of certain books from the version is incredible. What could have caused so unusual a phenomenon? By what means was it effected? What adequate motive could have led to it? If there was a version of the four epistles in question, with the Apocalypse, not connected with the Peshito, in the time of Ephrem, as is *possible*, it must have shared the fate of many ancient works, having totally perished. In any case, it is quite *improbable* that if a version did exist in the days of Ephrem it was a part of the Peshito.

On the other hand, Michaelis thought that the epistle to the Hebrews is not a genuine part of the old Syriac. When the writer of the epistle refers to the Old Testament, the passages are quoted according to the Peshito, and therefore it must have been translated later than the other books of the New Testament in which this is not the case; for the Christians translated first the New Testament and then the Old into Syriac. Michaelis also refers to a difference in the modes of expression, such as, in the other books of the New Testament ܟܗܢܐ is used to signify *a priest*, and ܟܗܢܐ ܪܒܐ *a high-priest;* but in the epistle to the Hebrews, we find constantly instead of these terms ܟܗܢܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ and ܟܗܢܐ ܪܒܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ.* These proofs are satisfactorily answered by Hug, who has shewn that in regard to quotations, the same thing which occurs in the epistle to the Hebrews occurs also in the gospels, Acts, and epistles, so that the argument founded on the citations proves too much. So far from the New Testament having been translated first, it followed that of the Old Testament, for the quotations in the former generally agree with and are copied from the latter. In relation to the conclusion drawn from the different terms for *priest* and *high-priest* in the epistle to the Hebrews and the other books, it should not be inferred from a

* See Introduction to the N. T. by Marsh, vol. ii. p. 5.

circumstance so slight that there was a different translator. "To maintain the fact of different translators from the use of different expressions, will require a more extensive induction than one of three or four words."*

On the whole, we cannot but believe, till new evidence has been produced, that the Peshito wanted at first the four epistles already named, together with the Apocalypse, and that the letter to the Hebrews is a genuine part of it.

Its original extent was such as it had in the ancient MSS. used by Widmanstadt and Moses of Mardin in making the first printed edition; and other books, not to say smaller passages, should never have been associated with it by later editors. It ought to have been kept distinct in its own proper contents.

The question has been started, whether the version was made by one or more translators. It is very difficult however to answer it satisfactorily. In regard to the four gospels, there is no doubt that only one person was employed on them. There are an equability and uniformity in words and phrases which indicate one and the same scholar. But in the Acts and epistles there is a perceptible difference. There the manner is more free, as Hug perceived, and others since his time have also observed.† But the alteration can hardly be called *essential*. It is true that in these portions many words and formulae are employed which do not occur in the gospels, or occur there less frequently. But the variation is scarcely sufficient to justify the hypothesis of different translators. All books do not require precisely similar treatment. Nor does one person always follow consistently and uniformly the same mode of translation. Many circumstances may influence him in taking more latitude at one time than another. We should therefore hesitate to assume more than one translator. At

* Einleitung, vol. i. p. 312.

† Wichelhaus, De Novi Test. versione Syriaca antiqua, etc. p. 86, note.

least, evidence has not yet been furnished sufficient to support another conclusion. The question remains unsettled.

The general character of the version is freedom, ease, and propriety. It is neither very literal like the Philoxenian, so as to present a stiffness of style; nor is it paraphrastic. On the contrary, a happy medium is followed. The language is on the whole pure, and the idioms well rendered out of Greek into Syriac. But we cannot believe with Michaelis, that it is "*the very best* translation of the Greek Testament he ever read;" or "that it must be ever read with profound veneration," since there is not "a single instance where the Greek is so interpreted as to betray a weakness and ignorance in the translator."* The version is an excellent one; but it has errors and mistakes. The translator was master of the two languages, and executed a very difficult task most successfully. But it is far from being as accurate or as uniformly good as it might have been. And yet its general excellence and great antiquity place it above any other ancient translation of the Greek Testament, conspiring to give it an authority which none other can justly claim. Hence it must always be consulted as an important document, in the criticism and interpretation of the New Testament.

Let us notice some peculiarities of it, shewing the degree of freedom in which the Syriac interpreter indulged.

He has omitted, added, and changed in many cases. Thus he has—

1. *Omitted particles*, such as conjunctions and adverbs. To the former belong γάρ, Matt. iii. 2; καί, always in the formula θεὸς καὶ πατήρ, Eph. i. 3, &c.; ὅτι, in such cases as Matt. xix. 8, xx. 12, xxvii. 47; οὖν, Matt. vi. 9; δέ, Matt. ii. 3; μέν, Eph. iv. 11; τε, Eph. i. 10. To the latter belong ἔτι, Matt. xviii. 16; ἤδη, Matt. xiv. 15; ἰδού, Matt. i. 20; νῦν, Eph. ii. 2; τότε, Matt. xxii. 21.

* Introduction to the N. T. by Marsh, vol. ii. pp. 40, 41.

He has also omitted *synonymes*, as in James i. 17, δόσις καὶ δώρημα; Matt. xxiv. 24, σημεῖα μεγάλα καὶ τέρατα.

Words immediately preceding are not repeated, as Ἰησοῦς in Matt. xvi. 6; ἦλθον in Matt. v. 17.

Pronouns are omitted, as οὗτος or ἐκεῖνος, Matt. xi. 7, xiii. 38; αὐτός and αὐτοῦ, Matt. vi. 7; ὑμῶν, Eph. vi. 5.

In like manner *adjectives* are neglected, as ὅλος and πᾶς, Matt. xv. 17, xxvi. 56, xxvii. 1.

Verbs not of much consequence to the sense being apparently redundant were also left out, as the copula εἰμί, Eph. v. 10; ἀποκριθείς, Matt. xv. 26, 28; ἄρον, Matt. xvii. 27. So with λέγων, ἐλθών, λαβών, ἀναστάς.

What appeared likely to embarrass the construction or to obstruct the sense or connection, was also omitted, as in Eph. ii. 16, ἐν αὐτῷ.

2. In other instances the translator *added* rather than omitted, and sometimes the same words too which he had elsewhere left out or neglected. This was done in

Synonymous words as in Eph. vi. 17; Matt. xiii. 48, xiv. 19.

Words which immediately preceded were *repeated*, as Ἰησοῦς in Matt. iv. 19.

What seemed likely to facilitate the meaning of a passage, or to connect the thread of discourse more closely together was subjoined, as in Eph. i. 2, ܠܗ. See also i. 9, Eph. iii. 6, promissio quae *data est*, &c.

Words that presented themselves spontaneously and naturally were added, as in Acts xiv. 7, *city* was added to Lystra. *Simon* to *Cephas*, Matt. xxvi. 58, *house of* Israel for Israel, Matt. x. 23; Jesus *Christ* for Jesus, Eph. i. 15; Judas *the traitor* for Judas simply, Matt. xxvi. 47.

In like manner verbs not at all necessary to the sense were inserted, as the copula εἰμί, Eph. ii. 7; the verb ܐܙܠ, Matt. ii. 8.

Some adjectives that readily presented themselves to the mind were also inserted, as πᾶς, Eph. vi. 7; εἷς, Eph. iv. 13.

Pronouns were often added, οὗτος, ἐκεῖνος, αὐτός, Eph. i. 6, 11, 14; αὐτοῦ, ἐμοῦ, σοῦ, Eph. i. 6, ii. 1, ii. 7, &c.

In like manner particles were inserted, including conjunctions and adverbs, as ἀλλά, Eph. ii. 8; γάρ, Eph. iv. 5; ἤ, Eph. v. 5; καί, Matt. vi. 22; οὖν, Eph. v. 8; ἰδού, Eph. i. 15; τότε, Matt. v. 12.

3. The translator also *changed* words and phrases. Thus he changed *single words* as *substantives* into adjectives, κυβεία, Eph. iv. 14; into pronouns, Eph. iv. 13; into verbs, Eph. i. 6; into adverbs, Eph. ii. 3, φύσει, *plane.*

Adjectives were changed into substantives, Eph. i. 3.

Pronouns were changed into substantives, Eph. iv. 15, εἰς αὐτόν, into *Christ.*

In like manner the *relative* was altered into the demonstrative, as Eph. i. 11.

Verbs were changed into substantives, as Eph. iv. 16, αὔξησιν ποιεῖται in incrementum *corporis.*

Particles were also changed, as διά into the genitive, Eph. iii. 12; εἰς into the nominative, Eph. v. 31; ἐκ into the genitive, Matt. xxiv. 17; ἐν into the nominative, Eph. ii. 7; into the genitive, Eph. ii. 11. Thus also several prepositions could not well be distinguished in Syriac the one from the other, as εἰς and ἐν, ὑπό, παρά, ἀπό, μετά, and πρός.

Synonymes were changed, as Eph. iv. 18, v. 4.

In regard to *declension,* one case was changed into another, as Matt. xx. 27, ὑμῶν δοῦλος into ὑμῖν δοῦλος. Unity is multiplied, as Eph. iii. 3, ἐν ὀλίγῳ.

As to *conjugation,* the active was altered into the passive, Eph. i. 10. The passive into the active, Eph. ii. 5. Instead of the imperative was put the *future,* Eph. iv. 27, or the *conjunctive,* Eph. ii. 16. The persons are changed, as in Eph. ii. 5. The tenses are likewise altered, such as the present

into the *past*, Matt. xiii. 51, or the *future*, Matt. xxiv. 40. The preterite is made a *present*, Eph. v. 29, and the future a present, Eph. vi. 21.

The order of words was transposed, as in Eph. i. 1. Thus adjectives were put *before* substantives, as ἐκείνῳ, Eph. ii. 12, or put *after* them, as Eph. ii. 4, πολλήν. Verbs are put first, as Eph. i. 22, ὑπέταξεν. What were separate in the original were put together, as Eph. ii. 3, and *vice versa* Eph. i. 12. Sentences were transposed, as Eph. vi. 2, &c. &c.

In the same way λόγος is put before πνεῦμα, in 2 Thes. ii. 2; Paul before Barnabas, Acts xiii. 2, 7, xv. 12, 25; the principal men of the city before the women, Acts xiii. 50, xvii. 12; Iconium before Antioch, Acts xiv. 19; the Sadducees before the captain of the temple, Acts iv. 1; Jesus's mother before his brethren, Mark iii. 31. There are also various changes made in order to explain the sense of words or clauses more clearly. Thus in Acts xxiii. 27, 31, στρατιῶται is rendered *Romani;* in Matt. xvii. 19, ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτό, *sanare illum;* προσκαρτεροῦντες . . . . . καὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ καὶ τῇ κλάσει τοῦ ἄρτου καὶ ταῖς προσευχαῖς is translated, *et communicabant in precatione et in fractione eucharistiae;* ἄρτος τῆς προθέσεως *panis mensae Domini;* οὐκ ἔζι κυριακὸν δεῖπνον φαγεῖν, *non sicut justum est die Domini nostri, comeditis et bibitis.*

We need not follow this subject into farther details, but refer to Winer,* Loehlein,† and Rueckert,‡ of whose works De Wette§ has made good use; and also to Wichelhaus.‖

* De versionis N. T. Syriacae usu critico caute instituendo, 1823; and Observationes in epistolam D. Jacobi ex versione Syriaca, maximam partem criticae, 1827.

† Syrus, epistolae ad Ephesios interpres, &c. 1835.

‡ Der Brief Pauli an die Ephesier erläutert und vertheidigt, 1834.

§ Einleitung, p. 14.

‖ De Novi Testamenti versione Syriaca antiqua quam Peschitho vocant, &c. 1850.

The essay of Loehlein is the most valuable and thorough of all, though professedly extending only to the Ephesian epistle.

The examples already given might be extended indefinitely, but they must suffice to indicate the general character of the version, and the sort of license which the translator took from choice or necessity.

A more important thing, and that with which we have chiefly to do, is *the nature of the Greek text at the basis of the Peshito.*

The Greek text followed by the translator bears upon it the marks of a high antiquity. He lived near the country where the first collection of the sacred writings was made, and in a land where learned fathers had flourished who were able *to write* in Greek, so complete masters were they of that language. Hence the Syriac interpreter could not fail to have an ancient copy to serve as the ground-work of his version. The ability too which he has displayed, shews him in the light of a scholar familiar with the language and writings of the New Testament books, who could judge of the goodness of a MS. Hence we must believe that he consulted one of the best copies he could procure, in the preparation of his important work.

When we compare the text of the Peshito with the oldest critical authorities, its importance is readily perceived. These are Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, and the old Latin version used by Tertullian and other fathers. But as Irenaeus' works have for the most part survived only in a Latin version, they cannot be very exactly employed for collation with the text of the Peshito. Subtracting them there remain Clement and the old Latin, with which the text of the Peshito has a striking coincidence. In passages where the three coincide, the reading must be considered as one of the oldest. And the number of such

coincidences is not small. Of course where they *do* take place, the readings they exhibit are entitled to great attention. We shall adduce a few examples of their agreement.*

Matt. xv. 8, ὁ λαὸς οὗτος τοῖς χειλεσίν με τιμᾷ. The received text has several other words which are not genuine.

Matt. xviii. 10, ἐν οὐρανοῖς after οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτῶν is omitted. It was probably a gloss.

Mark x. 27, παρὰ δὲ τῷ θεῷ δυνατόν.

But although the readings of these three authorities be entitled to great weight, they must not be at once received as the original ones. They should be judged of by *all* the evidence, and admitted or rejected accordingly.

A few examples may now be given where the Peshito and old Latin coincide. These are very abundant; and the readings are valuable in which the agreement occurs.

Mark i. 2, ἐν Ἡσαΐᾳ τῷ προφήτῃ; i. 19, προβὰς ὀλίγον, 24, τί ἡμῖν καὶ σοί without ἔα; i. 42, καὶ εὐθέως ἀπῆλθεν κ. τ. λ.; Matt. vi. 18, ἀποδώσει σοι; Gal. iii. 1, τίς ὑμᾶς ἐβάσκανεν, οἷς κατ' κ. τ. λ.; Matt. vi. 15, τὰ παραπτώματα αὐτῶν of the received text is omitted; vii. 29, ὡς οἱ γραμματεῖς αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ φαρισαῖοι; ix. 15, νηστεύειν; ix. 35, ἐν τῷ λαῷ is omitted.

As the text of the Peshito agrees with the old Latin, it agrees of course with D. or the codex Cantabrigiensis in the gospels and Acts, and to a considerable extent with the cod. Claromontanus in the Pauline epistles. Thus Michaelis found that in the first twenty-two chapters of the Acts, the cod. Cantab. and Peshito coincide in seventy-seven readings, and in the first ten chapters of Mark's gospel in twenty readings found in no other MS.†

But though the Peshito is very frequently accompanied by the old Latin in its readings, and by the oldest class of MSS., yet it has others peculiar to itself, or nearly so. Among

* Eichhorn's Einleitung, vol. iv. § 58, p. 415, et seq

† Curae in versionem Syriacam Actuum apostolicorum, pp. 163, 164.

these may be specified Mark ii. 8, ὅτι ταῦτα διαλογίζονται ἐν ἑαυτοῖς; Heb. ix. 20, πρὸς ὑμᾶς is omitted; Romans v. 7, *pro improbis*, thus reading along with the Erpenian Arabic taken from it, ἄδικος instead of δίκαιος; Luke viii. 22, καὶ ἀνήχθησαν is left out. So too the Persian. In Matt. vi. 13 the doxology is inserted, with the Ethiopic, Persian, Armenian, &c. Matt. xxviii. 18 these words are added, καὶ καθὼς ἀπέσταλκέ με ὁ πατήρ μου, κἀγὼ ἀποστέλλω ὑμᾶς, which are also in the Persian and Armenian. They are transferred from John xx. 21. In Mark vi. 11, the words ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν· ἀνεκτότερον ἔσται Σοδόμοις ἢ Γομόρροις ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως, ἢ τῇ πόλει ἐκείνῃ are appended, taken from Matt. x. 15. They are also in the Persian.

But it is likely that some of these readings have been added to the genuine text since it was made from the Greek; for the present printed Peshito is taken from comparatively junior MSS., and we know that the oldest ones differ in many instances from the printed text.*

There is no good reason for supposing, as Bengel apparently did, that the Syriac translator made use of the old Latin version. They were independent of one another as two separate documents circulating at the same time in different countries; and the similarity of the text lying at the basis of each must be explained by their antiquity.

The version before us has been perplexing to Griesbach in relation to his system of recensions; for he could not well assign it to the western, the Alexandrine, or the Constantinopolitan recension. At one time he conjectured that it had been repeatedly revised at different times after different Greek MSS;† but at a later period‡ that it had undergone only *one* such revisal after a certain kind of Greek text. The opinion of Hug is more probable, who refers it to the κοινὴ ἔκδοσις, in

* See De Wette's Einleitung, pp. 14, 15; and Eichhorn, Einleit. vol. iv. § 58.

† Prolegomena in N. T. p. 72, ed. Schulz.

‡ Meletema II. in his Commentarius Criticus, &c. Partic. ii. pp. 51, 52.

which Eichhorn, Winer, and Muralt coincide. Both the old Latin and it belong to the most ancient period of text, and therefore they agree so strikingly.

On the whole, the text at the basis of the Peshito has most resemblance to D. Clement of Alexandria, Irenaeus, and the old Latin. There are also places in which its readings are exhibited in the best ancient copies, such as A. B. C. D. E.* It is an old and valuable document.

But though this be the prevailing character of its text, yet it exhibits Asiatic readings also. It approaches in not a few cases the text of Chrysostom. It favours the *textus receptus*. This indeed might have been expected from its birth-place. The extent however to which it agrees with the received text has not been investigated; for greater attention has been given to its *ancient* readings, or at least to what critics have judged so, because they are found in contemporary documents and authorities. There is little doubt that it approaches to the received text oftener than has been suspected.†

Let us now refer to a few prominent readings in this version which attract the critic's notice, and whose appearance is capable of various explanations.

In Matt. x. 8, the words *νεκρους εγειρετε* are not in the Peshito. They are indeed in most editions, including Schaaf's, but they are not in the Vienna one; and it may therefore be fairly presumed that they do not belong to the genuine Peshito.

In Matt. xxvii. 9, *Ιερεμίου* the name of the prophet is omitted. The margin of the Philoxenian has *Zechariah* instead of Jeremiah.

In Matt. xxvii. 35, *ινα πληρωθῇ*——*κληρον* are not in the version. Nor do we suppose that they were in the Greek copy or copies lying before the translator.

* Michaelis, Curae in versionem Syriacam, &c. p. 177, et seq.

† See Wichelhaus, pp. 268, 269.

The last twelve verses of Mark's gospel belong to the version.

In Luke i. 75, the clause ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ is omitted.

Acts viii. 37, is wanting. Schaaf has it improperly in the text.

In Acts xv. 34, the whole verse is left out.

Acts xxviii. 29, is also wanting, and rightly so.

A peculiar reading occurs in Acts xviii. 7, where *Titus* is in the Syriac for the Greek *Justus*. For this Hug offers an ingenious explanation. The translator in his opinion divided the Greek terms thus ONOMA—TIIOYΣ—TOY—ΣEBOMENOY, and prolonged the stroke at the top of the second I in TIIOYΣ, so as to make TITOYΣ. But the conjecture is most improbable, for in this way he would have violated grammatical rule; and he was by no means ignorant of Greek construction.*

In connection with this reading it may be observed, that the translator has elsewhere blundered in Latin words. He did not know the language. Thus it is thought that he meant to express *custodia* or *custodes* by ܩܣܛܘܕܝܐ what is now Rish being a mistake for Dolath. Others take it for *questionarius* or *questionarii*.† We may also refer to *Forum Appii*, Acts xxviii. 15.

The paragraph in John's gospel relating to the adulteress does not belong to the version. Nor do we believe it was in the Greek text from which the version was derived, or that monachism in Syria had to do with its absence from the Peshito, as Wichelhaus supposes.

Luke xxii. 17, 18, are not in the version,‡ and accordingly they do not appear in the Vienna edition founded on MSS. Tremellius however *supplied* them; and Schaaf has inserted them without scruple in the text. Such conduct is highly reprehensible.

* See Hug, Einleit. vol. i. p. 302. † Comp. Wichelhaus, pp. 237, 238.
‡ Assemani Biblioth. Vat. vol. ii. p. 70.

In 1 Cor. v. 8, the version has, "but with the leaven of purity and sanctity," instead of "the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth."

Here Adler* was wrong in charging the reading ܚܡܝܪܐ instead of ܦܛܝܪܐ upon the Nestorians, for both Nestorians and Jacobites have it. It is not confined to Nestorian MSS., but belongs to the Jacobite ones also. Moses of Mardin belonged to the Jacobites, and yet *he* had it in his MSS., and so it was printed in the Vienna edition. The Malabar MS. used by Dr. Lee also has it. Both parties too employ *fermented bread* in the east. Indeed it would appear that there is no authority for ܦܛܝܪܐ. All collated MSS. have the other; and those editions which put ܦܛܝܪܐ rest on no other foundation than conjecture.†

Hug does *not* say, in the *last* edition of his Introduction, that Adler found ܒܦܛܝܪܐ "in MSS. which according to the inscription were Nestorian."‡ *Neither* does Professor Lee in reply to Hug state that the preference given to the reading "with the leaven," by putting it in the text shews Jacobite MSS. to have been used.§ Such representations of the sentiments expressed by both critics are alike unfounded and untrue.

In 1 Tim. iii. 16 θεός is not found. The reading followed was either ὅς or ὅ, most probably the former.

We have now indicated the character of the version and the text at the basis of it with sufficient clearness to shew its utility in criticism. In weight and authority it surpasses any other version of the Greek Testament. Indeed there is no ancient translation either of the Old or New Testament which furnishes so much assistance in the criticism

* De Versionibus Syris, p. 39.

† Lee's Prolegomena to Bagster's Polyglott, p. 44.

‡ See Einleit. vol. i. p. 328, fourth edition.

§ See Lee's Prolegomena to Bagster's Polyglott, p. 44.

of the text. Its antiquity, its general fidelity, its accuracy, conspire to elevate it higher than any extant translation.

One caution must be particularly attended to in applying its text to critical purposes—a caution urged by Winer and Loehlein. We must pay regard to the construction of the language and the peculiar manner of the translator. There are deviations from the Greek, inversions, changes, which must not be construed into *peculiar readings*. They are rather *peculiarities of the version itself* than of the Greek text whence it was taken. Hence they should not be transferred to the latter.

This mistake is often made. Not to speak of many passages in which it is very pardonable because the distinction in them between *peculiarities of the version* and *various readings properly so called* is not easily made, the following have been absurdly adduced; and collators such as Mill, Wetstein, Griesbach and Scholz blamed for overlooking or omitting them in their critical apparatus! They belong simply to the translator, and do not at all partake of the character of *various readings*.

Matt. i. 24, "took her for his wife" is the literal rendering of the Syriac. But it must not be supposed that the translator had before him in the Greek text παρέλαβε αὐτὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ.

In Matt. ii. 11, the order of the three gifts in the Syriac is, *gold, and myrrh, and frankincense*. The sequence is changed by the translator in a thousand places.

Matt. iv. 1, instead of "by the Spirit," as in the Greek, the translator inserted the adjective *holy* before Spirit. Many adjectives he has arbitrarily inserted in other places. Again, in Matt. iv. 19, 21, the Syriac inserts *Jesus*. None however should think from this that the word *Jesus* was in the Greek. In Matt. iv. 24, a pronoun is *represented* in Syriac which is

merely *implied* in the Greek, viz. ܐܢܬ *ye*. But the translator must not be supposed on this account to have had ὑμεῖς in the Greek copy before him. He has taken far greater license than this in relation to pronouns.*

The extracts hitherto given from the version are still faulty and incomplete. But since the time Michaelis and Bode pointed out the faults of Mill, Bengel, and Wetstein, fewer mistakes have been made.† Yet the editions of Griesbach and Scholz are not free from errors, as Loehlein has shewn; while *important* extracts might have been multiplied. What is most wanted is a new and critical edition from many more MSS. than have been yet employed or collated. There are very old and important copies in this country, brought from the Nitrian desert. These are sufficiently numerous and valuable to lay at the basis of a new edition, even without the assistance of such as are in the Vatican and other libraries of Europe. Michaelis's words are still true, that "in using this version we must never forget that our present editions are very imperfect, and not conclude that every reading of the Syriac printed text was the reading of the Greek MSS." when the version was made.‡

Let us now enumerate the chief printed editions.

1. In the year 1552 Ignatius, patriarch of the Maronites, sent a priest, Moses of Mardin, to Europe, to Pope Julius the Third, to make submission to the Roman See in the name of the Syrian church, and to bring with him *printed* copies of the New Testament. Moses could find none to undertake the work either at Rome or Venice, till at last Albert Widmanstadt, chancellor of Austria under Ferdinand I., prevailed upon the emperor to bear the expense. It was executed accordingly

* See Loehlein, p. 25, et seq.

† Curæ in versionem Syriacam Actuum Apostolicorum 1755; and Pseudocritica Millio-Bengeliana, 1767.

‡ Introduction to the New Testament by Marsh, vol. ii. p. 46.

by the joint labours of Moses, Widmanstadt, and W. Postell; and the whole was completed in 1555, Vienna, two volumes quarto. The first six lines of the title page are Syriac, in the Estrangelo character, the first four containing larger letters than the last two. They are followed immediately by the Latin translation, *Liber sacrosancti evangelii de Jesu Christo Domino et Deo nostro. Reliqua hoc codice comprehensa pagina proxima indicabit.* Under this is *Div. Ferdinandi Rom. imperatoris designati jussu et liberalitate, characteribus et lingua Syra Jesu Christo vernacula Divino ipsius ore consecrata, et a Joh. Evangelista Hebraica dicta, scriptorio Prelo diligenter expressa.* Then follows another line in the Estrangelo character, consisting of four words, with the Latin translation below, *principium sapientiae timor Domini.* Though the date is not on the title page, yet it may be found in other parts more than six times repeated. It is therefore inexcusable in Wichelhaus to give 1561 instead of 1555. Titles, dedications, and subscriptions are copiously interspersed throughout; in fact, before each gospel there is a leaf, on one side of which is a Syriac title, on the other a Latin translation of it. The work is handsomely printed in good, legible letters, and must be regarded as very accurate. Chapters and verses are not distinguished as in our present Greek editions, but our chapters are numbered in the margin in Arabic letters. The text is divided according to the reading lessons for the Sundays and festivals observed by the Syrian church, of which a list is given at the end of the book. The headings of these sections is in the Estrangelo character. It appears that there are 76 in Matthew, 43 in Mark, 75 in Luke, 53 in John.

The vowel points are not put everywhere. Many words have none. Many others have *some*, not *all.*

It should be observed, that the last two epistles of John, the second of Peter, the epistle of Jude, and the Apocalypse are wanting.

Of the edition in question, a thousand copies were printed,

of which the emperor reserved five hundred for sale, sent three hundred to the two Syrian patriarchs, and made a present of two hundred to Moses.

In some of the copies, on the reverse of the title page are the arms of the printer Zimmermann, with the subscription *eum Rom. Caes. Maj. gratia et privilegio cautum est, ut nemo deinceps hoc opus imprimat. Viennae Austriae excudebat Michael Zimmermann, Anno* MDLXII. Hirt* supposed that in this year the printer purchased from the emperor the remainder of the copies.

Besides the books which are wanting in this edition, because they are wanting in the genuine Peshito, the following passages are also absent:—(1.) The story of the adulteress, John vii. 53—viii. 1-11. (2.) 1 John v. 7.

Some words are also wanting in Matt. x. 8, and xxvii. 35. Luke xxii. 17, 18 are also absent. These three places however, together with John vii. 53—viii. 11, stand in the list of typographical errors at the beginning; and are marked with a star.‡ They are properly various readings, not taken from Syriac, but from Greek or Latin MSS. It is likely, that as Moses of Mardin was a Jacobite, according to his own profession to Masius, and as his edition was prepared for the use of the Jacobites, being distributed into sections agreeably to the rites of the Jacobite church, Widmanstadt was afraid that the edition might get into disrepute on account of passages which differed from the Vulgate. Hence he put among *errata* what was wanting in the Syriac text compared with the Vulgate, or what was read in a different manner.†

* See his Oriental. und Exegetischer Bibliothek, Theil ii. p. 260, et seq; iv. p. 317, et seq; v. p. 25, et seq.

† "Propter pauca quaedam loca inter typographicas emendationes notata hoc signo, * in quibus libri Syrorum a nostris discrepant, vel ob historiam adulterae apud Johannem, quod et in Graecis exemplaribus non infrequens est, praetermissam, opus totum per calumniam ne reprehendito."—Widmanstadt.

‡ It must not be supposed from the statement now made that the passage John vii. 53—viii. 11 is given at length among the errata. *Deest Historia Adulterae* is all that is given in Latin in the Syriac page.

We have very little information about the MSS. from which the text was taken. It would appear that Moses brought with him two MSS.* which Marsh thinks were not duplicates of the whole Syriac Testament, but only two different volumes, one containing the Gospels, the other the Acts and Epistles. But this is very uncertain. At the end of the Gospels Moses states in Syriac and Widmanstadt in Latin, that the edition was taken from two MSS.; one belonging to Moses, written at Mosul on the Tigris according to Masius, the other to Widmanstadt. Adler relates that the former is still in the Imperial Library at Vienna, marked cod. Lambecii 258. But this codex was written by Moses of Mardin himself, and is not an ancient one.† There is no doubt that good and ancient copies formed the basis of the edition, though they were in Jacobite hands. That they were Nestorian copies should not be asserted with Adler, who has made a mistake in attributing to the codices of the Nestorians alone, defects and peculiarities belonging to all the Syrian copies.

This *editio princeps* is most highly valued by every scholar, not merely because it is the first, but because its text is very accurate, being derived almost entirely from MS. authority. But Marsh's praise is extravagant when he says, "It may be considered as a perfect pattern of the genuine Peshito, which cannot be said of any subsequent edition."‡ It has become rare.

2. Tremellius, a converted Jew and professor at Heidelberg, edited a new edition of the Syriac Testament which appeared in 1569 folio, at Geneva, printed by Henry Stephens.

* Why Scrivener (Supplement to the authorised English version, vol. i. p. 64, Introduction) says that the edition was printed *from a single MS.* we are unable to say.

† See Wichelhaus, p. 217.

‡ Notes to Michaelis's Introduction to the New Testament, vol. ii. pp. 537, 538.

The title page sufficiently explains its character. * The work is arranged in four columns, one page containing the Greek text and Beza's Latin translation; the other the Peshito printed in the Hebrew character, and a literal Latin translation of it by Tremellius himself. It detracted from the value of the work that for the want of Syriac type the learned editor was compelled to use the Hebrew letters. As he was accustomed to the Chaldee dialect, he made some slight changes so as to bring the Syriac into a closer conformity to the Chaldee. Thus instead of the letter *nun* which is prefixed to the third person of the future in Syriac, he put *yod*, out of conformity to the Chaldee language. Vowel points are regularly put to the text, all beneath it.

The basis of the text is the preceding edition of Widmanstadt. Besides this Tremellius had MSS. which he made use of to a considerable extent. Thus he often cites in the marginal notes a Heidelberg MS. which was subsequently carried to Rome with the Heidelberg library. He has also supplied the lacunae of the Vienna edition in Matt. xxiv. 17; John v. 20, vi. 39; Acts xxii. 11; Romans i. 17; 1 Cor. ix. 22, &c. and has corrected errata, ex. gr. in Matt. xiv. 3, xvi. 22; Acts iii. 5; Romans iii. 7, xv. 2; Heb. ii. 9. In other places he confesses that he could not correct, from his MS., the reading which he regarded as corrupt, Matt. vii. 23, xxii. 23; Acts v. 41; 1 Cor. xii. 23. The two columns in which the Syrian text and the Latin version of the narrative relating to the adulteress should stand are left vacant at that place with these words: *vacat haec pagina quod historia de*

* Ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη Testamentum novum הַיְתִיקָא חַדְתָא. Est autem interpretatio Syriaca Novi Testamenti hebraeis typis descripta, plerisque etiam locis emendata. Eadem latino sermone reddita, Autore Immanuele Tremellio, theol. doctore et professore in schola Heidelbergensi, cujus etiam grammatica chaldaica et Syra calci operis adjecta est. Excudebat Henr. Stephanus. Anno M.D.LXI.X.

adultera in interpret. Syriaca non extet. In like manner the editor remarks in the margin at 1 John v. 7, that this verse is not found in the Syrian version and in many MSS. Bruns* has pointed out the rash alterations made in the text without MS. authority, such as Matt. x. 8, xxvii. 35; Luke xxii. 17, 18; Acts xv. 34.

The Syriac and Chaldee grammar at the end of the book occupies twenty-seven leaves.

The chief blame attached to the editor is that he was smitten with too great a desire of conforming the Syriac text to the Greek. His aim was not so much to present the text current among the ancient Syrians as to edit a Syriac or Chaldee version conformed to the original authentic Greek.

At the end of the work is a list of passages to which is prefixed the following superscription:—*Loci quidam in quorum scriptura partim peccarunt operae, partim codex Viennensis ex Heidelbergensi est emendandus*, ex. gr. Matt. xxvii. 20, ܕܢܫܐܠܘܢ ܠܗܘܢ Heid. ܕܢܫܐܠܘܢ item Raphel. et Guelpherb.

The edition is now scarce.†

3. The next edition is that contained in the fifth volume of the Antwerp Polyglott which issued from the Plantin press in 1572 in folio. Here the text is printed both in Syriac and Hebrew letters. The editor was Guido Fabricius or Guy Le Fevre de la Boderie; and the basis of the text is Widmanstadt's. According to the editor's own statement in the preface, he had one MS. which he compared and used:—"*Syrumque Novi Testamenti contextum a me litteris Hebraicis descriptum, diligenter recognovi, atque cum vetustissimo exemplari Syro, jam ab anno* 1500 *regni Alexandri* (1188), *a quo Syri annos suos numerant, manuscripto religiose contuli. Illud autem vetustissimum exemplar allatum fuerat ex Oriente a Postello.*"

* In the Repertorium für bibl. und morgenl. Literatur. Th. xv. p. 153.

† See Rosenmüller's Handbuch für die Literatur, u. s. w. vol. iii. p. 103, et seq.

The MS. in question has been identified by Marsh with the codex Coloniensis now in the University Library at Leyden, from which Rapheleng selected various readings appended to the editions of the Syriac Testament which proceeded from his press in 1575, 1583. But there is great reason for doubting the truth of this, since the MS. in question has many readings adapted to the Greek text and even the Latin Vulgate. Examples are given by Wichelhaus.* Fabricius added a Latin translation. The value of his edition cannot be very great, since the text was altered after the MS. mentioned.

4. In 1574 Plantin published in 8vo an edition of the Syriac in Hebrew letters, without points. It is the same text as in the Antwerp Polyglott, and has no title page of its own, the only superscription being דיתיקא חדתא printed over the first chapter of Matthew. In the text are not only the Syrian sections, but our present chapters, and in the margin the number of the separate verses. At the end are various readings collected by Francis Rapheleng from the cod. Coloniensis already mentioned.

5. In 1575 the same text, also printed in Hebrew letters, was issued in 16mo by Plantin, with Rapheleng's various readings.

6. The next edition is that of Paris, 1584 4to, promoted by Le Fevre. This contains the Greek text, the Vulgate, the Syriac, and a Latin version of it. The Syriac is written with Hebrew letters, but without points; and the Latin version is interlinear. Here the books and passages not belonging to the Peshito are omitted as in the preceding editions; but they stand in the Greek text and in the Vulgate columns. There is however an interpolation at the end of the epistle to the Romans.

7. The text of Elias Hutter in his edition of the New Testament in twelve languages, 1599, Nurnberg, folio, is of

* De Novi Testamenti versione Syriaca antiqua, &c. p. 219.

no use to the critic. The books wanting were here translated into Syriac.

8. Of more importance is the edition of Martin Trost, published at Cöthen in 1621 4to, in the Syriac character. It does not appear that the editor employed MSS., but he added a useful list of various readings gathered out of preceding editions. A list of readings in which the editions of Trost and Plantin differ from Widmanstadt, is given by Hirt.

9. In the ninth and tenth volumes of the Paris Polyglott we have the Peshito among other versions. Here it is reprinted from the Antwerp Polyglott. But the books which the version properly wants are also printed from the editions of De Dieu (the Apocalypse), and Pococke (the four Catholic epistles). Gabriel Sionita was the person who superintended the work; and it is thought that he introduced various alterations and emendations. It was he that appended the vowel-points where they were not before, from his own judgment or from MSS. Michaelis has expressed a strong suspicion that the text was altered from mere conjecture; at least many passages in the book of Revelation differ from the edition of De Dieu without any reason being assigned. Gabriel has been much blamed by Michaelis and others for his system of vowel-points, in the arrangement of which he has abided by strict analogy, whence modern grammarians have derived their rules. But this analogy may have been founded on the authority of MSS. It is by no means certain that it rested merely on his own conjecture. The researches of Wiseman have gone far to shew that he followed *ancient tradition.* And then it should be remembered that De Dieu's MS. of the Apocalypse had many blemishes, so that the departure of Gabriel's text from it may have been derived from the testimony of another MS.

10. From the Paris Polyglott the Peshito was transferred to the fifth volume of the London (1655). Although Walton says in his Prolegomena, after enumerating the defects of the

Paris edition, that he endeavoured to supply them all in his Polyglott, "*non ex propriis conjecturis sed secundum exemplaria MSS. quorum quaedam antiquissima, reliqua ex authenticis apud Syros codicibus descripta sunt;*" yet it may be doubted whether this language should not be restricted to the Old Testament. No MS. of the New Testament is mentioned. The story of the adulteress in John vii. 53—viii. 11 was added from a MS. belonging to Ussher, which however contains the Philoxenian or later Syriac version, not the Peshito, and where it is added in the margin. "The editors therefore of the London Polyglott have printed as a part of the Old Syriac version, a passage which is found only in the later copies of the New. It is wanting not only in the Peshito, but in the genuine copies of the Philoxenian, and was added in the latter as a marginal scholion, the translation being ascribed in Ridley's codex Barsalibaei to Mar Abba, in the Paris manuscript to one Paul a monk."*

The sixth volume contains the collection of various readings made by Trost. In this edition the example of the Paris editors was unhappily imitated in printing the four Catholic epistles which the genuine Peshito wants; and also the Apocalypse.

11. A better edition is that of Gutbier, Hamburg, 1664 8vo, who had two MSS. The basis of the text was that of Trost, but he also compared other editions. For the punctuation, which differs much from that of the Paris Polyglott, he appeals to the authority of a MS. borrowed from L'Empereur at Leyden. He inserted the narrative in John vii. 53—viii. 11 out of the London Polyglott, and 1 John v. 7 from Tremellius's translation of it into Syriac. These were serious blemishes. A glossary is appended; as also a collection of various readings from preceding editions, and critical notes containing examples of varying punctuation, &c.

12. Passing over other editions, we proceed to that pub-

* Notes to Michaelis's Introduction, vol. ii. p. 545.

lished at Rome for the use of the Maronites from the Propaganda press, in two folio volumes, Rome 1703. The first volume contains the gospels; the second, the Acts, Catholic and Pauline epistles. The book is a diglott, containing in two columns the Peshito text, and an Arabic version in Syrian characters, or *the Carshuni* text. The work was prepared under the editorship of Faustus Naironus Banensis Maronita, who gives an account of it in the preface. It would appear that the text is derived from a MS. belonging to the library of the College of Maronites. This MS. was a transcript made by Antonius Sionita in 1611, after three MSS. belonging to the College of Maronites. The four Catholic epistles as well as the Apocalypse are given in the very same text, with a few exceptions, as in the original editions of Pococke and De Dieu. Luke xxii. 17, 18, and the story of the adulteress are inserted, but marked with an asterisk at the beginning and end. Acts xxviii. 29, and 1 John v. 7 are wanting. In Acts xx. 28 the text has "the church of Christ." There is good reason for believing that the editor has introduced readings into the text *arbitrarily*, and *without authority*. An example of this occurs in Matt. xxvii. 35, where the words are taken from Widmanstadt's notes. Dr. Lee, who collated the fifth chapter of Matthew's gospel, has shewn that the text could not have been taken from ancient and accurate MSS. There are also many typographical errata. The vowel points too are *omitted* in many words, even in the case of proper names; and they are *inserted* according to no fixed rule.*

13. One of the best editions, which has found much and deserved favour is that published at Leyden in 1709 4to, by Schaaf and Leusden. The title is, *Novum Domini nostri Jesu Christi Testamentum Syriacum, cum versione Latina; cura et studio Johannis Leusden et Caroli Schaaf editum. Ad omnes editiones diligenter recensitum; et variis lectionibus magno labore*

* Prolegomena to Bagster's Polyglott, p. 42.

collectis, adornatum. Lugduni Batavorum, &c. 1708 (or as more copies have) 1709.

Leusden died when the work had proceeded as far as Luke xv. 20. And as the two editors were of different sentiments in regard to the arrangement of the points, Schaaf, who had deferred to the judgment of the other, followed his own better judgment from Luke xviii. 27 to the end.

The text is chiefly taken from the Vienna edition, to which Schaaf joined the Paris and London Polyglotts, the punctuation being conformed to the latter. This is manifest from the preface, where we read :—"*Et ut haec nostra editio eo accuratior prodiret in publicum, ad omnes editiones, quotquot antea prodierant, diligentissime recensui. Et ex iis maximae utilitatis mihi fuere Viennensis, Parisiensis major, et Anglicana: Viennensis cum sit omnium prima et originaria, mihi primaria norma fuit.*" Thus the text is an *eclectic* one, formed from those of preceding editions without the assistance of MSS. The editor however was wrong in taking into the text from the editions of Tremellius and Trost such portions as are not in the oldest editions, as the four Catholic epistles already mentioned, and the Apocalypse; 1 John v. 7; John vii. 53—viii. 11. He has also interpolated in other places, as Acts viii. 37, xv. 34.

The text is divided into the ordinary chapters and verses, and the order of the books is that followed in the usual editions. It is beautifully and accurately printed, with a Latin version occupying a parallel column. As to the various readings at the end extending through one hundred pages, they are not of much importance, because they are all selected from printed editions, and not from MSS. The work is generally accompanied by Schaaf's *Lexicon Concordantiale*, in a similar quarto volume, which appeared at the same time and place, and leaves nothing to be desired as to completeness.

In 1717 was published a second edition at Leyden, at

least the title-page bears on it "*Secunda editio a mendis purgata.*" But there is no doubt that it is the very same impression with the title-page a little altered, for the preface is dated like the other, 1708.

14. In 1816 another edition was published for the British and Foreign Bible Society, 4to, designed for distribution in the East, with the title in Latin, *Novum Testamentum Syriace denuo recognitum atque ad fidem codicum manuscriptorum emendatum.* On the opposite page is another title in the Estrangelo character.

This edition was superintended as far as the Acts of the Apostles by Dr. Buchanan, and completed by Dr. Lee.* It was intended for the use of the Syrian Christians in the East.

According to Lee's own statement, printed in the notes to Wait's translation of Hug's Introduction, he used the following:

1. A MS. brought by Buchanan from Travancore, now deposited in the University Library at Cambridge. Dr. Lee thinks it 500 years old.

2. Another MS. in the same library, mentioned in Ridley's *Dissertatio de Syriacarum Novi Foederis Versionum indole*, &c. (p. 46.)

3. The collations of two ancient MSS. of the gospels in the Bodleian, published at Oxford by R. Jones, 1805 4to.

4. The collations contained in Ridley's dissertation, in the New Testament of Wetstein, and the edition of Schaaf.

5. The citations found in the works of Ephrem the Syrian.

6. A MS. belonging to Dr. A. Clarke, containing reading lessons.

* We learn from Dr. Tregelles, that Dr. Lee's edition of the Syriac New Testament was not commenced by Dr. Buchanan. The latter indeed had begun an edition for the British and Foreign Bible Society which was printed as far as the Acts when he died. But it was thought desirable to cancel the sheets; because of the very peculiar system of orthography and vocalisation adopted. Hence the Gospels and Acts were *reprinted* from Buchanan's text; and the text of the rest of the New Testament was formed by Lee on Buchanan's system.

The editor himself also states that along with these he had continual reference to other ancient versions and the Greek MSS. His own words are in another place:—"*Hoc tamen dixerim, nullam sane lectionem in textu hujus editionis reperiri posse, nisi quae et in codicibus ipsorum Syrorum reperiatur, bonitatisque suae speciem demum probabilem prae se ferat.*" *

The basis of the text is Schaaf's, and the vowel points agree with the mode followed by that editor. The Greek vowels only are used. The points Ribui, the lineola occultans, Rucoch, and Kushoi are also employed. The text is divided into lessons, with headings in Syriac specifying the feast day or Sunday on which each is to be read according to the usage of the Jacobite Christians in Syria. Our chapters are also marked partly in the text and partly in the margin in Syriac numerals, while the common verses are noted in the margin in the ordinary numerals. There is no doubt that the text is very accurately printed.

In examining several prominent passages we find the following:—1 John v. 7 is wanting, and no note is given at the place. The story of the adulteress in John vii. 53—viii. 11, is given in the text, but between ruled lines, with a heading at the commencement, "This lesson respecting the sinful woman is not in the Peshito." To Matt. xxvii. 35, there is a note stating "in some Greek copies is added here," followed by ἵνα πληρωθῇ . . . . . κλῆρον in Syriac. Luke xxii. 17, 18, are put in a parenthesis. Acts viii. 37 is thrown into a note. Acts xv. 34 is put in a note. To Acts xviii. 6 is the note—"In Greek copies we find these words, 'your blood be upon your head.'" At Acts xx. 28 we have the note, "In other copies there is in this place, 'of the Messiah.'" Acts xxviii. 29 is put in a note. At 1 Cor. v. 8 there is this note, "In some copies there is in this place ܒܦܛܝܪܐ."

It has been shewn by Lee that the reading in his edition,

Prolegomena to Bagster's Polyglott, p. 44.

and indeed in all others, viz. ܚܡܝܪܐ, is not a Nestorian reading exclusively, because the Jacobites as well as the Nestorians use fermented bread to the present day, as we learn from Assemann.*

Attention has been directed both by Hug and Lee to Heb. ii. 9, which has a characteristic reading of the Jacobites, according to the former critic. In the editions of Widmanstadt, Schaaf, and most others, the reading is "for God himself, by his grace, tasted death for all." But Hug is incorrect in saying that this is the reading of all printed editions; for in Tremellius's, which follows the Heidelberg MS., the reading corresponds to the Greek χωρὶς θεοῦ, viz. ܣܛܪ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ. In the edition before us, there is a third form of the passage, viz. 'He, by his grace, God, for every man hath tasted death.' ܗܘ ܓܝܪ ܒܛܝܒܘܬܗ ܐܠܗܐ. Here there is merely a transposition of words, the sense being still the Jacobite reading first given by Widmanstadt. Dr. Lee has also alluded in particular to another reading which he deems of great moment. Acts xx. 28 "church of God," found in the Malabar MS., in the Bodleian (Dawk. 2), and in the Vatican one examined by Adler. Accordingly he has introduced it into the text of his edition; and without doubt it is ancient, having as good a claim to its place in the text as many readings in Widmanstadt's edition.

Various false statements have been made about this edition, such as, that the editor appeals to the Greek as authority; that his aim was not to give such an edition as would be valuable to the critic; that the readings have been derived in part from Griesbach's edition of the Greek Testament; and that in the numbers and titles prefixed to the divisions or sections there are an incredible number of errors which have been rectified in some copies by printed pieces of paper pasted over the erroneous readings. We have the very best authority for

* Prolegomena, &c. p. 44.

saying, that such reckless assertions are *utterly untrue.* The editor does *not* appeal to the Greek as authority, nor was the Greek ever employed by him as such. No alteration was ever made on the authority of any Greek reading in any edition; nor was a single word changed without a preponderance of authority for it in the MSS. of the Syrians. The intention of the editor was also to give *to the Syrians a good and true copy of their text,* and therefore he rested on no single authority for any reading. Nor can anything faulty be found in the readings at the heads of the sections. They are very correctly printed, and the bits of pasted paper have nothing to do with their faulty character. The fact of the case is, that when the Bible Society thought of sending the edition to the Syrians of Mesopotamia as well as those of India, the editor suggested that the headings of their sections should be introduced for their convenience, for they mark the Sunday readings of their churches. The headings were faithfully inserted accordingly from the *editio princeps of Widmanstadt.* After a while however, some one *thought* he discovered various particulars stated in these headings savouring of heterodoxy, and therefore a person was employed to paste bits of paper over them all as it would seem. But they are not at all faulty. They are connected with the rituals of the Syrians, and generally refer to some fast or festival of their church. Thus in Matt. i. 1—*The first day of the week before the nativity.* Verse 18. *The revelation of Joseph* (made to him). ii. 13. *The morning of the slaughter of the infants..* ii. 19. *The offering of the slaughter of the infants.* iii. 1. *The feast of the Epiphany.* iv. 1. *The first day of the week of the entering in of Lent and the offering of the forty* (days of Lent). Here is an error of the press in one letter ܩܘܪܩܐ for ܩܪܘܩܐ. iv. 12. *The first day of the week after the Epiphany.* On the whole, every possible care was taken by the editor to make the edition correct; and his labour was most successful. Conscious as he is of this, it is no wonder that he should affirm

"It is very strange that I should thus be vilified by perfect and malicious falsehoods."* But his text was highly esteemed and welcomed by such scholars as Gesenius and Roediger at Halle.

15. A later edition was published at London in 1828, 12mo, by the Messrs. Bagster, under the editorial superintendence of Greenfield. The editor prefixed a brief Syriac preface containing at the end some account of the edition itself. "This edition," says he, "has been printed from the Holy Scriptures in Syriac which were published by J. Albertus Widmanstadius and Moses Mardaeus and by L. De Dieu and E. Pococke. The points which are wanting in these editions have been supplied from the edition that was printed in London in 1816 above mentioned. From comparison with that edition many various readings have been procured, which are placed in a table at the end of the volume. But when a various reading was required to complete the sense or preserve the number of the verses, it has been thrown into its place and included in brackets like these, [ ]. These marks are also found in the passages which were defective in the Catholic epistles or in the Revelation of John, but were supplied by E. Pococke and L. De Dieu," &c.

Here we may remark that the editor does *not profess* to give *all* the various readings existing between his text and that of the Bible Society edition. Neither does he profess to enclose in brackets what is so enclosed in Lee's edition, nor to put either in the text or table at the end what the latter edition has in the text or in the notes. Hence no charge of inconsistency can be justly urged against him. He has done all that his preface proposes without falsifying any statement, or failing to do what is said to be done. And yet the memory of the learned editor has been injuriously assailed on this point—assailed however from ignorance. His preface has been mistranslated, and on the ground of such mistransla-

* Private letter to the author.

tion he has been blamed for not strictly adhering to what he affirms!

It has only a Syriac title, partly in Estrangelo, and partly in the usual character. It must be admitted that the collation of Greenfield's text with Lee's is very inaccurately printed. But for this Dr. Henderson is responsible, since *he* made the list from Greenfield's notes. There can be no question that it is badly done.

This edition is peculiarly valuable as it enables us to see exactly the text of Widmanstadt. All additions to the text as there printed, are so marked as to be readily distinguished. We observe that 1 John v. 7 is omitted, and the verses are numbered 6, 8, 9. So also Acts viii. 37; xv. 35; xxviii. 29, are inserted in brackets. The editor has faithfully adhered to the statement made in his preface, as will be seen by comparing together what he really says with the table of various readings at the end, consisting of more than seventeen pages, the London edition of 1816, and Widmanstadt's. As a manual edition for the use of students, it surpasses any other modern one. The vowel points are the same as in that of 1816.

The following versions were made from the Peshito:—

1. An Arabic version of the Acts and Pauline epistles with 1 Peter, 1 John, and James. These were printed from a Leyden MS. and published by Erpenius at that place 1616 4to.

2. The Persian translation of the gospels contained in the fifth volume of the London Polyglott.

3. Adler found in the Vatican Library an Arabic paraphrase of some lessons taken from Paul's epistles written along with the Peshito, and taken from it. The codex is numbered xxiii. (Cod. Syr. Vat.); and Adler gave a specimen of it from the first epistle to the Corinthians with a Latin translation.*

In 1829 the British and Foreign Bible Society published an edition of the gospels, in quarto, for the use of the Nestorian

* Adler's N. T. versiones Syriacae denuo examinatae, pp. 27-29.

Syrian churches in Mesopotamia. The title is, ܟܬܒܐ ܕܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܡܪܢ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ. The text was taken from one MS. only, which Wolff brought from the neighbourhood of Mosul. It was edited by T. Pell Platt, Esq. A new fount of type was made for this edition, imitating as nearly as may be the Nestorian Estrangelo handwriting. It has the headings of the several lessons according to the Nestorian ritual, many of them corresponding with those in Lee's edition of 1816, and is on the whole very correctly printed. We believe that the text has not been collated.

In 1848 the four gospels were printed from a Syriac MS. in the British Museum by Rev. W. Cureton. The volume, which is in quarto, is entitled, "*Quatuor evangeliorum Syriace, recensionis antiquissimae, atque in occidente adhuc ignotae quod superest: e codice vetustissimo nitriensi eruit et vulgavit Guilielmus Cureton.*" An English translation with some account of the MS. is in preparation, and therefore the text, though *printed*, has not been published, for the learned editor intends to issue the whole together. The text of this edition differs considerably from the Peshito hitherto current, and there can be no doubt that it is taken from a very old source. The text is peculiar, and sometimes agrees with D. contrary to all ancient MSS. It shews as far as one MS. can do so the Greek text of an early period. The greater part of John is wanting. All that remains of Mark is only a few verses at the end of the gospel. Luke, which is fourth in order, is also defective; but not to the same extent as John. The Lord's prayer in Matthew has the doxology; though not exactly in the common Greek form. It is shorter here.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

THE PHILOXENIAN VERSION.

ANOTHER Syriac version contains all the books of the New Testament except perhaps the Apocalypse, and is commonly called the Philoxenian or later Syriac, as distinguished from the Peshito or old Syriac. It is called *Philoxenian* from Philoxenus or Mar Xenayas, bishop of Hierapolis or Mabug in Syria from A.D. 488 to 518; at whose instigation the work was executed by Polycarp his rural bishop, in the year 508. It is difficult to discover the motive which prompted Philoxenus to procure the version in question. Ridley is of opinion that the great variety and corruption of the copies of the Peshito was the leading motive which led him to promote a new version.* This, as Michaelis has observed, is an unfounded supposition. More likely is the conjecture of Michaelis himself,† with which Bertholdt agrees, viz. that he wished to have a more literal version than the Peshito—one that should be an exact copy of the Greek text in Syriac, so that the original might be seen as nearly as possible in the vernacular language of the country. With this Michaelis unites another motive not so laudable, that Philoxenus hoped to promote the religious tenets of the Monophysite party to which he belonged, by obtaining new arguments from a new translation. The latter

* De Syriacarum Novi Foederis versionum indole atque usu, &c. Sectio x. p. 290, et seq. in Semler's Wetstenii Libelli ad Crisin, &c.

† Introduction to the New Testament by Marsh, vol. ii. p. 64.

motive is that by which Eichhorn and Hug believe him to have been influenced. He wanted, as they think, a church version for the purpose of advancing Monophysite doctrines, or at least of keeping himself and his party as distinct as he could from other sects. It is not likely that Philoxenus himself had a *critical* object in view, as Bertholdt believes.* More probable is it that his object was of a less commendable character; and that he meant the version in some way to subserve the advancement of his party.

In A.D. 616 it was revised by Thomas of Harclea or Harkel in Palestine, afterwards a monk of the monastery of Tarîl, and subsequently bishop of Mabug. The revision was made by Thomas in the monastery of the Antonians or monks of St. Anthony at Alexandria.

In the postscript to the gospels which most MSS. of the version have, it is said—"This is the book of the four holy evangelists which was turned out of the Greek language into Syriac with great diligence and much labour, first in the city of Mabug in the year 819 of Alexander of Macedon (508), in the days of the pious Mar Philoxenus, confessor, bishop of that city. But it was afterwards collated with much diligence by me, poor Thomas, by the help of two (other MSS. have *three*) highly approved and accurate Greek MSS., in Antonia, of the great city Alexandria, in the holy monastery of the Antonians. It was again written out and collated in the aforesaid place in the year 927 of the same Alexander (616), in the fourth indiction. How much toil and diligence I spent upon it (the book of the gospels) and its companions (the other books of the New Testament) the Lord alone knows, who will reward every man according to his works in his just and righteous judgment, in which may we be counted worthy of his mercy.—Amen."† Thomas

* Einleitung, vol. ii. p. 654.

† Translated from the postscript to the gospels printed from Ridley's MS. in White's edition, vol. ii. p. 561, et seq.

collated the Acts and Catholic epistles with one Greek MS., as the subscription to them relates. The Pauline epistles he collated with two; for two are cited in the margin, ex. gr. Philip. iii. 20; Eph. ii. 16; Romans viii. 27.

An important word, on which the history of the version greatly depends is ܬܘܒ in the preceding postscript, meaning *again*. According to Michaelis and Storr it means a *second collation* or revision. Eichhorn however explains it, *that is to say, the second time*, resuming thus what had been said in the previous context.* White translates it *Deinde*. One thing is tolerably clear, viz. that the edition of 616 made at Alexandria, did not proceed from an unknown editor, being different from a collation previously made by Thomas of Harkel, but that it proceeded from Thomas of Harkel himself; for Bar Hebraeus expressly states thus much. The editions of Thomas of Harkel and that of 616 are identical, contrary to what Michaelis believed.

In modern times, Bernstein propounded a new view, viz. that the Harclean revision was not the amended Philoxenian but another Syriac translation. For this he relies on the preface to the *Horreum Mysteriorum* of Gregory Bar Hebraeus where the words in point are, as he translates them,—"*et redditum est* (*N. T.*) *tertio Alexandriae opera pii Thomae Charklensis, in coenobio sancto Antonianorum.*" It is thus called *the third* from the Peshito, the Philoxenian or Polycarpian being *the second*. When therefore the word ܬܠܝܬܝܐ is applied, it means *edition* in the sense of *version*, because Bar Hebraeus calls it *the third* in reference to the two preceding *versions*. Besides these particulars, Bernstein refers to the marginal readings of a Vatican MS. described by Wiseman, (CLIII.) where the Karkaphensian monks cite a few passages from the Philoxenian version. As these places do not agree with the corresponding parts of the Philoxenian text printed by White,

* Einleitung, vol. iv. pp. 473, 474.

Bernstein concludes that *the true Philoxenian* is meant as it proceeded from Polycarp himself, and not the work made or revised by Thomas. He supposes that these are the only remaining fragments of the Philoxenian, which is but once alluded to by Bar Hebraeus in the preface to his Horreum Mysteriorum, is never quoted in the course of his commentary, and must therefore have been supplanted at that time by the text of Thomas.*

This reasoning, however plausible, will not bear examination. The postscript to the gospels already quoted plainly alludes to a *revision* of the Philoxenian by Thomas, not *another translation.* Gregory himself speaks less ambiguously in other places than he does in the preface to his *Horreum Mysteriorum* on which Bernstein relies. Thus, in a passage of his Chronicon, he says of Thomas, according to Bernstein's own Latin version,† *ut sacrum evangelii codicem ac reliquos Novi Testamenti libros* EMENDATIONE *valde probata et accurata correctos redderet post primam interpretationem*, &c.; and in another place, *Thomas Charklensis, qui primam Novi Testamenti* EMENDAVIT, *versionem quam (transtulit) condidit Mar Philoxenus Mabugensis, &c.* ‡ As to the five places not agreeing with White's printed edition, too much has been made of them. They are, Romans vi. 20; 1 Cor. i. 28; 2 Cor. vii. 13; 2 Cor. x. 4; Eph. vi. 12.§ The first differs by the transposition of a word; the second differs in one word; the third disagrees only in the vowel points; the fourth has ܠܐ ܗܘܘ for White's ܠܘ; the fifth changes one word for another. Surely these slight changes are not sufficient to justify or corroborate the opinion that the marginal readings of

* De Charklensi Novi Testamenti translatione Syriaca commentatio, pp. 3-10.

† Assemani Bibliotheca Orientalis, vol. ii. p. 411, and Bernstein's Commentatio, p. 8.

‡ See Bernstein, ibid.

§ See Wiseman's Horae Syriacae, vol. i. pp. 178, 179.

the Vatican MS. and the edition printed by White represent *two versions*. The former are rather fragments of the Philoxenian before Thomas's revision; the latter Thomas's *recension* of the very same. They do not differ as independent translations.*

It is the work *as revised* by Thomas of Harkel that is extant, and has been printed. One MS. the codex Florentinus, containing no more than the four gospels which Adler examined and described,† has been thought to contain the original edition which proceeded from Polycarp himself, unrevised by Thomas of Harkel; but this is not certain. The text of it has not been printed.

The text of the Philoxenian as revised by Thomas is furnished with obeli and asterisks. Most of the MSS. too have critical remarks and readings in the margin.

In attempting to separate what belongs to Thomas from the original edition, there has been much conjecture. Indeed it is impossible to ascertain clearly what we owe to Polycarp and what to Thomas in the present text. The departments belonging to each cannot be certainly assigned to their respective authors. The marginal readings appended are mostly in Greek. Wetstein and White ascribed the critical signs, *i. e.* the obeli and asterisks, as well as the remarks in the margin, for the most part to Thomas. But this opinion was rejected, because a codex was found in the Medicean library at Florence which has not Thomas's subscription, and yet is furnished with these critical signs. It is believed by Adler and others that this codex is a copy of a MS. of the time antecedent to the labours of Thomas.‡ Hence the obeli and asterisks

* Comp. Hug. Einleit. vol. i. p. 341, et seq. fourth edition.

† Novi Testamenti versiones Syriacae, Simplex, Philoxeniana, et Hierosolymitana——denuo examinatae, &c. pp. 52-55.

‡ Crederem, codicem nostrum apographum esse antiquioris Philoxenianae versionis, a Thoma Harclensi nondum revisae et castigatae."—Adler, p. 55.

are as early as the time of Polycarp, author of the version. In this conclusion Storr, Hug, and De Wette, at least in part, concur.

What was the use of these signs? Here also there is much diversity of opinion. Do they mark the deviations of the new version from the Peshito? so thought Wetstein, Storr, Eichhorn, and Griesbach. Or were they designed to shew the difference between the Philoxenian text and the Greek MSS. with which it was collated? So thought White and Bertholdt. The latter is supported by many examples which White adduces. The former opinion is favoured by various examples produced by Storr, such as Matt. xvi. 28; Mark ix. 19, xi. 10, &c. But neither the one nor the other view can be held exclusively, for examples support sometimes the one and sometimes the other. Hence we must believe that the marks in question did not all proceed from one person at one time, but from two or more who had different objects in putting them; or else that the one person had no *one* object in view, but affixed them for different purposes; which however is improbable.

With regard to the various readings and notes in the margin, Storr and Eichhorn assign them in part to Polycarp; but Hug and Bertholdt to Thomas alone. In favour of the latter view, the fact of the Medicean MS. at Florence wanting all such marginal notes has been adduced.

We cannot agree with those who hold that the critical signs were altogether prior to Thomas. They belonged to Polycarp in part; but some proceeded from Thomas. Too much stress has been laid by Hug on the Florentine MS. having them, as if they could not have been put into it by a copyist from a MS. subsequent to Thomas. Neither do we believe that the marginal readings and notes proceeded wholly from Thomas. The fact that they are not in the same Medicean MS. is no proof that they did not proceed from Polycarp; for a tran-

scriber may have omitted them, though he followed a copy of Thomas's revised edition. Hug adduces the marginal annotation to Mark xi. 10 as a proof that Thomas was the author of such notes.* In the text of this place, after πατρὸς ἡμῶν Δαβίδ follows an asterisk with the words εἰρήνη ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις, and in the margin, "*non in omnibus exemplaribus Graecis invenitur, neque in illo Mar Xenajae; in nonullis autem accuratis, ut putamus, invenimus.*" But Thomas collated Alexandrine MSS.; and it is very unlikely that he had a MS. of Xenayas's. Hence the annotation seems to belong to Polycarp.

The character of this version, which was based on the old Syriac, is *extreme literality*. It was the desire and endeavour of the translator that not a syllable of the original should be lost. Hence the Syriac idiom has been often sacrificed through rigid adherence to the original Greek. Greek words are used; even the Greek cases appear; the Greek article is imitated by pronouns; Greek etymology is represented; and Greek constructions are not unusual. Oriental proper names are also written according to the Greek orthography in a manner which destroys their Oriental etymology. In consequence of this slavish adherence to the minutiae of the original, the style is much inferior to that of the old Syriac. But the critical use of the version is greater in proportion to its literality. If we had it as originally made by Polycarp, apart from Thomas's emendations, it would be much more valuable. Judging by the Florentine MS., the corrections made by Thomas were neither numerous nor important. Adler says of this MS., *contextus ab Harclensi recensione parum differre videtur.* It is wholly improbable that he made *extensive* alterations in the Philoxenian document, thereby making a new *version* rather than a *recension* of the text. All the phenomena are against that hypothesis. And if Polycarp himself had used

* Einleit. vol. i. pp. 335, 336, fourth edition.

Greek MSS. only, without the adoption of words and phrases belonging to a version or versions previously existing, his work would have been of greater importance. But as it was based on the Peshito, and underwent a revision by Thomas of Harkel a century after it was executed, the value is diminished. Yet it has its use notwithstanding. It exhibits ancient readings entitled to attention. What is most to be regretted is the present state of the text; for the critical signs have in many cases been dropped; the readings of the text have got into the margin; and those of the margin into the text. Such confusion tends to make a critic cautious in the employment of it.

The marginal readings are perhaps the most valuable part. One of the two Greek MSS. which Thomas compared with the Greek text had considerable affinity to the Cambridge MS. in the gospels and Acts. According to Adler's computation, the marginal readings in the gospels coincide with the Cambridge MS. alone 19 times, with the Cambridge and Vatican 6 times, 25 times with the Cambridge and several MSS. Of 180 marginal readings, 130 are found in B. C. D. L. 1, 33, 69, &c. Hence their text belongs to the western class.*

If the preceding account of the Philoxenian be correct, it is easy to see how much the summary statement of it given by Scrivener is apt to mislead: "It (the Philoxenian Syriac) is in truth nothing but the result of a close collation of the Peshito with two Greek MSS. of about the fifth century."†

The first notice of this version in modern times proceeded from Asseman. A more circumstantial account of it was afterwards presented to the public by Wetstein, who collated a MS. of it belonging to Glocester Ridley. The latter had received it and another from Amida (Diarbekr). But Wetstein's collation was necessarily imperfect, as he only spent fourteen days over the MS. Ridley himself, at the request of Michaelis,

* De verss. Syriacis, pp. 79-133, especially pp. 130, 131, 132.

† Supplement to the authorised English version, introduction, p. 68.

afterwards published an important essay in which he described the version with the two copies of it in his possession, and corrected the mistakes of Wetstein and Michaelis.* Some years after, Storr discovered MSS. of the version at Paris, and wrote a treatise containing additional information about it.† Six years after Storr's essay, Ridley's MSS., which were deposited in the library of New College, Oxford, were intrusted to Professor White that he might *publish* the version; and it appeared accordingly in parts at different times.‡ Professor Adler contributed still farther to our acquaintance with the version and MSS. of it by his *Biblico-critical travels*, and his essay already mentioned. He examined MSS. at Rome and Florence, describing one in the latter place which is *supposed* to be peculiarly important as exhibiting the version before it was revised by Thomas. Since the treatises of these critics and the publication of the work itself, nothing has been added to our real knowledge of the version.

It is somewhat remarkable that none of the MSS. contains any more than the four gospels except White's *Codex Harclensis* from which the version was chiefly printed. At least none in Europe is known to possess any more books. Even the *cod. Harclensis* is imperfect. It wants the last part of the epistle to the Hebrews, from the twenty-seventh verse of the eleventh chapter till the end. It also wants the Apocalypse.

* De Syriacarum Novi Foederis versionum indole atque usu Dissertatio: Philoxenianam cum Simplici e duobus pervetustis codd. MSS. ab Amida transmissis conferente Glocestro Ridley, 4to, 1761.

† Observationes super N. T. versionibus Syriacis, 8vo, 1772.

‡ Sacrorum Evangeliorum versio Syriaca Philoxeniana, ex codd. MSS. Ridleianis in Biblioth. Coll. Novi Oxoniensis repositis, nunc primum edita cum interpretatione et annotationibus Josephi White, &c. &c. 4to, 1778, Tom. i. and ii. Actuum Apostolorum et Epistolarum tam catholicarum quam Paulinarum versio Syriaca Philoxeniana, ex codice MS. Ridleiano, &c. &c. Tom. i. Actus Apostolorum et epistolas catholicas complectens 4to, 1799. Tom ii. epistolas Paulinas complectens, 4to, 1803.

But here a question arises, had the Philoxenian ever the Apocalypse? In some editions of the Peshito, as that of Leusden and Schaaf, there is a version of the Apocalypse which does not belong to the old Syriac. But its internal character agrees with the Philoxenian as revised by Thomas. This book was first printed by De Dieu from a MS. in the University of Leyden which formerly belonged to Joseph Scaliger, whence it was afterwards incorporated into the Paris and London Polyglotts. It is very likely that it is the Apocalypse of Philoxenus, though not found in any of the MSS. of his version yet discovered. In minute peculiarities it coincides with the Philoxenian. Thus it frequently admits Greek words, imitates the Greek text in the representation of the article itself, chooses the same Syriac words as in other parts for the same Greek words. A good example may be seen in Rev. i. 4-6, where the Greek text is closely imitated, and every part of the Greek article expressed by ܗܠܝܢ ܐܢܘܢ ܗܝ ܗܘ, &c. There are, it is true, some exceptions to the rule that the same words and phrases are similarly rendered in the Philoxenian and this of the Apocalypse, but they do not invalidate the general principle. Even the critical marks of the Philoxenian seem not to have been wanting in the Apocalypse, for though the printed text has not been derived from a MS. furnished with them, yet the fragment of the Florentine MS. which Adler* printed (Apocalypse i. 1-2) has an asterisk at the end of it.†

This view is confirmed by the fact that the subscription to a Florentine MS. of the Apocalypse speaks of the codex being copied from a very old autograph, belonging, according to report, to Thomas of Harkel himself, and written in 622.‡

* De verss. Syriacis, p. 78.

† See Eichhorn's Einleitung, vol. iv. p. 461, et seq.

‡ Codex anno 1582 Romae descriptus ab autographo pervetusto, ab ipso, ut perhibetur, Thoma Heracleensi exarato, anno 622.—Ridley de Syriacarum, &c. p. 46.

CHAPTER XL

OTHER SYRIAC VERSIONS.

A SYRIAC VERSION OF THE FOUR CATHOLIC EPISTLES WHICH WERE NOT RECOGNISED AS CANONICAL BY THE EARLY SYRIAN CHURCH.

It is remarked by Cosmas Indicopleustes, in the sixth century, that only three catholic epistles, one of James, one of Peter, and one of John were found among the Syrians.*

Dionysius Bar Salibi (1166-1171) bishop of Amida, in the twelfth century,† relates in the preface to his commentary on the second epistle of Peter, "that this epistle had not been translated into Syriac with the Scriptures in old times, and was therefore found only in the version of Thomas of Harkel." ‡

Two different texts of a Syriac translation of the four catholic epistles which the Peshito wants were first made known by Pococke—one complete, the other only fragmentary. The first was printed from a Bodleian MS. (which contained the Acts and the three catholic epistles of the Peshito); the

* In Galland. biblioth. Patrum, vol. xi. p. 535.

† See Assemani Bibliotheca Orientalis, vol. ii. p. 156.

‡ See praefat. to Pococke's "Epistolae quatuor, Petri secunda, Johannis secunda et tertia, et Judae, fratris Jacobi una, ex celeberr. Bibliothecae Bodleianae Oxon. exemplari nunc primum depromptae, &c. &c. opera et studio Eduardi Pocockii, &c. Lugd. Bat. 1630, 4to."

second was gathered out of the commentary of Dionysius Bar Salibi. The Philoxenian version too contains these four catholic epistles. But these three Syrian texts resolve themselves into two; for that explained by Dionysius in his commentary agrees with White's Philoxenian, and must be considered identical with it. Hence the four epistles absent from the Peshito are extant in no more than two Syrian texts, those of Pococke and White.

The two texts in question bear decided marks of separation from the manner of the Peshito. They are inferior in purity, clearness, and elegance of diction. And when compared with one another they appear to be formed on the same basis, but evincing a striving after literality in different ways.

In regard to the origin of Pococke's text, we have no historical accounts. Hence criticism can only proceed to draw a conclusion respecting it with the Philoxenian. There is no essential difference between them. The general character of both is the same. Their uniform tenor is alike. And in words they agree so often that the verbal diversity is the exception rather than the rule. They deviate from each other only in that which the reviser of a particular version would look upon as an improvement. The text of White adheres to the Greek words more slavishly than that of Pococke, which was doubtless reckoned a great excellence in the fifth century. Hence the suggestion naturally arises that the former may possibly have been but the revised edition of an earlier Syrian translation, in which the chief object was to remove every thing supposed not to represent the original accurately. Accordingly, we suppose that the text of White was the Philoxenian revised by Thomas of Harkel, and made more literal; while that of Pococke was the same Philoxenian *before* its alteration by Thomas.

To shew that both texts represent one and the same version, we may refer to the version of *ἰσότιμος πίστις* in 2 Peter i. 1.

In Pococke's text the sense is somewhat obscurely expressed; in White's it is clearer and more conformed to the Greek. Verse 3, both render ἀρετή by the same Syriac noun, but Thomas added another for the purpose of exhausting its meaning. Verse 6, both translate ἐγκράτεια by the one word. In verse 10 both have the reading "your good works," but each expresses the phrase characteristically. Compare also verses 12, 15.

Yet Thomas of Harkel could not follow the earlier work without alterations. Existing versions did not satisfy the taste of his time, because they appeared to indulge in too much freedom. Hence he altered the Philoxenian—already literal enough—where he thought it departed too far from the Greek text either in the choice or position of words. This might be abundantly testified by examples. We must content ourselves with a bare reference to the following:—2 Peter i. 2, 3, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19.*

The result of this comparison makes it highly probable, that of the four catholic epistles which the Peshito wants, we possess the Philoxenian version in two exemplars, one exhibiting its original condition as it came from the hands of Polycarp, and one after it had been revised by Thomas of Harkel.

It should be recollected here, that Polycarp, in the case of these four catholic epistles, had no Peshito before him, but was left to his own abilities and obliged to work at the translation independently. But Thomas of Harkel had the assistance of Greek MSS.

In Eichhorn's Introduction, the text of 2 Peter i. 5-10 is printed in three parallel columns—first, the Greek; secondly, the Syriac of Pococke; thirdly, that of White, with critical notes, giving a very convenient specimen for the purpose of mutual comparison.

Nothing could be more absurd, or betray greater ignorance

* Eichhorn's Einleit. vol. iv. p. 450, et seq.

of antiquity, as well as of the reasonings and opinions of such critics as Eichhorn and De Wette, than the conjecture that the Nestorians made this version of the four catholic epistles wanting in the Peshito, that they might not be behind their rival party the Monophysites, who had the Philoxenian. The version is certainly not recent, being the Philoxenian in its first condition; and although it is not so very literal as the revised text by Thomas of Harkel, it is equally valuable, if not more so, for critical purposes.

Since Pococke first printed it in the Hebrew character, it has been repeatedly reprinted in the proper Syriac character, as in the Paris and London Polyglotts, the editions of Gutbier, Schaaf, the London Bible Society, &c. &c.

Of the text of the Apocalypse, first printed by De Dieu, we have already spoken, as belonging to *the Philoxenian version revised* by Thomas of Harkel. All the probabilities at least are in favour of this view. It has been also reprinted in the same editions of the Peshito as contain the four catholic epistles to which we have just alluded.*

JERUSALEM SYRIAC VERSION.

This version was first described by Asseman in his catalogue of the Vatican library, but slightly. It was fully described by Professor Adler about the middle of the last century, from the only MS. of it yet known, belonging to the Vatican, No. 19, consisting of 196 thick parchment leaves, in quarto. It is an Evangelistarium, containing nothing more than lessons from the gospels adapted to the Sundays and festivals throughout the year in the Syrian churches. The subscription states that the MS. was written in a monastery at Antioch 1030. *The character* in which it is written approaches the Hebrew, and has this peculiarity, that *Dolath* and *Rish*

* See De Wette's Einleitung, pp. 12, 13.

were not at first distinguished by a critical point; the points they have now having been put by a later hand. Two figures are also used for P. and F., though they are represented by one in the Syrian alphabet.

The dialect resembles the Chaldee as spoken at Jerusalem. Hence words frequently occur which are usual in the Jerusalem Talmud. The grammar of the translator also approaches the Chaldee. Thus we find the suffixes of the third person in plural nouns the same as in Chaldee, ܘܢ instead of the Syriac ܘܗܢ; the emphatic state terminating in ܝܐ *aya*, whereas in Syriac it is ܐ, *e*, &c. &c.*

From internal evidence it is manifest that the version was made from the Greek, because there is sometimes an endeavour to express Greek etymologies. Greek words are also retained. But there is not that slavish literality observable in the Philoxenian. The translation is freer, occupying an intermediate character between the Peshito and Philoxenian.

The Greek text which it represents bears the impress of a high antiquity. Hence it approaches to that of the Peshito and western class, to the MSS. D. and B. Of 165 readings which it has, 79 are found in the Cambridge MS., of which 11 are peculiar to it; 85 in the Vatican, of which 3 are peculiar to it. On the whole its readings agree most with the class of MSS. B. C. D. L. 1-13, 33, 69, &c., and with the citations of Origen and Chrysostom. But it cannot be said to belong to either class of critical authorities, nor is its text made up of a mixture of both.†

The relation which the version bears to some of the oldest and best documents sufficiently attests the antiquity and value of the text that lies at the basis of it. It is true that Adler found in it upwards of seventy singular readings where no Greek MS. coincides; but this demands no special attention,

* See Adler, pp. 137-140.

† See Adler, de verss. Syr. pp. 198-201.

because they might be mistakes of the transcriber, or the results of translating too freely.*

In Luke xxiii. 44, καὶ σκότος————ἐνάτης is omitted. Here the version stands alone, and is probably right. It seems in like manner to exhibit the true reading, along with a few other witnesses, in Matt. i. 11, ii. 18, v. 47, vi. 1, viii. 13, 31, xix. 29, xxi. 29; Luke vii. 28. Some corrections seem to be in it, such as Matt. vi. 6, where a second hand added improperly ἐν τῷ φανερῷ. In xxi. 7, we have the correction ἐπέθηκαν ἐπὶ τὸν πῶλον, which is also in the Peshito and Persian. So too ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ, Matt. xxii. 43; ἀποθνήσκουσα for καὶ αὕτη ἀπέθνησκεν, Luke viii. 42. In Luke xvi. 21, it has in the margin the same addition which is in the Vulgate; and in Luke xvi. 22, and John vi. 58, something is added in the margin. Hence we suppose that it underwent subsequent revision.†

It is worthy of remark that the story of the adulteress, though wanting in the old Syriac and Philoxenian, occurs in this version almost in the same form in which it appears in D. or the Cambridge MS.

Hug has endeavoured to determine with greater definiteness than others, the part of Syria in which the version originated. He thinks that it was in a Roman province, because soldiers are simply called ܪܘܡܝ *Romans*, Matt. xvii. 27, and in the same verse σπεῖρα is translated ܩܣܛܪܘܢ *castra* (quaestores?). Idioms also occur in it which are found only in the Philoxenian, and therefore it is inferred that the countries where they originated respectively must be contiguous.‡ On the whole Palestine has the best claim to be the birthplace of it. Hence it has been called Palestino-Syriac.

In regard to its age, Adler assigns it to the fourth century, Scholz to the fifth. A few Latin words however which occur

* See Adler's N. T. versiones Syriacae, &c. p. 198.

† See Rinck's Lucubratio Critica, p. 241.

‡ Einleitung, vol. i. pp. 345, 346.

here and there create some difficulty in fixing upon so early a date. These Latin words were probably not taken by the Jews into their language before the sixth century, and some of them may have proceeded from a later hand. Adler himself is not indisposed to bring it down later, and to put it between the fourth and sixth centuries.* Probably Scholz's opinion is nearly correct.

Adler, to whom we owe all our knowledge of it, has given a correct description of the MS. and its contents in his valuable treatise on Syriac versions. He has also printed, by way of specimen, Matt. xxvii. 3-32. Eichhorn has reprinted and commented on the same portion.†

* See p. 202.

† Einleitung in das neue Testament, vol. iv. p. 493, et seq.

CHAPTER XLI.

ÆTHIOPIC AND EGYPTIAN VERSIONS.

ÆTHIOPIC.

THE Æthiopic language is an early branch of the Arabic; and our existing version of the Scriptures in it was made throughout from the Greek. But the time *when* it was made cannot be discovered either by express historical testimony, or by an investigation of probable grounds. Chrysostom boasts that the religious books of the Christians had been translated into the dialects of nations the most diverse; and specifies among them the Syrians and Egyptians, the Jews, Persians, and Æthiopians; but we are scarcely justified in attaching much significance to this language. The eloquent father speaks in the hyperbolical, exaggerated strain of the orator, rather than in the sober tone of truth and reality. The Greek passage need not be quoted, as it may be found in Marsh's Michaelis, where the learned translator observes that Chrysostom has weakened his own evidence by the addition of the clause *καὶ μύρια ἕτερα ἔθνη.**

Frumentius, who first preached Christianity among the Æthiopians, and is mentioned by Athanasius in his apology to the Emperor Constantius, is commonly supposed to be

* See Opp. ed. Montfaucon, vol. viii. p. 10.

the author of an Æthiopic version. If this be true, the Scriptures were translated by him towards the close of the fourth century. This however is mere hypothesis. The first preacher of the gospel among a foreign people may not be capable of translating the records of religion into their native tongue. He may not even have the leisure necessary for that purpose, supposing him fit for the task. Centuries may elapse before a competent person be found for the work. Hence the connexion between Frumentius and the translator of the Bible into Æthiopic is very slender. It is perhaps more likely that he was not the translator, than the contrary. The Abyssinians, as we are informed by Ludolf,* mention with particular honour among their first preachers of Christianity one Abba Salama, to whom a native poet and an Æthiopic martyrology ascribe the translation of the books of the law and gospel from *the Arabic*, into the native language. But this is very questionable; at least the present version was not the one alluded to, as it was made from the original.

The present translation, or the one said to have been made by Frumentius, was composed in the Geez dialect, according to Bruce. But that is the dialect of the learned, which would scarcely have been chosen for the benefit of the common people. The version is in the ancient dialect of Axum, which afterwards gave way to the Amharic, when another dynasty mounted the throne.

It is manifest that the Æthiopic version was taken from the original Greek. The mistakes it presents could only have arisen from the Greek, as ἐν ὁρίοις Ζαβουλών, *in monte Zabulon*, Matt. iv. 13; πέδαις φυλασσόμενος, *a parvulis custoditus*, Luke viii. 29; προεχειρισμένον, *quem praeunxit*, Acts iii. 20, as if it had been προεχρισμένον; κατενύγησαν τῇ καρδίᾳ, *aperti sunt quoad*

* Historia Æthiopica, Lib. iii. c. 2. and Commentarius in histor. Æthiop. Ad. Lib. iii. c. 4. p. 295.

animum, Acts ii. 37, where the verb was mistaken for κατηνοίχθησαν; οὓς μὲν ἔθετο, *aurem posuit ecclesiae*, 1 Cor. xii. 28, where there was a mistake for οὓς μέν, &c. *

In consequence of the agreement of the Æthiopic with the Coptic, Bengel conjectured that it was derived from the latter. This however is baseless. Proofs of it are superfluous since C. B. Michaelis entered fully into the subject, and shewed by numerous examples that there is frequent disagreement between the two versions. †

The critical peculiarities of the text are not easily discovered or described. And what renders this fact more apparent, or probably contributes to it in no small degree, is the faulty way in which the text has been printed. In general, it frequently agrees with the Cambridge MS. (D.) and the old Latin, shewing glosses and interpolations similar to those found in these ancient documents. Hence those critics who hold various revisions of the text in the middle of the third century, would say that the version is derived directly or indirectly from the old unrevised text. As might be expected, it agrees most with the western class in its two families, the African and Latin. It is vain to attempt a more minute investigation, as Hug has done; for nothing is gained by conjectures. Thus he says, that the text of the four gospels does not adhere constantly to any class of MSS. ‡ Neither does the text of any existing version. And when the same writer affirms that several versions are combined in this one copy, or else several MSS. of different recensions were used in the composition of it, the assertion is very improbable. The translator or translators used such MSS. as they could procure most easily. They employed Alexandrine copies. Their text was that which then prevailed at Alexandria. This indeed is admitted by Hug except in relation

* See Hug's Einleit. vol. i. p. 377; and Eichhorn's Einleit. vol. v. p. 68.

† De variis N. T. lectionibus, § 26. ‡ Einleit. vol. i. p. 376.

to the gospels, where he maintains that the text flowed from various constituent sources, Asiatic and Alexandrine.

The book of Acts is most incorrectly edited. Those who first published the version at Rome had a very imperfect copy of it, and were obliged in not a few instances to translate from the Vulgate into Æthiopic to supply deficiencies. This is admitted by themselves. In the preface they say:—"Ista acta apostolorum maximam partem Romae translata sunt e lingua Latina et Graeca in Æthiopicam propter defectum protographi."* Is the suspicion quite unfounded, that the Vulgate was consulted in other cases besides the Acts?

A few examples will shew the agreement of the text in this version with D., the old Latin, the Vulgate, and also with Clement and Origen.

Matt. vii. 1, *αντιμετρηθήσεται.* The Æthiopic, Origen, B. L. and important MSS. of the Vulgate have *μετρηθήσεται.* Matt. ix. 24, *λέγει αὐτοῖς ἀναχωρεῖτε.* The Æthiopic, old Latin, Vulgate, D. B., have *ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς* &c. Acts i. 23, *βαρσαβᾶν.* Æthiopic, D., and some other authorities, *βαρνάβαν;* John i. 18, *μονογενὴς υἱός;* the Æthiopic, Clement twice, Origen twice, the Syriac, B. L., and a considerable number of weighty authorities, have *θεός;* John i. 42, *πρῶτος;* the Æthiopic, old Latin, Vulgate, both Syriac, A. M. X. &c., have *πρῶτον;* Eph. vi. 12, *τοῦ σκότους τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου; τοῦ αἰῶνος* is omitted by the Æthiopic, old Latin, Vulgate, Clement, Origen, and many ancient authorities.†

The version was first published at Rome by three Æthiopians in two volumes 4to, 1548-49. This was reprinted in the London Polyglott, but without improvement, 1657 folio, with a Latin version by Dudley Loftus, under the care of Edmund Castell. The edition of 1698 is the same with a new date and title page. In 1753-55 Bode, who gave more

* See Ludolf's Commentarius, &c. p. 297.

† See Eichhorn's Einleit. vol. v. pp. 72, 73; and De Wette, Einleit. fifth edition, pp. 20, 21.

attention to the version than any preceding scholar, published a Latin translation in two volumes 4to at Brunswick. He also published his Pseudo-critica Millio-Bengeliana, Halle 1767, 1769, 2 vols. 8vo, in which he corrected many errors of Bengel and Mill.

In his history of Æthiopia, Ludolf gave a list of the Æthiopic MSS. found in the libraries of Europe in his day.

Some years ago, an entire copy of the Æthiopic Scriptures was purchased by the Church Missionary Society. This MS. was carefully transcribed and the four gospels published in 1826 4to, by T. Pell Platt, Esq. with the title; "Evangelia Sancta Æthiopica. Ad codicum manuscriptorum fidem edidit Thomas Pell Platt, A. M. Londini 1826, 4to." The whole New Testament was completed by the same scholar and published in 1830. Unfortunately this text has not yet been collated and employed in any critical edition. Mr. Platt also published a "Catalogue of the Æthiopic Biblical MSS. in the Royal Library of Paris, and in the library of the British and Foreign Bible Society," 4to, London 1823.

EGYPTIAN VERSIONS.

After the death of Alexander the Great, the Greeks multiplied in Egypt and obtained important places of trust near the throne of the Ptolemies. The Greek language began to diffuse itself from the court among the people, and the Egyptian was either excluded, or obliged to adapt itself to the Greek both in forms of construction and the adoption of new words. In this manner arose the Coptic, a mixture of the old native Egyptian and the Greek, so called from Coptos the principal city in upper Egypt. When the race of the Ptolemies became extinct, this language acquired greater esteem and authority; the Greek which had been forcibly introduced by foreigners, naturally declining with the waning influence of those whose

vernacular dialect it was. It would appear that the Coptic established itself in upper Egypt sooner and more extensively than in the lower division of the country, not only because the Greeks were much more numerous at Alexandria, but because of the commerce carried on by its inhabitants with nations speaking the Greek language.

As soon as the Egyptian or Coptic had displaced the Greek, the necessity of a version of the Bible would be felt by the Christians, in the current language of the country. The disuse of Greek led to a demand for the Coptic Scriptures.

At what time Egyptian versions first appeared cannot be ascertained with exactness. It is tolerably clear that they existed in the fourth century. One bishop at least who did not know Greek, was at the council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451). The services and liturgy of the churches must have been in Coptic if not solely, yet not in Greek without the native tongue also. In proof of this a passage from an old Coptic glossary has been produced by Renaudot,* and a very ancient fragment of John, belonging to the fourth century published by Georgi. Besides, the monkish rules, as those of Pachomius, enjoined the reading of the Scriptures and Psalter, which must have been in the language then spoken. Thus, says Hug, in the fourth century Egyptian versions of the New Testament were current in Nitria, in the Thebaid, in the Arsinoitic nome, in upper, lower, and middle Egypt.†

But this is not their earliest existence. Probably the first were made in the latter half of the third century, if there be any weight in the particulars mentioned by Hug, viz. that in the Diocletian persecution the praetor visited upper Egypt in search of Christians, and when one voluntarily gave himself up he was tried through an interpreter and sentenced to death; that Hieracas of Leonto about the close of the third century

* Liturg. Orient. collectio, vol. i. p. 205.

† Einleitung, vol. i. p. 362.

composed a treatise on the works of the six days presupposing a version of the Mosaic writings.

There were two principal dialects of the Egyptian or Coptic language, viz. the Thebaic or Sahidic, and Memphitic. The former was the dialect of upper Egypt; the latter that of the lower country.

1. *Sahidic* or *Thebaic.*

Only fragments and readings of this version have been published. Hence it has afforded comparatively little aid to the restoration of the primitive text, though its value and antiquity are such as entitle it to great weight, wherever its testimony is fairly known. But till it be fully and correctly published by a competent scholar, criticism must be contented with using the parts that are accessible. Woide was the first who gave to the public a few specimens of the Sahidic version of the gospels, consisting in mere readings. They were printed in J. A. Cramer's Beiträge or *contributions* to the theological and other sciences, in 1779. Shortly after, Mingarelli published the text of some fragments of the gospels found in the library of Chevalier Nani, 1785. These are Matt. xviii. 21—xxi. 15. John ix. 17—xv. 1. Georgi also published some fragments of John's gospel found in the library of Cardinal Borgia, having by the side of the Sahidic the Greek text in uncial letters, 1789. They contain John vi. 21-59, vi. 68—viii. 23. Woide still continued to collect readings of the epistles which he had commenced with the contribution already mentioned. He sent to Michaelis, who published them in his *Oriental Library*, readings out of the Acts from a MS. in the Bodleian containing the Acts in this version, and readings in the epistles of John and Jude. Münter also published some fragments of the Pauline epistles from MSS. in the possession of Borgia, 1789. Woide did not cease gathering fragments of the version from all quarters, for the purpose of procuring a complete copy of the New Testament in this language, which

it was his intention to publish. Before however the work was ready for the press, he died. But Ford published all that had been collected with various additions and the correction of some mistakes, as an Appendix to the fac-simile of the *Cod. Alexandrinus* 1799, folio, Oxford. In this splendidly printed work, the New Testament has still many chasms, which may be hereafter supplied out of MSS. in the Borgian Museum, of which Zoega has given an account and published some fragments.

We might have expected beforehand that the readings of this version would agree with the western class in both its families, the African and Latin. This is actually the case. The text most frequently coincides with the Cambridge MS. D. It also harmonises with the old Latin, the Peshito, and the oldest MSS. A. B. C. D. E. F. G.

The agreement with D. in the Acts is very marked. Thus i. 2, the words κηρύσσειν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον are inserted before οὓς ἐξελέξατο. D. has καὶ ἐκέλευσε κηρύσσειν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. In i. 5, ἕως τῆς πεντεκοστῆς is appended in the version and in D. In v, 4, for τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτο the Sahidic and D. have ποιῆσαι τὸ πονηρόν. v, 35, they have τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ τοὺς συνεδρίους. viii. 1, to διωγμὸς μέγας these documents add, καὶ θλῖψις; and after τῶν ἀποστόλων they have οἱ ἔμειναν ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ. Acts x. 23, for εἰσκαλεσάμενος οὖν αὐτοὺς ἐξένισε the Sahidic, Peshito, and D. have τότε εἰσαγαγὼν ὁ πέτρος ἐξένισεν αὐτούς. In xv. 23, the Syriac, Sahidic, and MSS. of the Latin have γράψαντες ἐπιστολήν for γράψαντες.*

In the Pauline epistles it frequently agrees with D. or the Clermont MS. in addition to the old Latin and the oldest MSS.; but it is unnecessary to give examples.

2. *Memphitic.*

This version has been published entire, so that it is better known than the Sahidic. The edition of Wilkins appeared at Oxford in 1716 in quarto, with the title *Novum Testamentum*

* See Eichhorn's Einleit. vol. v. pp. 18, 19.

Ægyptium, vulgo Copticum, ex MSS. Bodlejanis descripsit, cum Vaticanis et Parisiensibus contulit, et in Latinum sermonem convertit, David Wilkins. No other edition was attempted till Schwartze began a better and more correct one, of which the gospels were published at Leipzig in 1846, 1847. In the preparation of this edition the author made use of MSS. in the royal library of Berlin. It was interrupted by his death, but his papers passed into the hands of Petermann of Berlin and Boetticher of Halle, the latter of whom is continuing the work. Already the Acts have appeared.

The agreement of the Memphitic and Sahidic is very remarkable in many cases. Thus they verbally coincide in Matt. xviii. 35, where they omit *τὰ παραπτώματα αὐτῶν;* in Matt. xxv. 16, where they omit *τάλαντα* after *ἄλλα πέντε;* in Luke xxiii. 23, where they leave out *καὶ τῶν ἀρχιερέων;* in Matt. xviii. 29, where they omit *τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ;* in Matt. xix. 3, where they have *καὶ λέγοντες* without *αὐτῷ;* in Matt. xix. 9, where they have *παρεκτὸς λόγου πορνείας;* in Matt. xix. 4, where they have *εἶπεν* without *αὐτοῖς;* in Matt. xix. 25, where they have *οἱ μαθηταί* alone, without *αὐτοῦ;* in Matt. xx. 6, where they read *ἑστῶτας* without *ἀργούς;* in Matt. xx. 7, where they omit *καὶ ὃ ἐὰν ᾖ δίκαιον, λήψεσθε;* in Matt. xx. 22, 23, where both omit *καὶ τὸ βάπτισμα ὃ ἐγὼ βαπτίζομαι, βαπτισθῆναι;* in John ix. 26, where they leave out *πάλιν;* in John ix. 31, where they read *οἴδαμεν* only; in John x. 4, where they have *τὰ ἴδια πάντα;* in John x. 13, where they omit *ὁ δὲ μισθωτὸς φεύγει.** Such agreement might almost lead to the supposition that the one translator had the work of the other before him. But that can hardly have been, especially as the two are quite independent of one another in many cases. They differ as often as they agree.

Attempts have been made by Münter, Hug and others, to distinguish the form of the text which the version exhibits in

* See Eichhorn's Einleit. vol. v. pp. 7, 8.

different parts. But they have not been successful or satisfactory. On the whole its readings agree with the oldest text, that of the MSS. A. B. C. D. L.; also the Peshito and Old Latin. They belong therefore to the western class, including both the African and Latin families. Münter thinks that the text of our version in the gospels inclines more to the Western, in the Acts and epistles to the Alexandrine recensions.* But when it agrees with A. B. C., the Syriac Peshito and Vulgate usually coincide with it. In the epistle to the Romans, though it often agrees with A. C. yet it sometimes follows the text in D. E. F. G. Thus with the former it omits Romans xvi. 24; but with the latter authorities it coincides in vii. 23, x. 5, 8, xiv. 16, xv. 10. In the gospels it often agrees with A. B. C. De Wette, who appears to have given particular attention to the text, observes that it follows none of the characteristic readings of D. in the gospels; and that in Mark i. ii. it coincides eleven times with Alexandrine copies.† A few examples will suffice to shew the nature of its readings.

Mark ii. 9, ἔγειρε ἆρον without the καί, and similarly in verse 11. Here it is accompanied by A. C. D. L. in the former case, and A. B. C. D. L., &c. in the latter.

Mark ii. 22, ὁ οἶνος ὁ νέος, without νέος, in the Memphitic and B. D. L.; Mark v. 36, εὐθέως is omitted in it and B. D. L. So too in Luke viii. 9, λέγοντες is left out in it and B. D. L., &c. Mark v. 13, εὐθέως is not acknowledged by it or B. C. L. Mark v. 14, instead of τοὺς χοίρους it has merely αὐτούς, with B. C. D. L. In Mark iii. 31, the order is ἡ μήτηρ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοι αὐτοῦ in the Coptic, B. C. D. L., &c. In Mark v. 9, for ἀπεκρίθη λέγων, it has λέγει αὐτῷ only, with A. B. C. K.** L. M. In Mark v, 11, for πρὸς τὰ ὄρη it reads πρὸς τῷ ὄρει, with A. B. C. D. E. F. G. H. K. L. M. S. Mark v, 12, the received text has καὶ παρεκάλεσαν αὐτὸν πάντες; πάντες is wanting in the

* In Eichhorn's Allgem. Bibliothek. vol. iv. p. 403.

† Einleitung, p. 23.

Coptic, B. C. D. K. L. M. In Acts ii. 7, πρὸς ἀλλήλους is wanting in A. B. C.* and the Coptic. In Acts ii. 30, this version with A. C. D. wants τὸ κατὰ σάρκα ἀναστήσειν τὸν Χριστόν. In Phil. i. 14, for τὸν λόγον λαλεῖν the Coptic and A. B. have τόν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ λαλεῖν. Philip. ii. 3, for ἢ κενοδοξίαν of the received text, this version together with A. C. has μηδὲ κατὰ κενοδοξίαν. Philip. iii. 16, the Coptic, A. and B. have τῷ αὐτῷ στοιχεῖν simply.*

It has been inquired whether the Sahidic or Memphitic version was the older. Though it is impossible to ascertain the particular period at which either first appeared, yet it is probable that neither was subsequent to the first half of the fourth century. We can only arrive at a conclusion which will be likely to recommend itself to general acceptance by considering the respective necessities and circumstances of the upper and lower divisions of the country, as well as the characteristics of the dialects that prevailed in them. The Greek language was introduced first into Alexandria, and obtained greatest currency there. Alexandria was its chief seat and centre, whence it spread into other districts of the country. It maintained its influence the longest there. There it was most difficult to be displaced. According to the position of districts in relation to this capital city, would be the slower or more speedy introduction of the Greek. The necessity of a version would be soonest felt in the district where Hellenism made least way, the ancient language soon recovering its position after the extinction of the Greek supremacy. This was in upper Egypt, the part farthest from Alexandria, where the Greek tongue never succeeded in supplanting the old Egyptian. Hence the Sahidic or Thebaic version was probably the more ancient. With this agrees the character of the Sahidic itself. It contains a greater number of Greek words than the version of lower Egypt, because it was made at a time when the

* See Eichhorn's Einleit. vol. v. p. 9.

Egyptian still retained many of the foreign materials that had been forced into it. But on the other hand, the Memphitic was not made till the old language had been purified to a great extent of foreign elements. Hence it contains fewer Greek words. Probably a century is not too much to assume as the interval of time between the Sahidic and Memphitic. The former may be assigned to the latter part of the second; the latter to the second half of the third century.*

3. *Bashmuric.*

Fragments of a version apparently in another dialect of Egypt have been discovered. This third dialect has been called *Bashmuric.* It is difficult however to tell the part of the country it belongs to. Bashmur is a province in lower Egypt in the Delta to the east, as has been shewn by Zoega † and Quatremere,‡ thus demolishing Georgi's opinion that Bashmur was about the Ammonian oasis. The fragments hitherto discovered are but few, and were published at different times in separate parts by Georgi and Münter, Zoega and Engelbreth. They consist of a few parts of the Old Testament, and in the New of John iv. 28-34, iv. 36-40, iv. 43-47, iv. 48-53, &c.; 1 Corinth. vi. 9—ix. 16, 1 Corinth. xiv. 3—xv. 35; Eph. vi. 18—Phil. ii. 2; 1 Thes. i. 1—iii. 5; and Heb. v. 5—x. 22. Georgi had previously published John vi. 4-59, vi. 68—viii. 23, which Quatremere holds not to be Bashmuric. The fragments in question were published independently of one another by Engelbreth, in 1811 4to, at Copenhagen; and by Zoega in his catalogue of the Borgiano-Coptic MSS.

These fragments have given rise to much difference of opinion. Some claim for the Bashmuric the rank of a particular dialect, as Georgi and Engelbreth; while Münter and

* Hug's Einleitung, vol. i. p. 369.

† Catalogus codd. Copt. MSS. Musei Borgiani, pp. 140-144.

‡ Recherches sur la langue et la littérature de l'Egypte, v. p. 147, et seq.

Champollion the younger perceive no necessity for distinguishing it in that manner. Hug supposes it to be the idiom of middle Egypt, and is inclined to identify Bashmur with Faiom. Both he and De Wette doubt whether a third dialect should be assumed. The most probable supposition is, that what is termed Bashmuric is but an idiom of the Thebaic or Sahidic dialect; and that the fragments are no part of a separate version, but merely the Sahidic transferred into the idiom of a particular district nearer upper than lower Egypt, yet between the two. The text agrees with the Sahidic; and is therefore of the Alexandrine or Western type.*

* See Hug's Einleitung, vol. i. p. 369, et seq.

CHAPTER XLII.

ARMENIAN VERSION.

ARMENIAN literature began with Miesrob the inventor of a new alphabet in the beginning of the fifth century. Before him, the Armenians used Persian and Syrian letters. After inventing a new alphabet and communicating the knowledge of it to the king and the patriarch of the country, schools were established under their influence, and Miesrob went into Iberia. On his return, Isaac the patriarch was translating the Bible from the old Syriac, there being no Greek MSS. in the country. But this work was laid aside after Joseph and Eznak, or as they are called by Moses Chorenensis, John Ecelensis and Joseph Palnensis, returned from the council at Ephesus (A. D. 431), bringing with them, in addition to the decrees of the Synod, a carefully written copy of the Scriptures in the Greek language. Still Miesrob and Isaac felt the necessity of a better acquaintance with Greek for the purpose of executing so arduous a task, and therefore the two scholars Joseph and Eznak repaired to Alexandria to study the language in the school of that city. Hence we owe the Armenian version of the Bible to Joseph and Eznak. Their contemporary, the historian Moses Chorenensis, is said to have assisted in the work.* As to the tradition about John Chrysostom

* See Mosis Chorenensis Historia Armeniaca, Lib. iii. cap. 61, pp. 312, 313. ed. Whiston.

encouraging the Armenians to translate their sacred books during his exile at Kukus in Armenia, it wants support.*

The original account implies, that the Old Testament was made from the Septuagint, and the New from the original Greek.

According to Gregory Bar Hebraeus it was interpolated from the Peshito or old Syriac—Isaac and Miesrob comparing it after its completion from the Greek with that version.† It is not very certain, however, whether this was done; though the statement is favoured by the great agreement existing between the Armenian and Peshito. If we knew that there was a historical foundation for the assertion of Bar Hebraeus, it should be unhesitatingly received; but probably it was nothing more than affirmation. Yet Hug unhesitatingly receives it and finds it easy to separate the Peshito readings. When Alford‡ says that the Armenian was originally made from *the Syriac versions* he is certainly in error.

The cause of agreement may lie in the MS. or MSS. used. Those at the basis of the Peshito and Armenian were alike in their texts; and therefore the derivative translations present many coincidences.

The readings of the Armenian and the old Latin are also alike in many cases. This has been accounted for by interpolation from the Vulgate. All latinising passages have been referred to the thirteenth century when the churches of Armenia submitted to the Pope, under the reign of the bigot Haitho. The tradition is that Haitho took steps to procure a new edition of the Armenian Bible, and that out of attachment to the Romish church he altered much according to the Latin of the Vulgate which he was able to read himself. From the fact of the passage respecting the three witnesses

* Anonyma vita Chrysostomi, c. 113.

† Walton's Prolegomena, p. 621, ed. Dathe.

‡ Greek Testament, vol. i. Prolegomena, § 3.

being cited in a council held thirty-seven years after his death at Sis in Armenia, and its being found in other Armenian documents, the interpolation of 1 John v. 7 is ascribed to his edition of the version, there being no trace of it previously; and on this basis has been built the supposition that Haitho may have altered other places also. It is possible that Haitho inserted 1 John v. 7 in his edition. It *may have been* taken from the Vulgate either by him or at his suggestion. But the hypothesis of a general interpolation from the Latin at the same time is precarious. One leading passage is insufficient to establish it. The readings that appear to *latinise* may not have originated in this manner. They seem indeed to have been derived from ancient MSS. at least for the most part. While therefore we *may allow* the insertion of 1 John v. 7 in the thirteenth century in the reign of Haitho (1224-1270), we are reluctant to admit a general corruption of the Armenian from the Latin at the same time. No proof of it has yet been adduced. All that has been said for it resolves itself into conjecture.*

Hug assigns to the text a mixed character, because he thinks that the readings of the old Syriac, the MS. brought from Ephesus, and Alexandrine copies all contributed to it at first.† This explanation is unsatisfactory and useless. Nor is Eichhorn's account better, because it rests on his peculiar view of recensions. In general the text is of the western class, including both families of it. This explains the agreement of it with D. the old Latin, the Peshito, B. and Origen, though the agreement is not such as is uniform or consistent throughout a single book or epistle. The text is apparently in an imperfect state, and still needs to be critically revised and edited from ancient MSS. Many of the readings peculiar to itself are simple mistakes, or are owing to the licenses taken by the translator or transcribers.

* Eichhorn's Einleit. vol. v. pp. 84, 85. † Einleitung, vol. i. p. 352.

Examples of readings coinciding with the Peshito are such as Mark ii. 25 Ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἔλεγεν, where the Syriac has *αὐτοῖς* besides; vi. 6, *κώμας* without *κύκλῳ*; viii. 24, 25, *εἶτα* is omitted between *περιπατοῦντας* and *πάλιν*; ix. 4, *σὺν Μωσεῖ συλλαλοῦντες*; ix. 29, *νηστείᾳ καὶ προσευχῇ*; x. 43, *γενέσθαι ἐν ὑμῖν μέγας*; xii. 33, *ἐξιν τῶν ὁλοκαυτωμάτων* without *πάντων*; xii. 38, *καὶ φιλούντω ἀσπασμούς*. Luke ii. 49, *ὅτι ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ πατρός*; ix. 6, *κατὰ κώμας καὶ κατὰ πόλεις*. Matt. xxviii. 18, *καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς· καὶ καθῶ, ἀπέσταλκέ με ὁ πατήρ μου, κἀγὼ ἀποστέλλω ὑμᾶς*.

Examples where other ancient authorities, especially D. and the old Latin coincide with it are, Matt. xv. 32, where after *τρεῖς* are inserted *εἰσιν, καί*; Matt. xviii. 33, *οὐκ ἔδει οὖν καὶ σε*. Matt. xix. 10, instead of *τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* there is *τοῦ ἀνδρός* in the Armenian, D., old Latin, &c. Mark ii. 9, *ὕπαγε εἰς τὸν οἰκόν σου* for *περιπάτει*; ii. 26, *ἔφαγε, καὶ ἔδωκε——οὗσι, οὓς οὐκ ἔξεστι*, &c.; iv. 39, *τῷ ἀνέμῳ καὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ καὶ εἶπε*; v. 33, *δι' ὃ πεποιήκει λάθρα* is inserted after *τρέμουσα*. More frequently other witnesses agree, such as Origen, in John iv. 30, 46; Galat. iv. 21, 25, &c.*

The Armenian version was not printed till after the middle of the seventeenth century. In 1662 it was determined by the Armenian bishops at a Synod, to have the Bible printed in their language in Europe. For this purpose Uscan, as he is commonly called, of Erivan, was despatched to Europe. After various fruitless efforts, the whole Bible was printed at Amsterdam in 1666 4to. In 1668 appeared the New Testament alone 8vo. La Croze was the first who charged bishop Uscan, as he is termed, (though he was not properly a bishop) with altering the text according to the Vulgate.† Later editions, of which Uscan's was the basis, were issued in 1705

* See Eichhorn, Einleit. vol. v. p. 80, et seq.; and Hug, Einleit. vol. i. p. 353.

† Thesaurus Epistol. Lacrozianus, vol. ii. p. 290; and in Masch's Le Long, vol. ii. part 1, pp. 175, 176.

4to, at Constantinople, and in 1733 at Venice in folio. A much better one was published by Dr. J. Zohrab at Venice in 1789 8vo. As the Uscan edition contained 1 John v. 7, this has the same passage with an asterisk, for the editor was reluctant to leave it out, though it was found in no Armenian MS., as he himself admitted to Professor Alter of Vienna.* This edition was reprinted in 1816.

In 1805 Dr. Zohrab prepared and published a critical edition one volume folio, or four vols. 8vo. The text was printed chiefly from a Cilician MS. of the fourteenth century; but the editor collated it with eight MSS. of the whole Bible and twenty of the New Testament, the various readings of which are subjoined in the lower margin.† The text of this edition was collated for Scholz by Cirbied, professor of the Armenian language at Paris, and several monks. Another edition was published at Petersburgh in 1814, and another at Moscow in 1834. It was stated to Tischendorf by Aucher in 1843, that he and other monks in the island of St. Lazarus near Venice had undertaken a new critical edition. We cannot tell whether it has yet been published.

The extracts from this version in our critical editions of the Greek Testament are still very incomplete. Indeed the state of the version itself is unsettled. *Ancient* MSS. of it would be very desirable; but there are none reaching beyond the twelfth century. And none believed to be prior to Haitho have been examined for the purpose of discovering if they have 1 John v. 7. There is no doubt that it was in none of Zohrab's MSS.; but that does not settle the question of its interpolation in the thirteenth century. It must first be proved, that one of the MSS. at least was prior to the time of Haitho. But none of

* See Michaelis's Introduction by Marsh, vol. ii. p. 616, translator's note.

† On what authority some state that Zohrab used sixty-nine MSS. *i. e.* eight of the entire Bible, and the rest of the New Testament, we are unable to say.

them was so old. The oldest belonged to the fourteenth century.

We have no hesitation in saying that there has been little use in employing the Armenian, though it has been styled *the queen of versions*, in the criticism of the Greek Testament. The suspicious circumstances it has passed through, the alterations it has undergone, and the want of ancient MSS. of its text, combine to shew that it may be safely dispensed with at the present time.

CHAPTER XLIII.

GEORGIAN AND OTHER VERSIONS.

THE Georgian or Iberian version was taken from the Greek in the Old Testament and from the original in the New. It is supposed to have been made in the sixth century. The edition published at Moscow in 1743 folio was interpolated from the Slavonian version by the Georgian princes Arkil and Wacuset. Another was published in 1816 at the same place. It was from this latter that Petermann reprinted the epistle to Philemon by way of specimen at Berlin 1844. The version has been little used in critical editions of the Greek Testament, because it was interpolated so early from the Slavonic, and because so few have given their attention to it. Alter collected various readings from it and discoursed very learnedly of its nature in a volume published at Vienna in 1798 8vo. Few except Petermann have since understood or studied the language. According to Scholz and Tischendorf, there are a number of ancient MSS. of it in the monastery of the Holy Cross near Jerusalem. Two MSS. of the gospels are known to be in the Vatican. There is no use in this version for critical purposes. It should be henceforward discarded as a source of various readings.

PERSIAN.

There is a version of the gospels in the Persian language published by Wheloc and Pierson at London in folio, which is said to have two title pages, one dated 1652 the other 1657.

One is *Quatuor evangelia Domini nostri Jesu Christi Persice, ad numerum situmque verborum Latine data.* The other is, *Quatuor evangeliorum Domini nostri Jesu Christi versio Persica, Syriacam et Arabicam suavissime redolens: ad verba et mentem Graeci textus fideliter et venuste concinnata.*

It is not easy to tell the source or sources of this version. We learn from Pierson's preface, that Wheloc had three MSS. of the Persic gospels, one from Oxford, another from Cambridge, the third a MS. belonging to Pococke. But the only Persic MS. Pococke had contained the text printed in the London Polyglott, which was not made directly from the Greek but the Syriac. Hence Wheloc must have used both Persic and Syriac MSS. If so, the text is of a mixed character and of no value. Though it be regarded as taken from the Greek, it cannot be said that it was wholly so. The criticism of the New Testament should discard all Persian versions as worthless.

ARABIC VERSIONS.

It has been thought that two Arabic versions of the New Testament taken immediately from the Greek have been published, and accordingly they have been used as such by critical editors of the Greek Testament. But one of them must be dislodged from the position it has so long occupied in the estimation of scholars. The Arabic version of the gospels must be discarded as useless, for it was not made from the original but from the Vulgate. We should therefore consistently omit all mention of the version in question. But we shall just *allude* to the various impressions of it for the purpose of shewing what an inextricable jumble has been made of its text by means of MSS., which are of no value, arbitrary changes of editors, and readings out of other versions, including the Vulgate in the condition it was found in by the scholars who superintended the printing of the Arabic.

1. A version of the four gospels first printed at the Medicean press in Rome, 1591 folio, in Arabic alone. In the same year and from the same press issued another in Arabic and Latin (interlinear), folio, with many rude pictures interspersed throughout the pages. The Latin version was annexed by J. Baptista Raymundus. The relation between these two editions has not been clearly pointed out. Indeed they are often confounded. Those who speak of one usually mean the Arabic and Latin one, which was reprinted in 1619 folio; or rather the edition of 1619 is the very same with a new title-page. The text of this edition was transferred to the Paris Polyglott.

2. Another impression of the same version was taken from a Leyden MS. and published by Erpenius or Erpen in 1616, from a MS. of upper Egypt belonging to the thirteenth century. Erpen also consulted in preparing this edition the Medicean one, which he found to deviate frequently from his own MS. in the first thirteen chapters of Matthew, but in other places to be in much greater accordance with it, and some old MSS. which are not described, so that we cannot tell whether they were used in the gospels alone, or in the other books of the New Testament. The other parts of Erpenius's edition are not from the Vulgate. It was made from the old Syriac in the Acts and epistles.

3. Another impression was that in the Paris Polyglott 1645. Gabriel Sionita, under whose care the version was prepared for the press, followed the Medicean text (the Arabic and Latin edition), but not closely or constantly. He made many alterations in it, not merely for the sake of grammatical purity, but other changes, even where MSS. agree independently of one another.

4. Another impression was printed in the London Polyglott 1657. Here Castell appears to have repeated Sionita's alterations, and to have taken none from Walton's MS., though

it frequently departs from the Medicean and Erpenian texts. Walton says nothing of its being used in the Polyglott.

5. A fifth impression appeared at Rome 1703 folio, from the Propaganda press. This is the Karshuni New Testament, containing both the Peshito and the Arabic.

All these impressions were ultimately derived from three MSS., viz. those at the basis of the Roman, Erpenian, and Karshuni texts; for the text of the Paris Polyglott follows the Roman with alterations we know not whence taken; the text of the London Polyglott follows the Paris one; and the text of the Karshuni edition was from a Cyprian MS. Thus the printed Arabic gospels resolve themselves into the Roman, Leyden, and Cyprian MSS.

There can be no doubt that all exhibit the text of one and the same version; since Storr proved the substantial sameness of it in them.*

John, bishop of Seville in the eighth century, translated the Scriptures into Arabic from the Vulgate or Jerome's Latin version. Now the Roman edition of the gospels which was the first printed was not from the Greek original, but was taken from a MS. containing the version made in Spain from the Latin. Its resemblance to the Vulgate has always led to the opinion that it was *altered* by the Roman censors to accord with the Vulgate; but it has been shewn that it is the Arabic version which was originally made in Spain from the Latin itself. Professor Juynboll of Leyden has proved this from an examination of an Arabic MS. at Franeker, which contains the same Arabic version.† Hence the evidences adduced by Hug‡ and others for the purpose of demonstrating a Greek original are nugatory. They merely serve to shew that it has been *interpolated* from the Greek, and that too in a very bungling and ignorant way. It has also suffered interpolation from the

* Dissertat. Inaug. Crit. de Evangeliis Arabicis, Tübingen, 1775 4to.

† Letterkundige Bijdragen, Leyden, 1838. ‡ Einleit. vol. i. p. 389.

Syriac and Coptic. This was natural and almost unavoidable from the way in which it was used. When the Syrians began to feel the want, they adopted the Arabic as their church version, and altered it to a certain degree of conformity with their old church version, the Peshito.

So too the Copts adapted the Arabic to *their* ancient church version. When the Syrians and Copts did so they wrote both together in MSS. side by side, so as to have a Syro-Arabic and an Arabico-Coptic text respectively; and it is easy to see that the Arabic would not be kept pure in such circumstances. The procedure of the Arabic copyists and the way in which they confounded different texts may be seen from a MS. at Vienna, No. 43, which in the gospels has numerous various readings between the lines and in the margin, with the sources indicated, such as the Peshito, the Memphitic version, and the Greek text.

As to the persons who first *adapted* and *regulated* the Arabico-Coptic and Syro-Arabian texts, the accounts are uncertain. In the MS. from which Erpenius printed the Leyden text there is a subscription. But Erpenius printed no more than a Latin translation of it.* This subscription speaks of Nesjulamam the son of Azalkesat. Michaelis and Hug think that it was he who altered the Arabic text according to the Coptic version. But Erpenius and Storr infer that he was *the translator*. If the codex of Erpenius be now in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, there can be no room for diversity of opinion as to the person mentioned being merely the transcriber. And indeed the subscription of the codex now there,

* It is this:—Absoluta est libri hujus descriptio die 16 mensis Baunae (16 Jun.) anno 988 martyrum justorum. Descriptus autem est ex emendatissimo exemplari, cujus descriptor ait, se id descripsisse ex alio exemplari emendato, exarato manu Johannis episcopi Coptitae, qui Johannes dicit, se suum descripsisse ex exemplari emendatissimo, quod edidit D. Nesjulamam F. Azalkesati.

whether it be identical with that of Erpenius or not, shews that he was not the translator. It is quite probable however that Dr. Lee is correct in identifying the two MSS.; if so, the public are indebted to him for the subscription in its proper language and a correct Latin version. The reasons he gives for the identity of both are very plausible.*

Let us now look at the text of each impression separately.

1. The Roman text has been examined most successfully by Juynboll.

2. That of Erpen was derived from a Coptic-Arabic MS.

3. The text of the Paris Polyglott was taken from the Roman edition, with some alterations made by Gabriel Sionita.

4. The text as printed in the London Polyglott was a reimpression of the Paris text. Marsh says† it was not a bare reimpression, referring to Walton's Prolegomena xiv. § 17, and Mill's Prolegomena, § 1295; but Walton says nothing to the purpose in that section. Mill indeed states that the London text was amended and supplied in many places with the aid of MSS., but the assertion rests on no basis. As long as Walton himself says nothing of the MS. he had being used by Castell, and in the absence of a collation of the two texts, we must hold that the one is a mere reimpression of the other.

5. The Carshuni New Testament, printed at the propaganda press at Rome for the use of the Maronites, contains the same text as the Erpenian of the gospels. It was printed from a MS. brought from Cyprus, which MS. the editors preferred

* His translation of the subscription is this :—"Fuit cessatio a describendo hunc librum (die) 16 mensis Bauna, anno 988 Martyrum sanctorum (A.D. 1272). Et descriptus est hic liber ex exemplari cujus descriptor memoriae prodidit, se id ex exemplari a manu Johannis Episcopi Coptorum scripto, descripsisse. Dixerat praeterea Johannes memoratus, se hoc descripsisse ex exemplari manuscripto, quod senex Nash Antistes ille, filius Iz El Kafah, contulerat." Prolegomena to Bagster's Polyglott, p. 45.

† Notes to Michaelis's Introduction, vol. ii. p. 603.

to several others they had, on account of its accuracy. One column contains the Peshito, the other the Carshuni.

But we have dwelt too long on a version which is only *mediate*. Henceforth let it be entirely banished from the region of criticism as useless.

In the London and Paris Polyglotts is another Arabic version, containing the Acts, Pauline, and Catholic epistles, and the Apocalypse. It is stated by the printer of the Paris Polyglott, Anthony Vitre, that the MS. from which these books were edited came from Aleppo.

Internal evidence shews that they were translated directly from the Greek. Thus in Acts xix. 9, τυράννου τινός is, *one of the nobles;* xii. 13, Ῥόδη, a proper name, is *rosa;* xxviii. 11, ἐν πλοίῳ παρακεχειμακότι ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, Ἀλεξανδρίνῳ, παρασήμῳ Διοσκούροις is, *in a ship of Alexandria which had wintered in that island* (*belonging to*) *an Alexandrian named Dioscorides;* 2 Corinth. vi. 14, μὴ γίνεσθε ἑτεροζυγοῦντες τοῖς ἀπίστοις, *let not your scales incline towards unbelievers;* Jude, verse 12, οὗτοί εἰσιν ἐν ταῖς ἀγάπαις αὐτῶν σπιλάδες, συνευωχούμενοι, *these are they who cause their prostitutes to recline with them at feasts.*

Hug does not venture to class the Apocalypse along with the other books as proceeding from the same hand; but holds the common origin of the rest, relying on a similarity in the language and mode of translation, difficult passages being often paraphrased, united with careful fidelity in rendering, especially in the case of words compounded with μετὰ, σὺν and πρό.

It has also been supposed that the text has not escaped foreign additions. The same word is frequently translated twice; and small clauses are also rendered twice in different words. Comp. Acts xv. 15, 28; xvi. 37, 39; xxi. 11, 13, 27; Acts viii. 7. The same critic thinks that the Apocalypse was translated from a MS. interpolated from the scholia of Andreas of Cappadocia.

The author himself has indicated the country he belonged to in Acts ii. 9, where he renders, *the parts of Libya about Cyrene*, "*the parts of Africa, which is our country.*" It would appear therefore that he belonged to Cyrene. Hence the reading *Al Franjia* which occurs with the word Italy in Acts in xviii. 2, was of later origin than the version itself. In the time of the Crusades, we could not expect so accurate a knowledge of Greek in the parts about Cyrene.*

The text of it belongs to the Constantinopolitan or Eastern class, as is apparent from a partial collation of it made by Hug. Thus in Acts ii. 7, λέγοντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους, whereas A. C*, the Memphitic, and Æthiopic, omit πρὸς ἀλλήλους; ii. 23, ἔκδοτον λαβόντες διὰ χειρῶν, contrary to A. C., the Syriac, Armenian, Memphitic, Æthiopic, Vulgate; ii. 30, τὸ κατὰ σάρκα ἀναστήσειν τὸν Χριστόν which it has, is omitted in A. C. D**, Syriac, Memphitic, Æthiopic, Vulgate. In 1 Corinth. vii. 3, ὀφειλομένην εὔνοιαν, differing from the ὀφειλήν of A. B. C. D. E. F. G., Memphitic, Bashmuric, Æthiopic, Armenian. 1 Corinth. vii. 5, τῇ νηστείᾳ καὶ τῇ προσευχῇ, in opposition to the τῇ προσευχῇ of A. B. C. D. E. F. G., Bashmuric, Æthiopic, &c; vii. 13, ἀφιέτο αὐτόν, in opposition to ἀφιέτο τὸν ἄνδρα of A. B. C. D. E. F. G., &c. †

The value of this version is very small. It is modern, and represents a modern form of the text. It is not worth collating for critical purposes, and may be safely neglected. Indeed we can see no need for it in the department of New Testament criticism.

It is stated by Hug that the text which was reprinted in the London Polyglott from the Paris one, was repeated in the New Testament part of the Arabic Bible printed at Newcastle on Tyne 1811 4to, under the superintendence of Prof. Carlyle.‡

* See Hug's Einleitung, vol. i. p. 397, et seq. † Ibid, p. 401.
‡ Ibid, p. 402.

An Arabic version found in a Vatican MS. (No. 13) by Scholz, and partially collated by him, contains Matthew, Mark, Luke, and the Pauline epistles. The version was made from the Greek at Emesa in Syria by Daniel Philentolos and his son, as appears from the Greek postscript. The text, according to Scholz, agrees sometimes with the Alexandrine, sometimes with the Constantinopolitan MSS. It is of no use in criticism, being neither ancient nor valuable. The name of the writer of the Arabic text is given. Kerycus, a deacon, added the Greek subscription and Greek notes in the margin.*

* See Scholz's Prolegomena in N. T. vol. i. p. 128 ; Scholz's Biblisch-kritische Reise, p. 117-126 ; and Hug, vol. i. p. 394, et seq.

CHAPTER XLIV.

GOTHIC VERSION.

THE Maeso-Goths were a Germanic race who settled on the borders of the Greek empire, and their language is substantially a Germanic dialect. Ulphilas, or Wulphilas,* who was ordained first bishop of the Christian Wisigoths by Eusebius of Nicomedia, A. D. 348, translated the Bible into the Gothic from the Greek, *i. e.* from the Septuagint in the Old Testament, and the original in the New. It is with the later only we are at present concerned.

Unfortunately the New Testament has not been preserved entire, as far as yet known.

In 1665, Francis Junius published at Dort, in Gothic letters expressly cast for the purpose, the four gospels from the celebrated codex argenteus or silver MS., which was accompanied by the Anglo-Saxon version of the same gospels under the editorship of Thomas Marshall an Englishman. Junius had a very faithful transcript of the codex made by Derrer which accompanied it till 1702. But he carefully consulted the original codex also.

A reprint appeared at Amsterdam in 1684. The version was also published, with various improvements, by G. Stirnhielm at Stockholm 1671 4to, from Derrer's transcript. Arch-

* See G. Waitz, Ueber das Leben und die Lehre des Ulfila. Hanover, 1840, 4to.

bishop Benzelius of Upsal made preparations for a new edition, but dying in the meantime. it was published by Edward Lye at Oxford, 1750 4to.

Soon after, fragments of the Gothic version of Paul's epistle to the Romans were discovered by F. A. Knittel in a MS. belonging to the Wolfenbüttel library at Brunswick, which he edited and gave to the public in 1762 4to. They were again edited by Johann Ihre, at Upsal, 1763 4to, and included in the collection of treatises written by Ihre in illustration of the version and its codices, which Büsching edited at Berlin, 1773 4to.

In 1808, J. Ch. Zahn published both the gospels and the fragments of the epistle to the Romans, in one edition, 4to, at Weissenfels. The gospels were printed here from a very exact transcript of the codex argenteus made for Ihre many years before, which after passing through the hands of Büsching and another, came into those of Zahn. This edition contains a literal Latin interlinear translation, a grammar and glossary by Fulda and Rheinwald, and Ihre's Latin version by the side of the text. It also contains a critical review, explanatory notes, and an introduction from the pen of the editor.

Other fragments were discovered by Angelo Mai among the rescript MSS. in the Ambrosian library at Milan, in the year 1817. Having communicated his discoveries to Count Castiglioni, the latter joined him in his researches. The fragments discovered were printed successively at Milan partly under the joint care of both, but chiefly by Castiglioni, in 1819, 1829, 1834, 1835, 1839. These fragments contain considerable portions of Paul's epistles, except that to the Hebrews, with two parts of Matthew's gospel; and have been admirably edited.

But the most complete edition—that which surpasses all the rest in accurate and scholarly treatment of the version—is

that published by H. C. de Gabelentz and Dr. J. Loebe in two volumes 4to at Leipzig, vol. i. 1836; vol. ii. part 1, 1843. part 2, 1846. This work contains a Latin version, a Gothic grammar and dictionary with critical annotations. The text is in Roman type.

Having spoken of the principal editions, we must allude to the remarkable MS. of the gospels from which they have been printed.

The *codex argenteus* has been always regarded with interest since it was first known. It consists of 188 pages in quarto size, on very thin, smooth vellum, which is mostly of a purple colour. On this the letters which are uncial were afterwards made in silver, the initials and some others excepted, which are in gold. To the latter belong the first three lines of Luke and Mark's gospels, which are imprinted with gold foil, as were probably those of Matthew and John's gospels. Michaelis conjectured that the letters were either imprinted with a warm iron, or cut with a graver and afterwards coloured. But it has been since proved that each letter is *painted*. Most of the silver letters have become green in the progress of time, but the golden ones are still in a good state of preservation. Some parts of the codex have a pale violet hue. It is not entire, being supposed to have contained at first 320 pages. The history of this MS. has been a chequered one. It is thought to have belonged to Alaric, King of Toulouse, whose palace was destroyed by Clovis in the beginning of the sixth century; but others say that it belonged to Amalric, who was conquered by Childebert, A. D. 531. The MS. was preserved for centuries in the Benedictine monastery of Werden in Westphalia, where it was discovered by one Marillon in 1597. From this place it was taken to Prague, for security. When that city was stormed by the Swedes in 1648, the book fell into the hands of Count Königsmark, who presented it to Queen Christina. By her it

was presented to the Royal Library at Stockholm, whence it disappeared during the commotion which preceded her abdication, having been taken to the Netherlands by Isaac Vossius, librarian to the Swedish Queen. Perhaps the Queen made him a present of it; for it is hardly probable that he stole it. It was in the Netherlands that Junius examined it and reduced it to order. Some say that the Count de la Gardie purchased it of Vossius, and presented it to the University of Upsal; others that it was Charles XII. who purchased it back and presented it to the University.

It is not likely that it is the very copy which Ulphilas himself wrote, since Benzelius, Ihre, and others have discovered various readings in some of its margins, shewing it to have been written when there were several copies of the version, probably in Italy, where Latin readings were put in its margin. This is favoured by the circumstance that the gospels are arranged in the order, Matthew, John, Luke, Mark, the same order as that which they exhibit in the Brescian and Veronian MSS. Other internal marks adduced by Hug favour the same country as the birth-place of this celebrated MS., where it must have been made at the latest in the beginning of the sixth century, before the supremacy of the Goths in Italy was destroyed.*

It is matter of regret that so many pages are wanting in this MS. It has many chasms in the gospels. It is deficient in Matt. i. 5—v. 15; vi. 32—vii. 12; x. 1-23; xi. 25—xxvi. 70; xxviii. 1-20. Mark vi. 31-54; xii. 38—xiii. 18; xiii. 29—xiv. 5; xiv. 16-41; xvi. 12-20. Luke x. 30—xiv. 9; xvi. 24—xvii. 3; xx. 37-47. John i. 1—v. 45; xi. 47—xii. 1; xii. 49—xiii. 11; xix. 13-42. Individual verses here and there have also suffered mutilation, and some are almost illegible from age.

Some have held that the original language of the codex

* See Einleit. vol. i. pp. 443, 444.

argenteus is Frankish, as La Croze and Wetstein. But the character of the dialect itself, containing as it does Greek and Latin words, as well as the discovery of several specimens of the Ostro-Gothic tongue in Italy resembling the character and language of the codex argenteus, prove that the language is *Moeso-Gothic*—the most ancient specimen extant of the Teutonic language. It belongs to the fourth century.

There can be no doubt that the version was made directly from the Greek. This is testified by Simeon Metaphrastes,* and the character of the work itself. Thus the orthography observed in it is borrowed from the Greek; the etymological sense of words is exhibited; terms are confounded in such a way as to shew the translator had the Greek before him; and Greek constructions are imitated—for example, the use of attraction, &c. Thus *i* is generally written *ei* as in Greek; *sokjis*, thou seekest, *sokjeis*. ὁλοκαυτώματα is etymologically rendered *alabrunste*, Mark xii. 33; σκηνοπηγία, *hlethrastakeins*, John vii. 3; ἐγκαίνια *innjugitha*, *innovation*, John x. 22. In Luke vii. 25 τρυφῇ has been confounded with τροφῇ; Romans xi. 33, ἀνεξεύνητα is translated as if it were ἀνεξέρευνητα, &c. &c.

According to Hug, the version was made from a Greek MS. belonging to the Constantinopolitan or Lucianic recension; and in order to shew this he adduces readings from the eleventh chapter of Mark, the seventh chapter of 1 Corinthians, the fourth and fifth of the epistle to the Galatians, placing what he calls the Lucian (and Gothic) readings over against the Hesychian (Egyptian) readings.† Eichhorn adopts the same view, adding that the Byzantine text as exhibited in it is strongly mixed with the Hesychian.‡ But it is more correct to affirm that it belongs to no particular

* In Acta Septemb. v. 41. ed. Antverp.

† Einleitung, vol. i. p. 455, et seq. ‡ Einleit. vol. v. p. 99.

class of documents, neither to the eastern nor western. It is between the oldest condition of the text and that found in the junior Constantinopolitan codices. Hence it agrees with both, but with neither separately or continuously. As it often coincides with the oldest MSS. and versions, it should scarcely be classed with the junior Constantinopolitan recension. Thus in Matt. vi. 18, ἐν τῷ φανερῷ, is omitted by it, along with the most ancient codices; viii. 8 its reading is λόγῳ, instead of the received λόγον, agreeing with the best documents B. C., &c.; ix. 13, εἰς μετάνοιαν is left out with B. D. V. both the Syriac versions, &c.; ix. 35, ἐν τῷ λαῷ is omitted, with the same ancient class of authorities. Matt. xi. 2, it reads διὰ for δύο with B. C. D. P. Z. Δ, both the Syriac, Armenian, &c. Comp. also Mark i. 2, 11; ii. 1, 17, 18, 20. John vi. 22. Romans vii. 6 (ἀποθανόντες). Galat. ii. 14 (πῶς); iv. 17 (ὑμᾶς); iv. 26, πάντων is omitted. 1 Thes. v. 3, γάρ is omitted. The paragraph in John viii. 1, &c. is omitted. In Luke vi. 20, τῷ πνεύματι is added, in agreement with the Arabic, Armenian, Jerusalem Syriac, and other versions.*

There is no doubt, however, that the text often agrees with the modern one, in opposition to the oldest authorities. The readings adduced by Hug for this purpose are appropriate, though they are not so much *the rule* as he asserts. So too in Mark i. 5, 16, 34; John vi. 40, 58, 69; Romans vii. 18, 25; viii. 38; xi. 22; xii. 11; 1 Corinth. vii. 5; Galat. iii. 1; iv. 6, 15; 1 Thes. ii. 15; iv. 13. Sometimes it has the usual reading only in part, as Mark xi. 10, ἐν ὀνόματι, without κυρίου; Romans viii. 1, μὴ κατὰ σάρκα περιπατοῦσιν, without ἀλλὰ κατὰ πνεῦμα. It also unites two readings, as in Matt. vii. 8.†

It has been supposed that the text was interpolated at an early period from the Latin translation. It *Latinises*. The influence of the old Latin or Vulgate upon it is easily dis-

* See De Wette's Einleitung, p. 29.

† Ibid, pp. 29, 30.

cerned. The Goths became acquainted in Italy with copies of the old Latin version, and these furnished transcribers with additions. Sometimes indeed, the Latin was written by the side of the Gothic, so that the former readily contributed to the corruption of the latter. Readings of the Latin were also written in the margin, whence they were transferred to the text. Ihre enumerates fourteen marginal notes in the codex argenteus which would have been partly taken into the text in the next transcript. Thus at Luke ix. 34, some one put the Latin reading at the side, *et intrantibus illis in nubem*, as the Verona and Brescian MSS. have it. In consequence of such interpolations, the text of the version is less valuable than it would have been.

Many of these Latin appendages can be traced. Thus Matt. x. 29, τῆς βουλῆς is added, as several other versions, including the old Latin read. Mark xiv. 65, *cum voluntate seu libenter*. Luke i. 3, *et spiritui sancto* is added; ix. 43 we have the addition *Dixit Petrus, Domine quare nos non potuimus ejicere illum: Quibus dixit: quoniam ejusmodi oratione ejicitur et jejunio;* ix. 50, we have another appendage from the same source: *Nemo est enim qui non faciat virtutem in nomine meo.* Mark vii. 3, *crebro.* Luke ix. 20, *tu es Christus filius Dei.* 2 Corinth. v. 10, ἴδια instead of διά.* The best explanation of these peculiarities is that adopted by Zahn and other critics since his time, viz. that the text was altered in Italy after Latin MSS. which were current there. We know that the Gothic was known in Italy in the ninth century when the cod. Brixianus was written; and that its departures from the Latin had been noticed. Gabelentz and Loebe have pointed out several marginal Latin readings which were afterwards taken into the text; to which may be added the Euthalian subscriptions.†

* See Wetstein's Prolegomena, p. 115.

† Prolegomena to vol. i. p. 23.

It has been supposed by the two most recent editors of the version, that the two Gothic MSS. contain different recensions, an opinion to which Hug * refuses assent. Differences in the grammatical formation of separate words and in orthography can hardly justify the truth of the statement made by Gabelentz and Loebe. It is not well attested. As to the general character of the version, it is distinguished by literality, fidelity, and accuracy. It evinces judgment, learning, and skill on the part of bishop Ulphilas.

* See his Einleitung, vol. i. pp. 458, 459.

CHAPTER XLV.

SLAVONIC VERSION.

THE old or church Slavic, commonly called Slavonic language, belongs to that people who settled at an early period on both banks of the Danube, and were mostly involved in the wars of the two Roman empires.

A version of the Bible into it was made by Constantine commonly called Cyril, and his brother Methodius, who preached the gospel in the ninth century to the Bulgarians and Moravians, and invented an alphabet. The Septuagint was followed in the Old Testament, and the original in the New.

What part of the translation was performed by Cyril, and what by Methodius, cannot now be ascertained. It is probable that Cyril translated at first the gospels, as still contained in a codex of A.D. 1144 in the library of the Synod at Moscow. Perhaps he also translated most of the New Testament; whereas the greater part at least of the books of the Old Testament were done by Methodius. The most ancient existing copy of the whole Bible is the codex of Moscow, of A.D. 1499; and that is thought to have been the first that was ever completed, the different parts not having been collected till then. The invention of the alphabet belongs exclusively to Cyril. It is likely, as Kopitar has shewn, that the old Slavic language in the time of Cyril and Methodius was peculiar to the *Pannonic* or *Carantano-Slavi*, the *Slovenzi* or *Vindes* of the

present times. These were the diocesans of Methodius, for whom the Scriptures were first translated, being carried at a later period to the Bulgarians and Moravians. For centuries however the Slavonic has ceased to be a language of common life, and is read only in the public worship of the church.

The translation is very literal and faithful, violating the idiom of the Slavonian for the sake of retaining the Greek construction. The position of words, and constructions follow the Greek text closely; many are not at all translated, but adopted as they are; and many Slavic words are formed solicitously after the Greek.

The MSS. used in making the version contained for the most part what is called the Constantinopolitan or later text. As Constantine and Methodius were born in Thessalonica and so belonged to the Constantinopolitan patriarchate, and were even sent from that place, they must have taken with them Constantinopolitan MSS.

The text however is not proper, unmixed Byzantine. There are in it many old readings belonging to the western class. Hug and Eichhorn agree in saying that the recension exhibited by the version is Constantinopolitan, mixed however with what they term Hesychian readings, or according to Hug's notion, with readings from the κοινὴ ἔκδοσις and from Egyptian MSS. Such language gives a false impression of the case, and explains nothing.

It is still matter of dispute, whether the version has been interpolated from the Latin. There are appearances favourable to the supposition. It is countenanced by Latinising readings. Dobrovsky however defends it from this charge.* According to him, it agrees remarkably with D. and L. Professor Alter, who carefully collated two MSS. in the Imperial Library at Vienna, enables us to see that the *prevailing* character is Constantinopolitan, and that its agreement with such authorities

* See his Slavanca, second part, 1815, Prague.

as D. L. the Vulgate, is not so great as to be *pervading* or *characteristic.*

On comparing it with the Gothic, it has been found that there is a frequent agreement with it in coincidence either with the common text or with the oldest. Both the Slavonic and Gothic have the old readings in Matt. viii. 8; Mark i. 11; John vi. 22, 39, 69; Gal. ii. 14, iv. 17; while on the other hand it exhibits the same kind of readings in Mark i. 34, ii. 9; John v. 40, 48 where it is deserted by the Gothic. Again, it agrees with the usual received text in opposition to the Gothic, in Matt. vi. 18, ix. 13, 35, xi. 2; Mark i. 2, 5, ii. 17, 18, 20; Romans x. 1, xiii. 9; though in more places the two versions together follow the Constantinopolitan text.*

The first edition of the gospels was published in 4to in Wallachia 1512. Afterwards they were published in folio at Wilna 1575; and again at Moscow in 1614. It was from this last that Alter collated the first fourteen chapters of John's gospel, and extracted the various readings in his edition of the Greek Testament. The whole Bible was published at Ostrog in Volhynia (Poland), 1581 folio, from which was taken the Moscow Bible, 1663 folio. It was the latter which was used by Dobrovsky in collating the version for Griesbach; but he had besides several MSS. of the Slavonic text. There are many more recent editions. Von Muralt recently collated two MSS. of the eleventh century—one that had been published in fac-simile by Silvestrius, containing the gospels; another belonging to St. Petersburg, containing the Acts and epistles.

The comparatively late date of this version prevents it from assuming the importance it might otherwise claim. It need not have been brought into the field of criticism at all. It may be dispensed with. We should therefore neglect it in future as a source of various readings. Besides its recent date, the suspicion of Latinising has not been wiped away from the *printed editions* of it at least.

* See De Wette, Einleit. p. 30.

CHAPTER XLVI.

THE LATIN VERSION.

It has been disputed whether at a very early period there were several Latin versions of the Scriptures, or only one. The prevailing opinion has always been in favour of the former; those who take that view relying much on the words of Augustine and Jerome. And if the expressions of these fathers be rigidly interpreted according to the letter, they look as if they justified the opinion in question. Augustine in his treatise of Christian doctrine refers apparently to the multitude of Latin translations then current; but in a way to put his readers on their guard against the majority of them as having been made by persons not sufficiently qualified for the undertaking.* In like manner Jerome states that there were almost as many different texts as manuscripts.†

But whatever may be said of the sense *apparently* intended

* "Qui scripturas ex Hebraea lingua in Graecam verterunt numerari possunt, Latini autem interpretes nullo modo. Ut enim cuique primis fidei temporibus in manus venit codex Graecus, et aliquantulum facultatis sibi utriusque linguae habere videbatur, ausus est interpretari."—De Doctr. Christ. lib. ii. cap. 11.

† "Si Latinis exemplaribus fides est adhibenda, respondeant quibus? tot enim sunt exemplaria paene quot codices."—Praefat. in iv. Evangelia ad Damas.

by both writers, repeated reflection will serve to convince the scholar that they did not *really* mean to say that there was a very large number of distinct Latin translations in current use in their day. When they speak of the great discrepancy of Latin MSS. with one another they can hardly intend to convey the idea that there were very many authors of different versions in the Latin language. There was *one* translation—substantially and essentially one—the same which had been used long before the days of Augustine or Jerome. Originally that may have appeared *in parts* in different years (though with no great interval of time), but it was still but *one* version. It is likely that it first appeared in Africa in the second century, for even Tertullian made use of it so early as A.D. 190, unless indeed we suppose that the scripture texts found in his writings were rendered by himself from the Greek, which is very improbable. The text of this primitive version soon became deteriorated. Many persons meddled with it. It was altered, renovated, and patched by one and another in various places. It was interpolated from various sources. Hence it began rapidly to lose its individuality of character. Marginal suggestions were taken into it, parallel passages were incorporated, Greek MSS. furnished new readings for it which took the place of older ones. *It appeared as if* separate versions had all been mixed and mutually interpolated. It was not however by the mixing together of separate texts that this deterioration was effected, but rather by the petty mending of one Latin translation. To such a state of things the words of Augustine and Jerome refer, and not to independent versions—to a strange and pernicious license which early prevailed in altering and interpolating the Latin text.

In affixing this meaning to the words of Augustine and Jerome we believe that they are rightly interpreted, as Blanchini*

* Evangeliarium Quadruplex Latinae versionis antiquae seu veteris Italicae, &c. vol. i. Prolegomena, p. 78, et seq.

and Sabatier* long since saw. Nor has the proper view escaped the sagacity of Eichhorn, Wiseman†, and Lachmann,‡ in modern times. In this case too Tischendorf§ has wisely followed Lachmann.

But does not Augustine speak in terms of commendation of one among the old Latin versions? Does he not specify the *Itala?*‖ He certainly preferred it to others, but it was not on that account a distinct version. It was a *recension* or *revised edition* of the *versio vetus*. That form of the old Latin which he called Itala or the *Italic* [recension] had been revised after Greek MSS. When the old Latin was received by the Italians, or more correctly a certain part of them, from Africa, it was carefully attended to, and improved after Greek copies.

This sense of the expression *Itala* has been abundantly proved by Wiseman, whose argument is repeated by Lachmann. The same Augustine in his treatise against Faustus repeats the same precept three times, saying first, that one should have recourse to the *exempla veriora;* then that the origin, *origo*, of the book published by the African heretic should be looked *to*; and lastly, that the doubt should be solved "ex aliarum regionum codicibus unde ipsa doctrina commeaverit," *i.e.* by the copies of other regions whence the doctrine itself emanated. Hence Augustine must have used *Italian* copies, or copies *conformed* to the *Italian*, espe-

* Bibliorum Sacrorum Latinae versiones antiquae, &c. &c. vol. i. praefat.

† Two letters on some parts of the controversy concerning 1 John v. 7; containing also an inquiry into the origin of the first Latin version of Scripture, commonly called the Itala.

‡ Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine, Tom. i. praefat. p. x. et seq.

§ Evangelium Palatinum ineditum, Prolegomena, § 7, p. xvi. et seq.

‖ "In Ipsis autem (Latinis) interpretationibus Itala caeteris praeferatur: nam est verborum tenacior cum perspicuitate sententiae."—De Doctr. Christ. Lib. ii. cap. xvi.

cially as he says elsewhere that *unrevised* should yield to *revised* copies.

A good deal of misapprehension has existed in regard to the sense of *Itala* or *the Italic revision*. It does not mean *one particular* Latin version from among many other distinct ones of the same kind and in the same language. Neither does it apply to the whole mass of Latin biblical text prior to the time of Jerome. The old Latin version which was made in northern Africa in the second century should not be called the *Itala* or *Italic version*. Augustine's use of it is more restricted, for he applies it to a certain *revision* of the *versio vetus* or old Latin—that revision which circulated in northern Italy—the Italian province of which Milan was the metropolis. To this form of the text the African father applies the character, "*est verborum tenacior cum perspicuitate sententiae.*" The Italic revision was distinguished for the *closeness of its renderings* and the *perspicuity of its style*. As the version circulated in its native country, northern Africa, we have reason to believe that it possessed a certain rude simplicity. It was literal and bold in style, passing into grammatical inaccuracy in numerous instances. It was barbarous enough at first; it had contracted worse features afterwards. Its text had been disfigured and corrupted.

The works of Blanchini and Sabatier have done much towards making us acquainted with the MSS. of the old Latin. Some of Tischendorf's publications have also contributed to the same object. A good many of the codices have thus been collated or published, the *most important* of which are the following:—

IN THE GOSPELS.

Codex Vercellensis (cod. Verc. *a* of Lachmann and Tischendorf). This ancient codex belongs to the fourth century, and is supposed to have been written by the hand of Eusebius of Vercelli. It has now many chasms. The text was first

printed by J. A. Irico at Milan in 1749, 4to, and was subsequently incorporated by Blanchini into *Evangeliarum Quadruplex*, where it occupies the left-hand page. There is a description of the MS. in that work, and a fac-simile specimen.

Cod. Veronensis (cod. Ver. *b* of Lachmann and Tischendorf). This codex belongs to the fourth or fifth century. It has a great number of chasms. The text was published by Blanchini in the work already mentioned where it occupies the right-hand page. The MS. is also described there, and a fac-simile specimen given.

Cod. Palatinus Vindobonensis (*e* of Tischendorf). This MS. contains the gospels of John and Luke nearly entire. Almost the half of Matthew is wanting. Nearly six chapters of Mark remain. It is supposed to belong to the fourth or fifth century; and the text was published by Tischendorf in 1847 in his "Evangelium Palatinum ineditum."

Cod. Brixianus (*f* of Tischendorf). This codex belongs to the sixth century. It is described in the work of Blanchini, where its text is published below that of the cod. Ver. or *b*.

Codices Corbejenses (ff^1 and ff^2 of Tischendorf). Two of these which are very ancient have been used, by the aid of the publications of Martianay, Blanchini, and Sabatier.

Codices Sangermanenses (g^1 and g^2 of Tischendorf). Two of these which are also very old have been employed for critical purposes. The readings of the first were given as regards Matthew's gospel by Martianay and Blanchini; of the second as well as the first in relation to the four gospels by Sabatier.

Cod. Claromontanus (*h* of Tischendorf). This MS. is now in the Vatican Library and is doubtless of a very great age. It contains the gospel according to Matthew, with several chasms. Sabatier gave excerpts from it, and Angelo Mai afterwards published its text in the third volume of his "Scriptor. Veterum nova collectio."

Cod. Vindobonensis (*i* of Tischendorf). This MS. which

has been assigned to the fifth century contains fragments of the gospels by Luke and Mark. The text was published entire by Alter and Paulus.

Cod. Bobbiensis (*k* of Tischendorf). This MS. is now at Turin, and belongs to the fifth century. It contains fragments of the gospels by Matthew and Mark. The text was best published by Tischendorf in 1847 in the Wiener Jahrbücher.

Cod. Cantabrigiensis (*d* of Lachmann and Tischendorf). This is a Greek-Latin MS. of the gospels, Acts, and third epistle of John, supposed to belong to the sixth century. The Latin is mutilated in some parts, and some lessons are by a more recent hand. A splendid fac-simile of the text was published by Kipling.

Cod. Rhedigerianus (*l* of Tischendorf). This MS. contains the four gospels, with a considerable deficiency in that of John. It has been assigned to the seventh century. Schulz first collated, described, and applied it to the criticism of the text, in the third edition of Griesbach.

Cod. Colbertinus (*c* of Lachmann and Tischendorf). This MS. belongs to the eleventh century. Its text was published by Sabatier.

IN THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

The chief MSS. hitherto used have been—

The *Cod. Cantabrigiensis* or *d* already noticed.

Cod. Laudianus (*e* of Lachmann and Tischendorf). This is a Greek-Latin MS. in the Bodleian Library. It is assigned by Tischendorf to the end of the sixth century, and the text was published by Hearne at Oxford in 1715.

Cod. Bolbiensis (*k* of Tischendorf). Now at Vienna, a MS. assigned to the fifth century by Tischendorf. It contains no more than a few fragments of the Acts discovered in a rescript MS. in the Imperial Library at Vienna and edited by Tischendorf.

N THE CATHOLIC EPISTLES.

Cod. Corbejensis (*ff*[1] of Tischendorf). A MS. already referred to as containing Matthew's gospel. It has also the epistle of James. The text was edited by Martianay, and afterwards by Sabatier.

Cod. Bobbiensis (*k*). This is the same just referred to as containing fragments of the Acts. It contains besides a few fragments of James's epistle and the first of Peter.

IN THE PAULINE EPISTLES.

Cod. Claromontanus (*f* of Lachmann; *d* of Tischendorf). An important MS. attributed by Tischendorf to the end of the sixth century. It contains the Greek text, as well as the Latin version. Tischendorf has published the whole MS. very accurately.

Cod. Sangermanensis (*ff* of Lachmann; *e* of Tischendorf), now at Petersburgh. This is a Greek-Latin MS. The text was published by Sabatier.

Cod. Boernerianus (*g* of Lachmann and Tischendorf), now in Dresden. It is a Greek-Latin MS. supposed to belong to the ninth century. The whole was published by Matthaei, at Meissen, A.D. 1791.

Cod. Guelpherbytanus (Guelph.) containing a few fragments of the epistle to the Romans appended to the text of the Gothic version, published from the rescript leaves by Knittel.

Griesbach in his second edition quoted readings from twenty-five MSS. of the versio vetus; but seven of them, as he himself states, are rather MSS. of the Vulgate or Jerome's revision. This leaves eighteen. Two additional ones were cited by Schulz in the third edition of Griesbach's first volume; to which Scholz added three *apparently*, but only two *in reality*, because one of his three belongs to the Vulgate, not the

vetus. Tischendorf used several other important ones which were either unknown or unexamined before, so that the list has been considerably enlarged since Griesbach's time, and may without doubt be greatly increased hereafter; for it is known that many codices of the old Latin exist in European libraries —codices that have not been sought out and brought forth from their hiding places.

It is of more importance however to *classify* than simply *to enumerate* the Latin MSS., for they are clearly capable of *classification* according to *the form of text* they exhibit.

1. The old Latin or *versio vetus* as found in codices Vercellensis, Veronensis, and Colbertinus. These represent the *unrevised* version in the oldest state it can be obtained in.

2. The *Italic revision* of the Latin, to which alone Augustine refers. This is found in the codex Brixianus.

[3. Jerome's revision, which was probably in part a new version. To this we shall refer hereafter.]

4. A revision in which the Greek MSS. that resemble B. C. L. were followed. This is found in the fragments of codex Bobbiensis, not as published by Fleck, for he has given the readings most inaccurately, but as published in the Wiener Jahrbücher by Tischendorf.

There are also MSS. containing a *mixed* text, which is commonly a modification of the text found in cod. Brixianus, such as the codex Boernerianus. There are also MSS. of Jerome's revision in which older readings and additions are found as cod. Emmeràmi. These are the result of the existence of the various classes.

It was after the first class that Lachmann so eagerly sought, that he might shew the version in its original African state as correctly as possible. But he was only able to obtain a few ancient copies of this kind. The second class or *Itala* was conformed to the Greek MSS. then becoming current, such as the Gothic commonly agrees with, or the Constantinopolitan

family of Griesbach. The third or Jerome's revision follows, as we learn from himself, the same kind of MSS. as the versio vetus was at first made from, that is, the western recension of Griesbach. As to the form of the versio vetus in the copies of it current at Rome when Jerome undertook his revision, it is best seen in the commentaries of Victorinus, rhetorician at Rome in the fourth century. The fourth class is conformed to the Alexandrine MSS. of Griesbach, or such as were used for the Memphitic version.

JEROME'S REVISION OR THE VULGATE.

To remedy the confusion which had been introduced into the text of the old Latin, Jerome was requested by Damasus bishop of Rome to revise it after the Greek original. The task was not undertaken without serious misgivings, because he foresaw that all the moderation and caution which he might employ would not suffice to prevent odium. Accordingly he did not deem it necessary or wise to depart very far from the prevailing text of the Latin translation. Agreeably to his own statement he took for the basis of his revision the most esteemed copies of the time—those of Origen, Pierius, Eusebius—which came nearer the Latin text than others, and followed them only where he found the Latin manifestly erroneous. Hence he allowed everything to remain which he could not directly pronounce to be false, though he might have been able to put a better in place of it. He refrained from making much innovation. As many changes as he thought desirable and would have preferred, were not made. He did not follow out his own convictions and preferences in the task of revision.* Hence

* "Novum opus me facere cogis ex Veteri ut post exemplaria scripturarum toto orbe dispersa, quasi quidem arbiter sedeam, et quia inter se variant, quae sunt illa quae cum Graecis consentiant veritate decernam. Pius labor sed periculosa praesumptio judicare de caeteris ipsum ab omnibus judicandum ; senis mutare linguam et canescentem jam mundum

his *commentaries* exhibit departures from the version as he himself improved it. *In them* we may perceive his best judgment relative to the readings of the Latin text.

Take the following as a specimen of the changes he made:—

Old Latin.	*Jerome's revision.*
Matt. vi. 11. Panem quotidianum.	Panem supersubstantialem.
vii. 12. Ut faciant vobis homines bona.	Ut faciant vobis homines.
Matt. xxi. 31. Et dicunt ei: novissimus.*	Et dicunt ei: primus.
xxiv. 36. Nec filius.	(Omitted).
Matt. xi. 2. Discipulos suo.	Duos de discipulis suis.
v. 22. Sine causa.	(Omitted).

But it must not be supposed from the preface to the four gospels addressed to Damasus, as might perhaps be inferred from itself, that the revision of Jerome extended to the gospels alone.† He merely *began* with them. The other parts fol-

ad initia retrahere parvulorum; quis enim doctus pariter et indoctus, cum in manus volumen assumserit et a saliva, quam semel imbibit viderit discrepare, quod lectitat non statim erumpat in vocem me falsarium, me clamitans esse sacrilegum, qui audeam aliquid in veteribus libris addere, mutare, corrigere," &c.—Praef. in iv. Evang. ad Damasum.

"Codicum Graecorum emendata collatione, sed et veterum, nec quae multum a lectionis Latinae consuetudine discreparent, ita calamo temperavimus, ut his tantum, quae sensum videbantur mutare, correctis, reliqua manere pateremur, ut fuerunt."—*Ibid.*

"Praetermitto eos codices quos a Luciano et Hesychio nuncupatos paucorum hominum asserit perversa contentio, quibus utique nec in toto veteri instrumento post LXX. interpretes emendare quid licuit, nec in novo profuit emendasse."—*Ibid.*

* Here Sabatier has *primus*. But we believe that the other is the true reading, since it is found in the codices Vercellensis, Veronensis, Corbejensis, San-germanensis and other ancient MSS. But the cod. Brixianus has *primus*.—See Blanchini's Evangel. Quadruplex

† "Igitur haec praesens praefatiuncula pollicetur quatuor Evangelia . . . . . codicum Graecorum emendata collatione, sed veterum, nec qui multum a lectionis Latinae consuetudine discreparent."—Praef. ad Damas.

lowed. Elsewhere he speaks expressly of the whole New Testament as having been corrected;* and complains of those who in the Pauline epistles preferred the old vicious Latin translation to his new and revised text.†

The four gospels were completed and published in the year 384. After this part was finished, he proceeded to the remaining books, in which he followed the same method as in the gospels, correcting here and there from the Greek, but leaving most part of the text untouched. The multiplicity of his engagements at Rome during the three years or more he spent there at this time 382-386, proves that he could not have devoted much time to the revision of the New Testament. The latter part of the work we know to have been completed before he left the city; for this is evident from the epistle to Marcella (102) written in 385 or the commencement of 386, in which he strongly inveighs against the *biped asses*, as he calls them, (bipedes aselli), who blamed him for his emendations in the gospels and preferred the old Latin.

A few examples of his recension in the remainder of the New Testament may be given —

Old Latin.	*Jerome's revision.*
Acts xiii. 18. Nutrivit eos.	Mores eorum sustinuit.
xv. 29. Observantes vos ipsos, bene agetis.	Custodientes vos, bene agetis.
Gal. v. 7. Quis vos impedivit veritati non obedire? Nemini consenseritis.	(Nemini consenseritis is omitted).
Eph. i. 9. Placitum.	Bonum placitum.
i. 11. Vocati sumus.	Sorte vocati sumus.
i. 14. Adoptionis.	Adquisitionis.
19. Vobis qui credidistis.	Nos qui credidimus.
1 Tim. i. 15. Humanus sermo.	Fidelis sermo.
iii. 2. Docibilem.	Doctorem.

* "Novum Testamentum Graecae fidei reddidi."—Catal. scriptt. eccles.

† Epist. ad Marcellam, 102, or as it is now, xxvii.

	Old Latin.	*Jerome's revision.*
1 Tim. v. 19.	Adversus presbyterum accusationem ne receperis.	Nisi sub duobus, et tribus testibus (added).
Eph. iv. 14.	Remedium.	Circumventionem.
vi. 11.	Remedium diaboli.	Insidias diaboli.*

What Jerome was afraid of actually came to pass. Neither the name of Damasus nor the obvious want of such a revision contributed to introduce the amended text into the western church generally in the century it appeared in. Augustine himself showed a disinclination to welcome it; and in Rome both the old Latin and the improved text were employed together for a long time. But the reputation of the latter grew with time. Its value was gradually recognised, till at last it came to be universally adopted. After this time, by way of distinguishing the amended from the older text, the name *versio vulgata* or *communis* was attributed to the former. When therefore we now speak of *the Vulgate* in relation to the New Testament, we mean Jerome's revised edition of the ancient Latin version used by the Latin fathers—the text of the latter corrected by the aid of ancient Greek MSS. A writer in Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman biography, says both erroneously and unintelligibly, "The New Testament is a translation formed out of the old translations carefully compared and corrected from the original Greek of Jerome." †

The version has not remained in the state in which it came from the hand of Jerome. Besides the changes which are unavoidable in the course of transcription for centuries, an early intermixture of the two texts took place. Cassiodorus compared again (after A.D. 550) the older text with that of Jerome, placing both in parallel columns. We are informed by Blan-

* See Mill's Prolegomena in N. T. § 863, et seq. where however there are many errors. † Vol. ii. p. 466.

chini,* that there is a MS. in the Vatican (No. 7016) in which the Vulgate of Jerome has been industriously mixed with the old Latin version.

We have already spoken of critical revisions of the Vulgate by Alcuin, Lanfranc, Cardinal Nicolaus, and the so-called Correctoria. The description given applies alike to the Old and New Testament parts of the Vulgate. The chief editions have also been noticed and described, and all proceedings of interest or importance relating to the entire version.

Before leaving the Vulgate we may allude to a circumstance which has not been sufficiently perceived or attended to in connection with its history and character. In A.D. 386 or 387, above a year after Jerome had gone over all the New Testament, appeared his commentaries on the epistles to the Galatians, Ephesians, Titus, Philemon, in which he reviewed and amended in different places what he had previously left untouched. And because it was seen that these emendations differed considerably from the text of the Vulgate, some thought that the Latin version we now have and call the Vulgate is not that which was either edited or amended by Jerome.† But this is incorrect. Had Jerome undertaken a thorough correction of the old Latin translation, the view proposed would have been plausible; but such was not the fact. In revising the latter part of the New Testament, he followed the same rule as he had done in the case of the gospels. He merely removed the most palpable mistakes, those which seemed to alter the sense, leaving others as they were. Not a few were allowed to remain, lest offence should be given. But after Jerome had published his edition of the old Latin, it was

* Evangeliarum Quadruplex, vol. ii. pars 2. post pciv. cod. xxxiv. "Versio est ex Itala atque ex Hieronymiana versione mixta."

† Estius Comment. in ep. ad Ephes. i. 10.

still in his power to note and correct such faults as had occurred to him perhaps from repeated perusals of the Latin text; and he did this in the commentaries on the epistles already mentioned, as well as in his commentary on Matthew, published in A.D. 398.*

These remarks will shew that the Latin text, as it proceeded from Jerome's hands at first, and as it was *afterwards* explained and commented on, is not always the same. The one shews what he thought it prudent to do with it under the circumstances in which he was placed at Rome, and while Damasus lived. The other shews his later and better ideas respecting the readings of it. Still however, in endeavouring to restore the text of the Vulgate to its original state as it came from the hands of Jerome himself, we should not put into the text, by the aid of his commentaries, what he himself did not actually put or leave in it. Where he repeats and explains in his commentaries the same readings as those occurring in the text itself just as he revised it, we have ample ground for believing that the genuine readings are before us; but where he changes a word or words in his annotations, departing from his former sentiments, or expressing perhaps what he did not before act upon, we must not put these new readings into the text. Jerome himself did not so place them. They ought to stand beside the text, as various readings exhibiting the reviser's maturest ideas of the emendation required.

The Vulgate, as it is now called, containing Jerome's Latin version of the Old Testament, and his revision of the old Latin text in the New Testament, is best represented in its original condition just as he left it, in the codex Amiatinus, as far as it can be represented by one MS. No one probably exhibits it so well as it is there printed. This is the most

* See Mill's Prolegomena in N. T. § 867.

valuable one yet known, whose text has been printed by Tischendorf. It is also well given in the tenth and eleventh volumes of Vallarsi's edition of Jerome's works.*

But this Hieronymian revision is of so great importance that we must not dismiss it without giving some account of the chief manuscript copies of it that are known. We attach very high value to it, and therefore regard its best codices as worthy of notice. Every thing that contributes to elicit its primitive readings should be carefully noticed. In doing this we are supplying the class of Latin MSS. already described as No. 3.

There are many ancient MSS. of the Vulgate which have been applied to the criticism of the text. It is necessary to do so not only because the printed editions are so defective and imperfect representatives of the text which Jerome revised, but because ancient MS. copies of it are so abundant. Nothing is more certain than that both the papal editions of Sixtus and Clement VIII. differ from the true Hieronymian text, as is proved by very ancient MSS. Hence it is equally desirable and necessary to have recourse to the latter. Indeed the printed editions of the Vulgate are of little use for critical purposes.

Cod. Amiatinus (L. of Lachmann; *am.* Tischendorf.) This MS. is now in the Laurentian library at Florence, and was written about the year 541. A collation of it was published by F. F. Fleck in 1840. Afterwards it was more accurately examined by Tischendorf, and excerpts made from it which are quoted in his second edition of the Greek Testament. Since then he has published the entire text. It contains both the Old and New Testaments.

Cod. Fuldensis (F. of Lachmann; *fuld.* Tischendorf.) This also appears to belong to the sixth century. It was used by Lachmann and Buttmann in their edition of the Greek Testa-

* See Eichhorn's Einleit. in das neue Testament, vol. iv. p. 376, et seq.

ment and of the Hieronymian version, and contains all the New Testament, except that it has the four gòspels in a harmony divided into canons and numbers. The best description of the MS. is that given long ago by Schannat.

Cod. Toletanus (*tol.*) This codex is at Toledo, as the name implies, and is written in Gothic letters. A collation of it was published by Blanchini. It contains both the Old and New Testaments.

Other MSS. containing parts of the Vulgate or Jerome's revised text have been used in the critical editions of Griesbach, Scholz, and Tischendorf, such as the cod. *Emmerami* written in the ninth century and described by Sanftl; *Forojuliensis* published by Blanchini; *Fossatensis* in the work of Sabatier; *S. Gatiani* of the eighth century, in Sabatier and Blanchini; *Harlejanus* of the seventh century, in Griesbach's Symbolae Criticae; *Ingolstadiensis* of the seventh century, in Tischendorf's second edition of the Greek Testament, &c. &c. all relating to the gospels; *Demidovianus* containing the Old and New Testaments out of which Matthaei published the text of the Acts, epistles, and Apocalypse, &c. &c. *Luxoviensis* a lectionary described and collated by Mabillon and Sabatier, &c. &c. But for a particular account of these we must refer to the works of Sabatier, Blanchini, Tischendorf, and others mentioned in the Prolegomena of the critical editions of the New Testament by Griesbach, Scholz, and Tischendorf.

The Latin version in its *antehieronymian* as well its *hieronymian* form, is of great use in the department of New Testament criticism. Perhaps none other surpasses here. We should scarcely prefer the old Syriac. It points out the readings of Greek MSS. of greater antiquity than any now existing. The more ancient the Greek MSS. the closer is their agreement with it. Undoubtedly the true Hieronymian revision of it is of most service in indicating the *best* readings.

But *all* the forms of the Latin deserve the most careful observation.

Notwithstanding the very great importance of the version before us, it has not yet been used as much and as efficiently as it ought. Indeed its proper value has only *begun* to be appreciated. Bentley long ago perceived its true worth; as his "proposals for a new edition of the Greek Testament and Latin version" amply attest. It will not perhaps be amiss to cite a passage or two from that consummate critic's "proposals."

"The author of this edition, observing that the printed copies of the New Testament, both of the original Greek and Antient Vulgar Latin, were taken from MSS. of no great antiquity, such as the first editors could then procure; and that now by God's providence there are MSS. in Europe, (accessible though with great charge) above a thousand years old in both languages; believes he may do good service to common Christianity, if he publishes a new edition of the Greek and Latin, not according to the recent and interpolated copies, but as represented in the most antient and venerable MSS. in Greek and Roman Capital letters. 'The Author revolving in his mind some passages of St. Hierom; where he declares, that (without making a New Version) he adjusted and reform'd the whole Latin Vulgate to the best Greek Exemplars, that is, to those of the famous Origen; and another passage, where he says, that a verbal or literal interpretation out of Greek into Latin is not necessary, except in the Holy Scriptures, *Ubi ipse verborum ordo mysterium est*, where the very order of the words is a mystery; took thence the hint, that if the oldest copies of the Original Greek and Hierom's Latin were examined and compared together, perhaps they would be still found to agree both in words and order of words. And upon making the Essay, he has succeeded in his conjecture, beyond his expectation or even his hopes.'

"The Author believes that he has retriev'd (except in very

few places) the true Exemplar of Origen, which was the standard to the most learned of the fathers at the time of the council of Nice and two centuries after. And he is sure that the Greek and Latin MSS. by their mutual assistance, do so settle the original text to the smallest nicety; as cannot be perform'd now in any Classic Author whatever: and that out of a labyrinth of thirty thousand various readings, that croud the pages of our present best editions, all put upon equal credit to the offence of many good persons; this clue so leads and extricates us that there will scarce be two hundred out of so many thousands that can deserve the least consideration."

In modern times Lachmann was the first who elevated the Latin version to its proper place and authority in his large edition of the Greek Testament, where he prints Jerome's revision along with the original Greek, from the oldest and best sources he could find. In this respect he only trod in the steps of his master Bentley. The edition of Lachmann greatly influenced Tischendorf in regard to the Latin translation; and he has accordingly done much to promote our knowledge of its old MSS. By means of his investigations, it might be more correctly edited now than it was by Lachmann. Critical editors will still find the field far from exhausted. It deserves to be well cultivated.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON VERSIONS.

It is high time that the number of versions applied to the textual criticism of the New Testament should be reduced. No real benefit has accrued from extending the range of investigation in this quarter. Rather has there been disadvantage; for the wideness of the field has made it much more difficult to be satisfactorily treated. There are several versions which have encumbered, not promoted the science. We should therefore cut them off altogether. They should be left out of

account in future researches. The Arabic versions of the New Testament ought to be neglected. They are useless. The same may be said of the Persian. In like manner the Georgian is worthless. The Armenian though ancient has yielded no fruit. It has now no ancient MSS. to present its original form—a most important consideration, since it has suffered extensive interpolation from the Latin. The Slavonic is too recent to be of much use, however highly extolled and defended it has been by Dobrowsky. Doubtless it has good readings generally, if it be true, as has been affirmed, that three-fourths of those adopted by Griesbach are contained in it; but the suspicion is still strong of its being altered from the Latin; and the good readings of Griesbach are equally found in older versions, so that the Slavonic is not needed for them. Subtracting these versions there remain the Syriac, Latin, Egyptian, Æthiopic, and Gothic. Confining the attention to these, let critics investigate their nature and collate their texts most accurately.

It were better that *one* competent scholar should take up *one* of them, and work at it for years till he were satisfied that he had done as much for its elucidation in a critical view as his resources allowed. The most ancient should be first examined. The Latin is as yet imperfectly known; and here one man could scarcely traverse the wide field, unless he were placed in very favourable circumstances. The old Syriac needs to be re-edited from ancient copies which we know to be available. The same holds good of the others we have mentioned.

In thus rejecting the junior versions, with which critical editors appear only to have embarrassed their editions, we should be coming back towards the principle proposed to himself by the sagacious Bentley:—"To confirm," says he, "the lections which the author places in the text, he makes use of the old versions, Syriac, Coptic, Gothic, and Æthiopic, and of

all the fathers, Greeks and Latins, within the first five centuries."

We conclude this part of the subject with a few hints and cautions. We can scarcely call them *rules.*

1. Those versions only have a critical use in restoring the original, which were made directly from the original Greek. Such as were derived from other versions shew the readings of the parent not of the original texts.

2. The critic should procure the text of the version he means to use critically edited and amended. This will appear necessary when it is stated that evident blunders are still contained in most of the editions. Thus in the Peshito, Luke ii. 10, τῷ λαῷ, ܠܥܠܡܐ *mundo*, instead of ܠܥܡܐ *populo*. See also iv. 19; Romans xi. 27; Colos. i. 29, ii. 16; 2 Thes. ii. 7; 2 Peter ii. 1, 17, 18.* The same is the case with the Æthiopic, the Vulgate, and others, as has been shewn by Michaelis.

3. As most of them have not yet been edited in the manner we could wish to see—as they have not been always printed from the best and most ancient sources, good and old MSS. should be employed and not merely printed copies. This however is beyond the reach of many.

4. He who employs a version in criticism should be well acquainted with the language of it.

5. After procuring a version in the most correct state possible, as near as it can be to the original form, the critic should not trust to the ordinary Latin interpretation that may accompany it, else he will be misled. By this confidence Mill was often deceived.

6. The characteristic peculiarities of the version should be perceived and attended to. Every translator has a method of his own which ought to be noticed, else mistakes will be committed in extracting various readings from his work.

7. Agreeably to the preceding sentiment, it must be con-

* Michaelis, De variis lectionibus Novi Testamenti, § 66.

sidered whether the translator has inserted his own explanation, rather than a fair version of the original.

8. Let it be observed whether he has written ambiguously, or so that it cannot be clearly determined from his version what stood in the MS. or MSS. before him.

9. It should be seen whether the translator has erred either through the mistake of the MS. or MSS. he used, or through his own ignorance of the language he had to do with, or through negligence.

10. The best versions of the New Testament are the old Syriac and the Latin. The most ancient, literal, and faithful are the best for critical purposes.

11. Versions belonging to one class or family are considered to have no more than one voice in favour of a reading.

12. No reading derived from versions alone, wanting the support of other ancient witnesses, is likely to be genuine; but yet the agreement of ancient versions and fathers in a reading where most MSS. differ, throws suspicion on its genuineness in the latter documents.

CHAPTER XLVII.

MSS. OF THE GREEK TESTAMENT.

A SECOND source of critical correction consists of MSS., as has been already stated.

MSS. of the Greek Testament may be divided into *uncial* and *cursive*, agreeably to the forms of the letters employed, or, to use modern language, into such as are written with *capital* and *small* letters. This seems to us the best and most convenient division. But Hug, and others after him, arranges them in three classes; first, such as preceded *stichometry;* secondly, *stichometrical;* thirdly, those written after *stichometry* had been laid aside.

Very few MSS. contained at first the entire New Testament. But the two most ancient and valuable ones termed the *Vatican* (B.) and Alexandrine (A.) did so. So too among the Butler MSS. in the British Museum, that splendid MS. in folio which purports to have been written by Methodius the monk in the fourteenth century (No. 11, 837).

The whole of the New Testament was commonly divided into three or four parts, viz. the Gospels; the Acts and Epistles; the Apocalypse; or the Gospels, the Acts and Catholic epistles, the Pauline epistles, the Apocalypse. Some have the Acts alone. Others contain the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles. Those containing the four gospels are the most numerous, because that part of the New Testament was most read. Such

as have the Pauline epistles are also numerous. Those containing the Acts and Catholic epistles are many, but not equal in number to the Pauline. Such again as exhibit the Apocalypse alone are few, because that book was seldomest read.

Entire copies of the New Testament were made up for the most part out of MSS. containing several parts or books. Hence the unity of the copy is no proof of the unity of the text. If the codices containing portions of the inspired writings were brought from different countries, and thus transcribed together so as to make one entire MS. the text might naturally partake of different conformations, as is said to be the case in the Alexandrine MS. (A.) The order of the various books differs but little. Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, then the Acts; with the Catholic epistles, the Pauline epistles, and the Apocalypse. Sometimes, however, the Pauline epistles come immediately after the gospels, the Acts, Catholic epistles, and Apocalypse following. Latin transcribers placed John after Matthew, so that the two apostles, and the two evangelists Luke and Mark, might stand together respectively.

Few are now complete in all their parts. They are mutilated, wanting leaves at the beginning, in the middle, or at the end. Thus both the Vatican and Alexandrine are now imperfect, which is true of almost all the uncial ones. K. of the gospels or *Codex Cyprius* is one of the few exceptions. It is necessary to attend to the chasms, lest a MS. be quoted for or against a particular reading in a place where it is defective.

MSS. of the Greek Testament are in all forms—folio, quarto, duodecimo. They are also made of different materials, of parchment, cotton paper, paper of linen rags. Parchment was generally employed till the middle ages when paper came more into use. Sometimes MSS. were ornamented in various ways as articles of luxury and show. Costly skins were procured, and elegant letters written upon them. The former were

dyed purple; the latter were adorned with gold and silver. Chrysostom refers to wealthy individuals whose ambition was to possess splendid copies of this sort.* Few such codices however have come down to the present time; and the fragments that do survive shew little of the purple dye, or the silver and gold that must have borne an attractive appearance at first. The value of a MS. does not depend on such things.

The first material employed, viz., the papyrus was soon abandoned. It was frail and perishable. As early as the fourth century the skins of animals had come into its place. This continued till the tenth, when persons began to choose cotton paper, *βόμβυξ*, *charta bombycina*. Such material rendered it no longer necessary to wash out what was first written on the parchment, a practice still common in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, in order to write upon the costly material some work more wanted or esteemed at the time.† After cotton paper had been used for a while, linen-rag paper, presenting a still smoother and more accessible material for writing, was adopted and very generally employed in Italy during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries for the New Testament writings.

Black ink was commonly used both in writing the text and in marginal letters. Gold and silver colours were applied merely to the initial letters. The commencement of a new book was also frequently ornamented in the same way. In regard to *lines*, an equal number is regularly contained in each page, standing at equal distances from one another. Hence the copyist must have made an exact measurement before he began to write. At first the lines were filled with letters unconnected and close to each other, without such intervals as the division into words makes, till stichometry did away with the difficulty which these codices must have caused to the reader.

* Homil. xxxi. in Joann.

† See Montfaucon, Palaeographia Graeca, p. 17, et seq.

When the letters constituting each στίχος ceased to make separate lines, and every line began to be filled out without restricting it to a single στίχος, for the purpose of saving space, the old practice was resumed of writing the letters continuously without division, except a point at the end of each στίχος.

Before and after stichometry, each page, if the form presented no obstacle, was divided into two, more rarely into three columns. The latter number appears to point to a higher antiquity, for it comes nearer the Herculaneum rolls. These columns are most frequently occupied by the Greek text alone. Sometimes, however, it is accompanied with a version. That version is commonly the old Latin one which preceded the time of Jerome. Yet the same version as revised by Jerome, or in other words, the Vulgate, is also found along with the original. The version is either in the opposite column, or between the Greek lines. The Memphitic version has also been found along with the Greek. MSS. accompanied with the Latin are called Greek-Latin, *codices bilingues or Graeco-Latini.* The circumstance of their being furnished with the Latin throughout gave rise to a charge against them that the Greek was interpolated from the Latin. This accusation was made by Simon and repeated by Wetstein, to whom it mainly owed its currency for many years. But Semler, Griesbach, and Woide, did much to disprove it, convincing Michaelis that he had once been mistaken in joining with the accusers of such MSS. The charge has been commonly discredited since the various publications of Griesbach. Hence it is a work of supererogation to go over the ground again, for the purpose of refuting an obsolete notion. There is no more cause for stigmatising Greek-Latin codices as *Latinising*, than such as contain the Greek text only. Coincidence with the old Latin version as it existed before Jerome's day, especially in Italy, is so far from being an evidence of corruption from the Latin,

that it shews very ancient and good readings. This old Latin version is a most valuable representative of the early text in the second and third centuries.

Where the contents required some pause or intermission, different expedients were adopted for marking it in the text. Sometimes a new line was begun; sometimes an empty space was left, about as much as might contain a word, between the end of the preceding and beginning of the new paragraph or section; sometimes another colour was chosen for the initial letter of the new chapter, red, blue, or green. But this last was frequently forgotten, because it was not affixed at the time the rest of the text was written but left till a subsequent opportunity.

In the oldest MSS., which reach up to the fourth and fifth centuries, large letters, called since the time of Jerome *uncial*, were used. These are square, upright, regular in their form. They have also been called *round*. The appellation *square* was founded on the very common letters H, M, N, Π. *Round* is borrowed from the letters Ε, Θ, Ο, C, Φ, ω. The form of the letters is the same with that found on marbles belonging to the fourth or fifth century, except in regard to A and Μ, whose peculiarity of shape at this time may be seen in Montfaucon.* Ε, Σ, Ω, never occur in this form. Of course the height and size of the letters was in proportion to the form of the MS., whether the latter was in folio, quarto, octavo, &c. This character prevailed with little alteration till the eighth and ninth centuries, when the letters C, Ε, Ο, Θ, lost their round form, being made narrower to save space; and others, as Z, Μ, X, were lengthened above or below the line. Indeed, the letters were generally made longer and narrower, and sometimes leaning towards the right, sometimes towards the left hand. In this oblong, leaning character, which characterises the eighth and ninth centuries, are written many MSS. intended for ecclesiastical use, especially in choirs,

* Palaeographia, p. 185.

whence they have little signs and lines of various shapes to regulate the inflexions of the voice. Such MSS. exist, belonging not merely to the eighth and ninth centuries, but also to the tenth, and perhaps later.*

Accents and spirits were introduced about the seventh century. They are both in the cod. Claromontanus, though not *a prima manu.*

Two dots are often observed over the letters ι and υ in MSS., thus ϊ ϋ. These were intended to shew that the letters should be taken separately, and not joined with others to form a diphthong. Such points can scarcely be used in determining the age of a MS., least of all do they shew, as has been erroneously said, that a MS. is not more ancient than the eighth century. They are in the Clermont MS., which belongs to the seventh or end of the sixth century.† They are also in MSS. of the fifth and sixth, for example in Z or the Dublin rescript, but at the beginning of words.

Towards the close of the ninth century, the small or cursive writing began, and became general in the tenth. The first MS. that may be said to have the cursive writing has the certain date A.D. 890. Yet the MS. in question (cod. Colbert. 340), containing the lives of the saints for certain months, is not exactly in the common cursive character, for it has *some* traces of resemblance to the older, as indeed might be expected. This MS. alone is sufficient to refute the assertion that a cursive MS. cannot be older than the *tenth* century. Montfaucon gives specimens of two others belonging to the ninth, written in cursive characters.‡ When transcribers were not native Greeks, they adhered more closely and longer to the forms of the uncial letters before them than the native Greeks, who after the ninth century followed the taste of their time in the cursive character.

* Montfaucon, p. 231. † See Montfaucon, p. 33.

‡ Ibid pp. 269, 270.

At first the strokes and twists belonging to the cursive letters made them very like one another, so that it is difficult to ascertain the exact age of MSS. belonging to the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries when they have no date. This similarity in form reaches even into the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; but there *the material* lessens the difficulty of finding out the age.

Particular countries had their own peculiarities in regard to the arrangement of the contents of MSS., the form of the letters and other external particulars. Thus rough, irregularly shaped traces and forms betray one who was not a Greek; whereas simple, uniform, elegant characters shew a Greek copyist in Greek provinces. Letters approaching the Coptic evince an Egyptian transcriber, who had also a peculiar orthography, such as that in B. or the Vatican MS. Characters which resemble the Latin shew a western copyist, for example one belonging to the south of France. Even the different colours and ornamenting of letters may serve to indicate localities.

In the earliest centuries abbreviations were not frequent. They were used only in common words such as, $\overline{\Theta C}$, $\overline{K C}$, $\overline{I C}$, $\overline{X C}$, $\overline{U C}$, $\overline{\Sigma H P}$. And there is little doubt that letters were used for numbers, as in the Apocalypse, xiii. 18.

Correction-marks are numerous. Sometimes the word or words which the copyist or corrector intended to remove had a point over every letter, or a horizontal stroke; sometimes the pen was drawn through them; sometimes the reading condemned was surrounded with points; sometimes it was washed over with a sponge or scraped with a pen-knife, and the right reading written over it. Yet the original reading could be often deciphered either wholly or in part. Many a MS. has passed through the hands of several correctors, who may be distinguished by the peculiarity of their letters, the difference of their ink, and other minute particulars. Many a copy has been

corrected very cursorily. Others have received a thorough revision, and are marked with many corrections even from one hand. Such corrections arose when the copyist transcribed after one exemplar and corrected according to another; when he had several MSS. before him whose texts presented a variety of readings; or when he altered his opinion on certain parts of the text during the progress of his work. Hence none need be surprised to find in MSS. late readings along with ancient ones.

The margin upper and lower is occupied with various things which deserve attention. After the fourth century, the κεφάλαια, τίτλοι, canons of Eusebius, and the Ammonian sections were placed in the margin sometimes partially, sometimes together.

Reading lessons were also marked in the margin by α and τ (ἀρχή and τέλος) occasionally accompanied with a statement of the day on which they should be read. But the majority of marginal remarks consist of scholia, extracts from commentaries, catenae critical and exegetical, as well as corrections of mistakes made in the text. These scholia reach up to Irenaeus and Clement of Alexandria, though they are mostly drawn from Origen, Chrysostom, Cyril of Alexandria, and still later authors, such as Isidore of Pelusium, Photius, and Euthymius Zygabenus. There are also musical signs in the margin with red or black ink.

Besides MSS. that contain all or some of the New Testament books, there are others occupied with such select portions as were appointed to be read in the public services of the churches. These are *Lectionaries* or lesson-books. The greater number have lessons or sections from the four gospels and are thence termed εὐαγγελιστάρια, Evangelistaria or Evangeliaria; but others have portions of the Acts and epistles, πραξαποστολοι, *Lectionaria.* In these codices occur the words "Jesus spake" prefixed to the speeches of Christ in the

gospels; ἀδελφοὶ *brethren*, in letters addressed to churches; and τέκνον Τιμόθεε in those to Timothy. Such expressions were merely introductory, and designed for the officiating minister. Yet they were often transferred to other codices, where they have produced various readings, though spurious ones. Matthaei, among all the critical editors, paid most attention to this class of MSS., which is not counted of equal value with MSS. of the same antiquity containing the books of the New Testament complete.*

* Michaelis's Introduction by Marsh, vol. ii. p. 161.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

DESCRIPTION OF THE UNCIAL MSS.

A. THE first letter of the alphabet is used to designate the *codex Alexandrinus*, or Alexandrine MS. now in the British Museum. This MS. was presented to Charles the First in 1628 through his ambassador at Constantinople, by Cyril Lucar, patriarch of Constantinople, who brought it immediately from Egypt, whence the name *Alexandrinus*. There is an Arabic subscription on the reverse of the leaf, containing a list of the Old and New Testament books, which says that the book was written by the martyress Thecla; but no reliance can be placed on its accuracy.

The MS. consists of four volumes folio, the first three containing the Old Testament in Greek, the last the New Testament, with the first epistle of Clement to the Corinthians, and part of the second. In some places of the New Testament it is defective, as at the commencement of Matthew's gospel, for it begins with xxv. 6. It is also deficient in John vi. 50—viii. 52; and from 2 Corinth. iv. 13—xii. 6. Here and there too single letters are wanting, which were cut off by the bookbinder. The various parts of the New Testament follow one another, as they are placed in the editions of Lachmann and Tischendorf.

The letters are uncial, somewhat round, larger and more

elegant than those in B. or the Vatican MS. The words are not separated, there are no accents or marks of aspiration, no trace of stichometry, and the abbreviations are few, and almost always in common words. Semler supposes that the more ancient MS. from which it was copied had a greater number of abbreviations, and that not a few errors committed by the transcriber arose from a false method of deciphering the marks. The initial letters of the different sections into which the text is divided are much larger than the rest, and stand out in the margin of the column.

As to sections, there is an enumeration of the τίτλοι or larger ones at the beginning of each gospel. Their titles or subjects were also given in the upper margin, but most have disappeared thence. The smaller portions or Ammonian sections called κεφάλαια are numbered in the left margin, with the references to the canons of Eusebius. In the Acts of the Apostles, the Catholic and Pauline epistles, there are no such chapters as Euthalius made or adopted. But paragraphs and periods are frequent in them, as marked by a new line and a larger letter. In the Acts, the mark of a cross (x) used in two of the gospels at the beginning of the κεφάλαια occurs five times. But Hug contends that the cross marks no such division as a chapter, because it sometimes occurs in the gospels in the middle of a discourse, and even in the middle of a sentence.* In the Apocalypse, the λόγοι and κεφάλαια of Andrew of Cæsarea are not marked. There are also brief inscriptions of the books at the commencement, and subscriptions at the end. The only interpunction used is a simple point, but there is sometimes a vacant space. Other marks, sometimes distinguishing the end of words, especially of monosyllables and proper names, and even the end of syllables, whether in the middle or at the termination of lines, are ' - ' '. Iota or ι has often two dots over it ϊ; and υ in the same way ϋ; shewing

* Einleitung, vol. i. p. 241.

that they should be separated from other letters. On each page there are two columns.*

The age of this MS. was once much contested, some assigning it to the fourth century as Grabe, Woide, and Schulze; Oudin to the tenth; others to the fifth or beginning of the sixth, as Wetstein and Montfaucon. The various arguments for and against certain dates are anything but conclusive, and not worth repeating. Thus Woide founds an argument respecting the time of its being written on the omission of the Euthalian sections which appeared from the hand of Euthalius in 458. He argues that the MS. was written previously, else the Euthalian sections would have been marked in it. But this is inconclusive, for respect must be had to the copy from which the MS. was taken. If the transcriber adhered to the copy before him he might very naturally disregard the innovations or improvements of Euthalius, though they had appeared in the interval between the exemplar and his transcript.

It is highly probable that the codex Alexandrinus was not written earlier than the middle of the fifth century, and that Egypt was the country of its birth. This is gathered from its Egyptian orthography, λημψονται, Mark xii. 40; Phil. iv. 15, λήμψεως; Colos. iii. 24, ἀπολημψεσθε. There are also such Alexandrine forms in the second aorist as αν of the third plural and the like, Acts x. 39, ἀνειλαν, but they are not so common as in the cod. Vaticanus. The interchange of ε and αι, ει and ι, ι and η, ε and ει, κ and γ, ν and μ is very frequent. The confusion of vowels of similar sound is greater than in any other MS.; and all the probabilities of the case are in favour of Egypt.

It has been supposed by Woide, that the MS. was written by two copyists, for he observed a difference of ink and parchment, a difference in the letters, and certain varieties in the beginning of books and sections. †

† See Woidii Notitia codicis Alexandrini, ed. Spohn, p. 23, et seq.

† Notitia, &c. p. 21.

There can be no question that the scribe or scribes were inattentive and careless in their work. The orthographical mistakes are numerous. So too are the omissions, as Spohn has abundantly shewn.* There are a great number of corrections. Many things have been scraped out with a knife, or washed with a sponge. Erasures, single letters omitted and then written above, are by no means uncommon. If there was a reviser distinct from the original scribe, he was equally negligent; for his corrections are sometimes inserted in wrong places. These and other defects which Wetstein clearly perceived long ago, and Woide gently excused, detract considerably from the value of the MS. Yet with all deductions, the codex Alexandrinus is a very important MS. Its antiquity is great, and its readings entitled to considerable attention, inasmuch as they agree generally with other very ancient authorities. In relation to the recension to which its text belongs, a point touched upon by Semler, Griesbach and many others, we need not inquire, as the entire subject of recensions is *now* viewed in a very different light. The MS. is one of the authorities included in the western class, and may therefore be supposed to represent, as far as a single document can do so, the state of the text in Egypt in the fourth century. We lament the fact of the copyist or copyists being so careless and incompetent; for by that means the text has greatly suffered: but there is no remedy for it.

The New Testament was published from this MS. in types made to resemble the writing, by Woide, in a folio volume, 1786, London, to which the editor prefixed valuable prolegomena containing a minute description of the MS. The prolegomena were reprinted at Leipzig by Spohn in 1788, 8vo, with improvements, corrections, and additions. This facsimile volume has superseded subsequent collation, for there is no doubt that it is generally correct. A *few* errors have

* *Notitia, &c.* p. 186.

been detected in it. Mr. Linnell, however, only found two letters wrongly given in the epistle to the Ephesians, with some inaccuracies in the punctuation. The Old Testament part of the MS. was afterwards published in fac-simile under the editorship of Rev. H. H. Baber, in four volumes folio, or more properly three, for the fourth volume contains notes and prolegomena.

B. *Cod. Vaticanus.* In the Vatican Library there is an ancient MS. numbered 1209, which is usually distinguished as *the* Vatican MS. by way of eminence. How it got there, or from what country, is wholly unknown. Its external history is involved in obscurity.

The Vatican MS. or B. consists of one volume small folio or quarto, containing both the Old and New Testaments with various deficiencies. Thus the New Testament is defective from Hebrews ix. 14 to the end of the Apocalypse. Hence the latter part of the epistle to the Hebrews, the two to Timothy, those to Titus and Philemon, with the Apocalypse, are wanting, though they must have been originally there. The order in which the books stand is the gospels, Acts, seven Catholic epistles, and Paul's epistles, including that to the Hebrews. The remainder of the epistle to the Hebrews and the Apocalypse have been supplied by a modern hand in the fifteenth century.

This MS. is of very fine parchment with characters square, beautiful, uniform, and written with great care. The letters are smaller than those of the cod. Alexandrinus, and a shade larger than those in the MS. of Philodemus περὶ μουσικῆς, the first of the Herculaneum rolls which was unfolded. The letters follow each other closely and continuously at equal distances without division of words. Where a complete narrative terminates, or there is a change from one subject to another, a space is left of the breadth of half a letter and sometimes of an entire one. The initial letters do not differ from the rest;

but larger initial letters were written over the original ones by a *later* hand. There are three columns in each page.

Long ago, the characters had faded so much that it was necessary to retouch them with new ink. In the course of time another person undertook to remedy the faintness of the second application of ink in various places. Hence the original characters appear only in places where the calligraphist wrote some things badly or twice.

There is no interpunction in the MS. Even where a very small space is left at the end of a discourse or subject, there is no trace of a point. Those who retouched the characters with new ink sometimes ventured to insert points; but it would appear that the original scribe did not. Yet these points seldom occur. Hug observes that there are but four in the first six chapters of Matthew. In the Acts they occur oftener.*

It was formerly a matter of doubt whether the codex had at first accents and marks of aspiration. The fac-simile given of it by Blanchini† represented it without both; and Montfaucon expressly affirmed that it had no accents.‡ Birch§ asserted that it had both, and blamed Blanchini for neglecting to mark the fact. How was the testimony of these eye-witnesses to be reconciled? After a very minute examination of the MS. with and without glasses, Hug shewed that the accents and spirits were added by a later hand. Wherever the original writing appeared without receiving later touches of ink, no trace of accents or spirits was visible. The MS. has *inscriptions* or titles to the books, and *subscriptions*. The former are very simple, and found at the top of the page, κατὰ Ματθαῖον, κατὰ Μάρκον, &c. The subscriptions are nothing but repetitions of the titles; what is additional having proceeded

* De Antiquitate codicis Vaticani, p. 98 of the reprint in Penn's Annotations to the Book of the New Covenant.

† Evangeliarium Quadruplex, vol. i. at p. CDXCII.

‡ Bibliotheca bibliothecarum, vol. i. p. 3. § Prolegomena in N. T. p. 15.

from a second hand. Thus πρὸς Ρωμαίους is the genuine subscription of the epistle to the Romans, to which was afterwards appended ἐγράφη ἀπὸ Κορίνθου. It should be observed, that the subscriptions are not the Euthalian ones.

In the gospels, the Ammonian sections and the canons of Eusebius are entirely wanting. The MS. has divisions of its own, of which there are 170 in Matthew's gospel, 72 in Mark, 152 in Luke, and 80 in John. The Acts of the apostles has the ancient Egyptian church lessons, which, according to Euthalius, were 36; and so they are here. A later hand, however, appended another division of the book consisting of 69 chapters; but this is not the Euthalian. The same observations apply to the Catholic epistles, in which neither the original nor the later division given in the MS. coincides with that of Euthalius.

The divisions of the Pauline epistles are quite singular. All together are considered as one book, and the sections numbered throughout, having the number 64 at the place where the MS. stops. These numbers also shew that the epistle to the Hebrews originally stood after that to the Galatians, because the epistle to the Galatians concludes with the 59th section and that to the Hebrews begins with the 60th; the second to the Thessalonians ending with the 93d. Hence it has been inferred that the transposition of the epistle to the Hebrews from its place after the Galatian one to the end of the second to the Thessalonians, had been made so recently that the division of sections was not altered.

As to the orthography of the MS. it is very correct. There is no confounding of vowels similar in sound except that ει is often used for ι. *Nu ephelkustic* is often added, where grammarians would pronounce it improper. But modern rules of grammar are of no consequence in judging of a very ancient document like the present. Its country is shewn to be Egypt by such forms as συλλημψη, λημψεσθε, λημφθησται, λημφθεντα, &c.

The second aorist and imperfect have also the form of the first aorist, as εξηλθατε, εισηλθατε, ειπαν, ηλθαν, ειδαν. Such peculiarities are Alexandrine, occurring besides in Coptic or Graeco-coptic documents, and an inscription on the Memnon of Thebes.

The antiquity of the MS. is very great. For determining it a number of points must be brought together, such as the near affinity of the character to that in the Herculaneum rolls; the twofold retouching of the letters; the continuous sequence of words without any separation or interpunction; the accents added by a later hand with other ink; *the form* of the MS. approaching to the more ancient rolls, and the number of columns adapted to it; the height, breadth, and intervals of those columns resembling very much the rolls of Herculaneum. These particulars carry up the codex to an age beyond any other biblical MS. known to exist. Other indications of its antiquity are found in the additions to the subscriptions put by a second hand which were still prior to those of Euthalius; the absence of the Ammonian sections which came into general use at the close of the fourth century; the twofold division into sections in the Acts and Catholic epistles, the second itself differing from that of Euthalius; the singular distribution of the Pauline epistles into sections, as if they were but one book; the position of the epistle to the Hebrews, which had been shifted from its place after the Galatian epistle quite recently, and put after the Thessalonian epistles where it usually was in the time of Athanasius; and the omission of the words ἐν Ἐφεσῳ from the text at the commencement of the epistle to the Ephesians, though they are subjoined *a prima manu* in the margin, agreeably to the assertion of Basil that those words were wanting in ancient MSS. Relying upon such marks, Hug assigns the MS. to the first half of the fourth century,* an opinion in which Tischendorf coincides. Blanchini had formerly referred it to the fifth century, and Montfaucon to the fifth or sixth.

* Commentatio, &c. p. 112.

The internal excellence of the readings is in harmony with the accuracy of the copyist in giving a faithful transcript of his exemplar. The text is free on the whole from the arbitrary interpolations and corrections found in some other MSS.

It is useless at the present day to repeat the brief description of the New Testament part of this MS. given by Zacagni in 1698, in his Collectanea Monumentorum, and extracted by Mill as well as Wetstein in their prolegomena to the Greek Testament. It would be equally unprofitable at the present time to cite the words of Paul Bombasius in an epistle to Erasmus, A.D. 1521, the unsatisfactory notices of it by Erasmus, or the words of the editors of the Septuagint which was taken from it under the auspices of Sixtus the fifth. Such particulars are collected by Wetstein in his prolegomena. The first tolerably good description of it was given by Birch; though it was by no means so ample and accurate as might have been expected. Hug's *commentatio* published in 1810, and since reprinted by Granville Penn in "Annotations to the book of the New Covenant," contains the minutest and most accurate description of it which has been given. What is wanted is a *thorough* and *accurate collation* of it. This were a most desirable thing. At present, however, there is not much prospect of obtaining such a collation, since individuals are only allowed to *look at* it. In the meantime, critical editors must rely upon the three existing collations of it made by Bartolocci, Bentley (or rather for him), and Birch. The collation of the first is preserved among the MSS. in the Bibliotheque du Roi at Paris. It is very imperfect. The second, made for Bentley by Mico an Italian, is the most complete, notwithstanding all its imperfections. This collation transcribed by Woide was published by Ford in 1799, at the end of the work entitled, *Appendix ad editionem Novi Testamenti Graeci e codice MS. Alexandrino a Car. God. Woide descripti, &c.* Birch examined all except the gospels of Luke and John,

where he used Bentley's collation. But his collation is hasty and inaccurate. With all the discrepancies of these three, Tischendorf and even Muralt had to rely upon them, except in the few cases where they obtained an opportunity themselves of examining various passages in the MS.

Much has been said, and a good deal written, about the publication of the Vatican MS. by Angelo Mai. But very little is known of such an edition. One thing is pretty certain, that no edition of it engraved on copper plates in *fac-simile* letters is in progress. The words of Tischendorf, though indefinite enough, set aside the notion of a *fac-simile* with types cut to resemble the letters. After saying that Mai showed him in 1843 five printed volumes, the fifth containing the New Testament, he adds, "Quae editio, brevi opinor proditura, *quanquam non erit ejusmodi ut ipsum codicem accuratissime exprimat*, magnopere tamen varias codicis collationes supplebit."* What has been prepared by Mai is an edition of the text printed like Tischendorf's *codex Ephraemi rescriptus*. We know no better fac-simile of B. than that given by Blanchini.† Tischendorf's‡ contains but a few words.

B. *Cod. Vaticanus*, No. 2066, formerly *Basilianus* 105. This folio MS. contains the Apocalypse entire, besides various works of the fathers, as homilies of Basil and Gregory Nyssene. The Apocalypse stands among these homilies.

The Greek text has the accents and spirits *a prima manu*. The use of them is continued and tolerably accurate. It formerly belonged to the monks of the order of St. Basil in Rome, whence it was transferred to the Vatican.

Blanchini was the first who drew attention to this MS. and gave a fac-simile of it.§ It was collated for Wetstein by

* Prolegomena in N. T. p. 58.

† Evangeliarium Quadruplex, vol. i. *at* p. CDXCII.

‡ Studien und Kritiken for 1847, p. 128.

§ Evangeliarium Quadruplex, vol. ii. after p. 504.

order of Cardinal Quirini, for his edition of the Greek Testament. But it was very imperfectly collated, as Tischendorf has shewn. Out of the seventh chapter Wetstein gives but one various reading, and that is incorrect. Twenty-four should have been produced.* In 1843 Tischendorf transcribed all its various readings into his first edition, and made a careful fac-simile, which have been since published in "*Monumenta Sacra inedita*" (p. 409, et seq.) It has been re-examined by Tregelles, who collated accurately four pages. The uncial character is leaning, and holds an intermediate place between the older and oblong forms. The MS. may be attributed to the eighth century, and is very valuable from the scarcity of uncial MSS. in the Apocalypse.

C. *Codex Ephraemi rescriptus.* This is a rescript MS. in folio size, on parchment, now in the Royal Library at Paris (No. 9). Several works of Ephrem the Syrian were written over a part of the Old Testament and the New. The MS. consists of 209 leaves containing fragments of the Old and New Testaments, 145 of them belonging to the latter, and having considerable portions of all the books except 2 John and 2 Thessalonians. The exact contents are given by Tischendorf, who states, that almost 37 chapters out of 89 are wanting in the four gospels; nearly 10 out of 28 in the Acts; almost 7 of the 21 contained in the Catholic epistles; nearly 35 of the 100 in the Pauline epistles; and almost 8 out of the 22 belonging to the Apocalypse.†

The order of the books is the same as in A. and B. viz. the gospels, Acts, Catholic and Pauline epistles, the epistle to the Hebrews after the second to the Thessalonians, and before the first to Timothy, and the Apocalypse. The text is not divided into columns.

There are four different forms of writing—first the most

* Prolegomena in N. T. p. 74.

† Prolegomena in Cod. Ephraem. Syr. rescript. p. 15.

ancient, secondly the writing of the first corrector, thirdly that of the second corrector, and fourthly that used in the works of Ephrem the Syrian.

The most ancient writing is continuous, having neither accents nor spirits. As to the shape of the letters, it resembles very much what is found in the most ancient MSS., such as A. B. and D. or the Cambridge MS. hereafter to be described. It is most like A. It is peculiar to our MS. that ι and υ, when to be pronounced separately, instead of having two dots over them have a very small line. The size of the letters is not everywhere the same. They are usually smaller than those of A. B. and D. or the Clermont, and of about the same size as those in D. or the Cambridge copy.

The only interpunction of the MS. consists in a point, which is usually placed at the middle of a letter, with few exceptions. The space of a letter was generally left between those where the point was put. But the interpunction is not equable in different books. It is most frequent in the Pauline epistles.

Initial letters larger than the rest are found at the beginning of each book and of the small sections, larger than our verses, into which it is divided. They are also at the commencement of the Ammonian sections.

In the gospels the codex has the Ammonian sections, *not* the Eusebian, as Hug erroneously affirms. The larger chapters (τίτλοι) are not indicated at the text itself by a τίτλος (the subject of them) or by any other mark, but in a separate list.

In the Acts as well as the Catholic and Pauline epistles, there is no trace of the Euthalian chapters. Nor is there any trace of chapters in the Apocalypse.

The inscriptions and subscriptions are very simple. Thus Luke's gospel has ευαγγελιον κατα Λουκαν. The epistle to the Romans προς ρωμαιους, &c.

With respect to the country where it was written, all

internal evidence is in favour of Egypt. The character of the text, and the grammatical forms agree with such codices as originated in Egypt or at Alexandria.

The forms and inflexions usually called Alexandrine are numerous, as απολημψεσθε, λημψεται, συνλυπουμενος, αναλημφθεις, ειδαν, ειπαν, ελθατο, &c. In this respect it coincides with the Vatican, Alexandrine, and other ancient MSS.

The age of the codex is supposed by Hug and Tischendorf to be earlier than A. It belongs in all probability to the fifth century.

Tischendorf thinks that the original hand corrected very rarely.*

The first corrector or reviser went over all the books of the New Testament. He wrote very elegantly, without putting accents or spirits, and in such a manner as not to betray a period later than the original age of the codex. He may have belonged to Palestine, or Syria, or Asia Minor. The peculiarity of the text he had was its intermediate position between the Alexandrine and Constantinopolitan. He may have lived a century after the MS. was written.

The second corrector did not revise all the New Testament, but only such parts as were adapted to church use. He was more studious of the *useful* than the *elegant*. His writing is inelegant, unequal, and somewhat negligent. Cognate letters are interchanged and others transposed. His hand was quick and practised, and therefore he used many contractions. Unlike his predecessor, he mostly drew a line over the words he disapproved or wished to be omitted in the public service—sometimes writing above, and sometimes in the margin, what he meant to be substituted. He frequently affixed the accents and spirits, but more in the text than in his notes. The *spirit* he always marks in the same manner, so that he appears to have known only the *asper*. In punctuating the text, he very

* Prolegomena, p. 15.

frequently used a small cross. Hug is too nice in distinguishing the larger and smaller cross, as if the former were put at the close of a period and the latter at a smaller pause, such as the colon. Other signs which he affixed were the usual ones in copies destined for ecclesiastical use, certain musical notes to regulate the intonation of the voice in chanting. The kind of text characteristic of this second corrector is the Constantinopolitan. He is supposed by Tischendorf to have belonged to the ninth century and to Constantinople.*

Tischendorf also discovered a few things in the codex from the hand of a third corrector, or in other words a *fourth* hand. But they are so few as not to be worth noticing.†

In the thirteenth century the old writing was partly washed out with a sponge, and the parchment used for various treatises of Ephrem translated into Greek.

The first knowledge of the ancient writing concealed under the works of Ephrem is due to Peter Allix. After him Boivin very carefully examined the codex, and communicated various interesting particulars of it to Lamy. He also sent extracts from it to Kuster, who used them in his reprint of Mill's Greek Testament. But the person who has the greatest merit in collating it is Wetstein, who spent much time and care upon its pages. Griesbach added something to Wetstein's labours upon it.‡ Scholz *inspected* it, but cannot be said to have done any thing towards supplying or correcting what Wetstein had produced.

In 1834 Fleck induced Hase, keeper of the MSS. in the Bibliotheque du Roi, to allow a chemical infusion to be applied so as to bring out the ancient characters. Accordingly the Giobertine tincture was used in about 100 leaves. By this means the way was prepared for Fleck to make a more accurate examination, which he did particularly in fifteen leaves, and

* Prolegomena, p. 20. † Ibid, p. 7.

‡ Symbolae Criticae, vol. i. p. 3, et seq.

gave an account of his collation in the *Studien und Krtiken* for 1841. But it would appear from Tischendorf, that Fleck fell into many egregious blunders.* Finally, the whole text was published by Tischendorf in 1843, to whom scholars owe a debt of gratitude for the manner in which he has put them in possession of the readings of this most valuable MS. Learned Prolegomena of 44 pages are prefixed; and an appendix is subjoined, giving the readings of the second and third hand, with a beautiful fac-simile. The work is entitled, *Codex Ephraemi Syri Rescriptus sive fragmenta Novi Testamenti e codice Graeco Parisiensi celeberrimo quinti ut videtur post Christum seculi eruit atque edidit Constantinus Tischendorf, Lipsiae* 1843, *4to.*

D. *Codex Cantabrigiensis* or *Bezae.* This MS. in large quarto is now in the library of the University at Cambridge. The former history of it is unknown. How it came into Beza's hands is not very clear; neither does he himself speak definitely of the way he got it. It was at Lyons in a monastery dedicated to St. Irenaeus, where Beza found it in 1562; but we do not know whether he purchased it, or if it was given to him. In 1581 Beza presented it to the University o Cambridge. In consequence of the obscurity in which its history is involved, critics have found it difficult to determine whether β of Stephens be this MS. or a copy of it. Marsh has discussed the question very fully, and is inclined to the former opinion.†

The MS. contains the four gospels and Acts of the apostles in Greek and Latin (the old Latin version prior to Jerome), arranged in parallel columns. The uncial letters are upright and square; there are no intervals between the words, no accents or marks of aspiration. In many places a simple dot appears, separating words from one another; in the Latin text

* Prolegomena in Cod. &c. pp. 37, 38.

† In Michaelis's Introduction, vol. ii. p. 691, et seq.

more frequently than in the Greek. We find also: at the beginning of Ammonian sections commonly standing a little out in the margin, but sometimes in the middle of lines. It is *stichometrically* written, and therefore the lines are very unequal. The Greek characters are elegantly formed; but the Latin are not so. The order of the books is the Latin one, Matthew, John, Luke, Mark, Acts. It is mutilated in various places, as in Matt. i. 1-20; vi. 20—ix. 2; xxvii. 2-12. John i. 16—iii. 26. Acts viii. 29—x. 14; xxi. 2-10, 16-18; xxii. 10-20; xxii. 29 to the end. In the Latin it wants Matt. i. 1-12; vi. 8—viii. 27; xxvi. 65—xxvii. 2. John i. 1—iii. 16. Acts viii. 19—x. 4; xx. 31—xxi. 7-11; xxii. 2-10; xxii. 20 to the end. Several portions both in the Greek and Latin have been supplied by later hands, some apparently in the ninth century, others in the tenth or after. These are specified by Kipling* and Tischendorf.† The Euthalian summaries of the *stichoi* are not given at the end. The Ammonian sections are marked, without the references to the Eusebian canons. Here and there in the margin appear also liturgical notes, referring to the beginning and end of ecclesiastical lessons. We also meet with titles to paragraphs occasionally in the margin but oftener at the top of the page. None of these things, not even the Ammonian sections are a *prima manu*. They were probably added by more than one person at different times, and shew that though the MS. at first was not designed for ecclesiastical use, it was subsequently adapted to that object.

In the Acts of the apostles the Euthalian sections do not appear. Bishop Marsh says that the text is divided into sections by the first word of each being so written as to have the first letter of it standing in the margin. According to this, the sections are very numerous. But when he farther affirms, that wherever a Euthalian section commences, a new section

* Praefat. in cod. Theodor. Bez. Cantab. p. xxvi.

† Prolegomena in N. T. p. 60.

begins in the codex Bezae,* he is in error, and is consequently mistaken in making these small sections *subdivisions of the Euthalian sections*. We doubt whether they have any connexion with the Euthalian sections. Thus at chap. vi. 8, where a Euthalian section commences, there is no minor section. This is also the case at chap. viii. 1. And at chap. xi. 1, the Euthalian section begins in the middle of a line. Thus the commencement of the Euthalian sections and the smaller ones of the cod. Bezae sometimes agrees and sometimes differs. There are also traces of ecclesiastical lessons, for the initial letters of such lessons have crept into the codex in some places.

There can be no doubt that the Greek and Latin are by the same hand, as Simon long ago shewed. Certain letters clearly prove it. The calligraphist seems to have known Greek very imperfectly as well as Latin. Unskilled in these languages, says Hug, he wrote his MS. in his professional capacity.†

It is generally agreed that the codex was written in Alexandria. It abounds with Alexandrine forms and idioms, even more so than the Vatican MS., as Kipling has pointed out. But the existence of Alexandrine forms and orthography is not conclusive proof of the Egyptian origin of a MS. Rather would the accompaniment of the Latin version point to the west of Europe. According to Hug, it was written after the time of Euthalius and before the Arabian conquest, in the latter part of the fifth, or in the sixth century. The latter is the more probable date.

Various circumstances mentioned by Kipling shew, that if the MS. was not intended for the Latins, it was at least in their possession for a while; for a Latin hand has supplied the Greek text in various places.

It was once thought that the Greek text in all Greek-Latin

* Notes to Michaelis's Introduction, vol. ii. p. 716.

† Einleitung, vol. i. p. 246.

MSS. has been altered from the Latin. But Hug rightly observes, that the very opposite may be satisfactorily established by this MS. The Latin has been accommodated to the Greek, "contrary to all grammatical rules and with childish scrupulosity."*

The text of this MS. is peculiar. Its interpolations are numerous and considerable. It is full of arbitrary glosses and mistakes, especially in the Acts. In this respect no other MS. can be compared with it. Its singularly corrupt text in connexion with its great antiquity is a curious problem which cannot easily be solved. Why should it have numerous glosses and additions to the genuine text, many of which are found in no other ancient document? And yet Bornemann has edited the text of the Acts, and exalts it above the text of all other MSS. His volume is entitled, "*Acta apostolorum a Luca conscripta ad fidem codicis Cantabrigiensis et reliquorum monumentorum denuo recensuit et interpretatus est*, 1848." The preface, consisting of 32 pages, contains a *few* useful things respecting the MS.; but the editor's estimate of it is ridiculously perverse. (See pp. 6, 7.) In the Prolegomena to Tischendorf's second edition of the Greek Testament, the production of Bornemann is severely criticised.

In 1793 Kipling published the text of the codex in facsimile, two volumes folio, Cambridge, with a preface and appendix. But the Prolegomena shew little capacity for criticism or acquaintance with what had been recently written on the subject; and the inconvenience of the "Notae" is apparent. After this, critics were no longer dependent on the collations of it which had been made by Mill and Wetstein.

D. *Cod. Claromontanus.* This parchment codex is now in the Royal Library at Paris (No. 107). It is in quarto size on fine thin vellum, and consists of 533 leaves, having in Greek and Latin, in parallel columns, all the epistles of Paul except a

* Hug, Einleitung, vol. i. p. 248.

few verses, Romans i. 1-7. Romans i. 27-30 both Greek and Latin has been supplied by an ancient hand. After the epistle to the Romans come those to the Corinthians, in the first of which, xiv. 13-22, has been supplied by an ancient hand in the Greek, and xiv. 8-18 is wanting in the Latin. The epistles to the Galatians, Ephesians, Colossians, Philippians, Thessalonians, Timothy, Titus, Philemon, and epistle to the Hebrews follow, the Latin of which last is deficient in xiii. 21-23.

The writing is continuous throughout both in the Greek and Latin texts. Initial letters at the commencement of books as well as of sections are somewhat larger than the rest. As to the ancient character used by the first hand, it approaches to that used in the cod. Vaticanus and cod. Alexandrinus, presenting square and round forms. The letter Π is written so as not to have the cross stroke at the top projecting beyond the sides. Ι and Υ where they are to be pronounced singly have two points over them, as in some other ancient MSS.

The size of the writing is somewhat larger than that in cod. Vaticanus, and very near to that found in the *codd. Ephraemi* and *Cantabrigiensis*. And the whole manner of it is simple, elegant, and ancient.

In regard to accents and spirits, they belong to the ancient correctors of the MS. None of them proceeded from the first hand, except perhaps the apostrophe in some cases, such as ἐπ' αυτους, though apostrophes in most instances must have been added by the corrector.

The Latin character is also uncial, and is very like that found in the *cod. Bezae*, especially in the letters *d* and *b*.

Abbreviations are used, but only such as savour of remote antiquity, ex. gr. Θ̄C ῙC Κ̄C Π̄ΗΡ Μ̄ΗΡ, &c. In Latin D̄S D̄MS Ī̄HS S̄PS, &c.

There are no marks of interpunction; but the codex is written stichometrically, with twenty-one lines in every page

except two The Greek and Latin were written at the same time, and by the same hand.

It has been said that the epistle to the Hebrews was added by a later hand. It was certainly *added to* the MS., because the exemplar whence the epistles were copied had not the epistle to the Hebrews; but the hand is either *the same*, which is most probable, or else a contemporary one. It is not later.

The stichometry of the MS. shews that it was written after A. D. 462, when stichometry was first applied by Euthalius to the Pauline epistles. Tischendorf assigns the age of it to the sixth century,* an opinion which may be safely acquiesced in by other critics. According to the same scholar, *the text* is much more ancient than the MS. itself. The Greek text resembles that peculiar conformation which the ancient Latin interpreter had before him. And the Latin text is that ancient one which was circulated very early in northern Africa. The Latin of this codex is a better representative of the most ancient African interpretation in Paul's epistles than is to be found in any other exemplar.

With respect to the country where it was written, Tischendorf thinks that it was Africa. This is favoured by the Alexandrine forms of the text, such as occur in A. B. C. D. and other MSS., ex. gr. λημψεται, προσλημψις, ανεπιλημπτοι, επενψαμεν, πενπει, προπενφθηναι, συνπαθησαι, κ. τ. λ. But such phenomena by no means prove that Africa was its birth-place. The Latin version favours the west of Europe. The scribe was well acquainted with Greek, and therefore very few mistakes are found in this text. But he was ignorant of Latin, and hence he has committed many blunders.

So many correctors have meddled with the text of this codex that it is difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish what belongs to each. In the first place, the transcriber himself made many changes and corrections. The first corrector is

* Prolegomena in cod. Claromont.

believed by Tischendorf to have been a monk from Sinai or some Greek monastery of the neighbouring parts; and to have lived in the seventh century. The nature of his corrections is described by the same scholar. He may be marked D^{**}, and his revision comprehended the entire Greek text. He was followed by D^{**b} who corrected only a few places both in the Greek and Latin. D^{**c} changed a very few places. But the fourth corrector D^{***} went through the whole MS., put accents and spirits into it, altered the orthography, and endeavoured to introduce in a measure another recension into the text. He corrected the text in upwards of two thousand places, using that oblong uncial character which was employed after the seventh century. Tischendorf thinks that he belonged to the ninth century, and gives many examples of his corrections, in the Prolegomena to his edition of the codex. Besides the persons just referred to, the same critic distinguishes D^{c}, D^{***b}, D^{**}_{**}, d^{**e}, d^{***}, $D^{nov.}$

The name of this MS., *Claromontanus*, which it first received from Beza, has given rise to many conjectures. He says that it was found in the Clermont monastery, whence it came into his hands. Afterwards it was brought to Paris, and belonged to Claudius Puteanus. In the beginning of the eighteenth century, thirty-five leaves were cut out of it and stolen by John Aymon. But these were afterwards sent back, one from Holland by Stosel who had purchased it, and thirty-four by the Earl of Oxford.

The codex was first used by Beza. It was afterwards examined by John Morin. Readings of it were given by Walton in his Polyglott, and by Curcellaeus. It was first collated with great labour and diligence by Wetstein in 1715 and 1716. Griesbach examined it in several places, and corrected a few of Wetstein's readings.* The whole has been published, with a fac-simile specimen, by Tischendorf, in a splendidly

* Symbolae Criticae, vol. ii. p. 31, et seq.

printed large quarto volume, with copious prolegomena, and a most useful appendix, giving the various corrections. The Latin text had been published before by Sabatier, but very incorrectly, as would appear from Tischendorf's remarks. The title of Tischendorf's work is "*Codex Claromontanus sive Epistulae Pauli omnes Graece et Latine ex codice Parisiensi celeberrimo nomine Claromontani plerumque dicto, sexti ut videtur post Christum seculi nunc primum edidit Constantinus Tischendorf, Lipsiae*, 1852."

E. *Cod. Basileensis* K. iv. 35, formerly B. vi. 21, a MS. of the four gospels in the public library at Basel. The codex is deficient in some parts—in Luke iii. 4-15, xxiv. 47 to the end of the gospels. Luke i. 69—ii. 4; xii. 58—xiii. 12; xv. 8-20, have been affixed by a later hand and in small letters.

The text is written in large, beautiful, uncial characters, certain letters ϵ o ϴ being wholly round. It has also a very simple system of interpunction, a dot being placed to denote different pauses. There are accents and marks of aspiration. The text is divided into small sections as in A. and C. the initial letter of each standing out in the margin.

But several things have been added to the original MS. There are compressed and lengthened letters not merely at the end of a line where there was little room, but in the summaries of the chapters or τίτλοι prefixed to the gospels, in the designations of the Ammonian sections, in the references to other evangelists in the lower margin, in the designations of the festivals, and in certain formulae at the beginning of church lessons marked on the upper margin. These additions point to the ninth century; and therefore the MS. itself should be placed in the eighth.

There is evidence in the codex that it was for a long time in Constantinople or the neighbourhood. Hug produces two proofs which are quite sufficient.* It was used as a *church-*

* Einleit. vol. i. pp. 261, 262.

MS. in Constantinople; and therefore the designations of church lessons are by the first hand. As to the τίτλοι, the Ammonian sections, the notation of sacred festivals, they were put by a later hand.

Wetstein thinks that the words were *dictated to* the copyist, who was by no means skilled in what he wrote, and therefore he frequently confounded ε and αι; ει, ι, and η; ω and ο; οι and υ. Hence he has κλαθωος for κλαυθμος. The nature of the text is what is called Byzantine or Constantinopolitan. Hence it agrees very often with F. G. H. It will be understood that it is *a very early specimen* of the Byzantine class; and its value is considerable, as Mill rightly judged.

The codex was presented by Cardinal Johannes de Ragusio in the fifteenth century to a monastery in Basel, whence it was transferred to the public library of the same city in 1559. Mill thought that Erasmus used it in preparing his Greek Testament; but Wetstein proved the contrary. The mistake arose from the fact that Erasmus used another Basel MS. with which this one has many readings in common. It has often been collated, especially by Wetstein and Tischendorf, by the latter in 1843, and by Tregelles in 1846.

E. *Cod. Laudianus* 3. This is a Greek-Latin manuscript of the Acts of the apostles. The Latin version, which is the *Ante-Hieronymian*, precedes the Greek text on each page, occupying as it does the left-hand column, while the Greek occupies the right. This arrangement is unusual. The characters are uncial, square, large, heavy, and rough. Both columns are placed stichometrically, only one word being commonly written in a line, seldom two or three; and each Latin word is always opposite to the Greek word. Hence it has been supposed that the MS. was made for the use of a person who was not skilled in both languages; and as the Latin occupies the first column that *it* was the known lan-

guage, the other not being well known; a fact pointing to the west of Europe.

The Euthalian chapters are marked by larger initial letters running out into the margin. The accents and enumeration of *stichoi* at the end are wanting.

There is a chasm from xxvi. 29 to xxviii. 26.

Internal evidence shews the Alexandrine origin of *the text*. It has Alexandrine forms and an Alexandrine orthography. Thus we meet with ειπα, ειπας, ειπαν, ανειλατε, εξειλατο, ενειλατο, ηυξαν, εξηλλατο, διεμαξτυξατο, ελημψεν. Hence the opinion of Woide that it was made in the east is plausible.* But the accompanying Latin version, and especially the place it occupies, points to the west of Europe in preference to Egypt. We agree with those who place it in the sixth century rather than the seventh, though it should be put towards the end of the former.

The text is very valuable, not only in itself, but because it effectually disposes of the charge of Latinising once brought against Greek-Latin MSS. generally.

At the end of the codex, on the last leaf, is the edict of a Sardinian prince Flavius Pancratius, which Hug thinks must certainly contain some date or designation of time.† But he is mistaken, for Wetstein gave the whole, and there is no date. The same critic shews that Justinian first appointed *Duces Sardiniae* in 534 A.D., who ceased entirely after 749 A.D. Thus the codex seems to have been in Sardinia in the seventh or eighth century. Some have thought that it was *written* there in the seventh century. But it rather appears to have been brought from another country.

It was observed by Mill that it agrees wonderfully (mirifice) with that codex of the Acts after which the venerable Bede wrote his *Retractationes* on the Acts of the apostles. But he thought our MS. was written after the time of Bede.

* Notitia cod. Alexand. ed. Spohn, p. 151. † Einleit. vol. i. p. 249.

Wetstein endeavoured to shew that it was the very codex which Bede employed;* an opinion which Woide confirmed by an additional array of passages amounting to 32.† In opposition to this opinion however, Michaelis quotes Bede's own words, in which he represents the Greek readings as being different from the Latin in some places, and expresses an uncertain conjecture that similar translations might afterwards be found in the Latin, without naming the Latin of the codex itself.‡ Yet the weight of evidence is in favour of the identity.

The MS. was printed both in Greek and Latin by Hearne at Oxford, where the MS. itself is deposited, having been presented by Archbishop Laud in 1715, 8vo. Critics complain of the great rarity of this impression. Sabatier printed the Latin alone.

E. *Cod. Sangermanensis* of the Pauline epistles. This is a Greek-Latin codex of Paul's epistles, with accents and marks of aspiration accompanying the uncial Greek letters. It is defective in Romans viii. 21-33, xi. 15-25; 1 Timothy i. 1—vi. 15; Heb. xii. 8 to the end.

It has been correctly supposed that this MS. is a copy of the *cod. Claromontanus.* And the copy is by no means accurate. It has many blunders and ridiculous readings arising from jumbling together the corrections in D. which proceeded from several hands. This has been amply shewn by Wetstein,§ and Griesbach.‖ Semler¶ however assented to it only in part; and Marsh,** following him, termed it a sort of *codex eclecticus,* in making which the Clermont MS. was *principally* but not at all times consulted. But internal evidence shews that the writer scarcely has a claim to the character of a man

* Nov. Testament, vol. ii. p. 450. † Notitia cod. Alexandr. p. 156, et seq.
‡ Introduction to the New Test. vol. ii. p. 273.
§ Prolegomena in N. T. vol. ii. pp. 7, 8.
‖ Symbolae criticae, vol. ii. p. 77, et seq.
¶ Hermeneutische Vorbereitung, vol. iv. pp. 63-65.
** Notes to Michaelis, vol. ii. p. 785.

who purposed to make a *cod. eclecticus*. He was grossly ignorant. Thus the MS. has in Romans iv. 25, δικαιωσινην; in 2 Cor. i. 5, το παθηματα; in Heb. x. 33, νιδιζομενοθεατριζομενοι. The copyist sometimes followed the first reading of D., sometimes the third, sometimes two were jumbled together, sometimes he blundered himself. The Latin as well as the Greek has been copied from the Clermont codex; but it has been altered after another text agreeing for the most part with the Hieronymian.* Montfaucon† and Blanchini‡ have both given fac-similes.

The age of the MS. cannot be determined. Probably it should not be placed higher than the tenth century. Mill first procured extracts from it; but Wetstein's collation is thought by Tischendorf to be the best. Muralt has recently endeavoured to vindicate a higher place for the codex, and has given extracts from it.§ Tischendorf however affirms that his extracts abound with mistakes.‖

The name *Sangermanensis* is derived from the monastery of St. Germain des Prez in Paris, where it formerly was. At the beginning of the present century it was purchased by a Russian nobleman and taken to Petersburgh, where it was seen by Matthaei in 1805, and has ever since lain. Hence the story about its being stolen from Paris by some Russian soldier during the visit of the Muscovites to Paris, on Napoleon's downfall, is ridiculously false.

F. *Codex Boreeli.* This codex contains the four gospels, but many leaves of it have perished. A collation of this MS., which had been made long before, was used by Wetstein. It began with Matt. vii. 6—viii. 34, and ended with John xiii. 34. The codex has many chasms now, several of which did not

* See Tischendorf's cod. Claromontanus, Prolegomena, pp. 25, 26.

† Palaeogr. Graeca, p. 218.

‡ Evangeliarium Quadruplex, vol. i. plates to p. 533.

§ In his Catalogus Codicum Bibliothecae Imperialis publicae Graecorum et Latinorum. Fasciculus primus, p. 3, et seq.

‖ Prolegomena in N. T. p. 72.

exist at the time when the collation used by Wetstein was made. Thus in Luke alone there are 24 chasms of verses here and there. Two hundred and four leaves, with thirteen fragments of others, are all that now remain of the codex. It was formerly in the possession of John Boreel, Dutch ambassador at London in the time of James the First, whence its name; and is now in the public library at Utrecht. Wetstein procured various readings of it for his edition, extending only however from the commencement *at that time* (Matt. vii. 6) to Luke xi. Professor Heringa wrote a *disputation* upon it which was published by Vinke in 1843, and supplies the place of an edition. Both Tischendorf and Tregelles compared it with the MS. collation of Heringa since 1840. The text appears to be what Griesbach terms Constantinopolitan; and the MS. belongs to the ninth century.

F^a. *Cod. Coislinianus.* This letter F. was applied by Wetstein to a fragment of the New Testament written in the scholia of *Cod. Coislinianus* 1, a MS. of the Old Testament. Because that critic found Acts ix. 24, 25 written by the same hand which wrote the MS. itself, he noted the passage by F. F^a. therefore does not designate a MS. of the New Testament. In 1842 Tischendorf examining the codex again, and especially the scholia, found twenty passages of the gospels, Acts, and epistles, viz. Matt. v. 48; xii. 48; xxvii. 25. Luke i. 42; ii. 24; xxiii. 21. John v. 35; vi. 53, 55. Acts iv. 33, 34; x. 13, 15; xxii. 22. 1 Corinth. vii. 39; xi. 29. 2 Corinth. iii. 13; ix. 7; xi. 33. Gal. iv. 21, 22. Col. ii. 16, 17. Heb. x. 26. These fragments have been published and illustrated by the same indefatigable critic, in his *Monumenta Sacra inedita*, p. 403. They were written in the seventh century. The MS., so called from Coislin bishop of Metz, now in the Bibliotheque Roi, is written in the uncial characters, with accents and marks of aspiration, which are omitted in some places.*

* See Prolegomena to Tischendorf's Monumenta inedita, p. 24, et seq.

F. *Cod. Augiensis*, a Greek-Latin MS. of Paul's epistles, written in uncial letters and without accents. The letters are not written continuously, for there are both intervals between the words and a dot at the end of each. The words χριστος and ιησους are not abbreviated as in the common MSS. $\overline{\text{XC}}$ and $\overline{\text{IC}}$; but $\overline{\text{XPC}}$ and $\overline{\text{IHC}}$, as in D. or the Cambridge MS. The Latin and Greek occupy columns on the same page, first the Latin, then the Greek. The Latin version can scarcely be called either the old Latin or the Hieronymian, since it is patched and mended so as to be a mixture of both texts. It is written in the Anglo-Saxon cursive hand. The epistle to the Hebrews is wanting in the Greek, but not in the Latin. The codex begins with Romans iii. 19, and has various chasms.

The age of this MS. is determined by a Latin appendix to the epistle to the Hebrews written *prima manu* and taken from Rhaban Maurus. Hence it cannot be dated earlier than the last half of the ninth century. The codex in question was hastily collated by Wetstein. Its various readings were also transferred by Bentley into an Oxford copy, in 1675. In 1842 it was accurately collated by Tischendorf. It was also collated by Tregelles.

The appellation *Augiensis* is taken from the monastery of Augia Major at Rheinau in Switzerland, where the MS. once was. After passing through several hands it was purchased by Bentley in 1718, and is now in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, all his MSS. having been deposited there in 1787 after the death of the younger Bentley.

There can be little doubt that it was written in the west of Europe, or by some Western Christian, because the *Anglo-Saxon* formation of the Latin letters is used. It is not improbable that it was made in Switzerland by a native of Ireland or Scotland, from which countries numerous emigrants repaired to Germany, and founded there monastic institutions and

abbeys. Most of these foreigners were educated men, and had some knowledge of the Greek language.

An affinity between this codex and G. *(Boernerianus)* has always attracted notice. In the great majority of their readings they coincide. But in a few of each epistle they differ. In G. there is a vacant space after Romans xiv. 23, which is not in F. In G. at the end of the epistle to Philemon are written the words προς λαουδαικησας αρχεται επιστολη, which are not in F. In G. the Latin version is interlinear; in F. in parallel columns. In G. the Latin version of the epistle to the Hebrews is wanting as well as the Greek original; in F. it is present. But notwithstanding these differences, the coincidences in readings, and in mistakes too, are very great. The chasms in the Greek of both are also the same. To explain their affinity, it has been supposed that F. was copied from G. or *vice versa*. More probable is it that both were transcribed from one and the same exemplar which had received different corrections. The same age and country must be assigned to both.

G. *Cod. Seidelii.* This is a MS. of the four gospels with various chasms. Matthew's gospel begins with vi. 6, and there are wanting vii. 25—viii. 9; viii. 23—ix. 2; xxviii. 18—Mark i. 13; xiv. 19-25. Luke i. 1-13; v. 4—vii. 3; viii. 46—ix. 5; xii. 27-51; xxiv. 41—to the end. John xviii. 5-19; xix. 4-27. Some of these parts are supplied in the cursive character by later hands. The MS. is in 4to, written in uncial letters, but of the oblong kind usual in the tenth century. The subscriptions at the end of the gospels are in the small character. It has accents and marks of aspiration *a prima manu*. According to Griesbach it is hardly older than the twelfth century.* Wolf placed it in the eighth; Scholz in the eleventh. Wolf collated it and published the extracts in the third volume of his Anecdota Graeca, p. 48, et seq. After

* Symbolae Criticae, vol. i. p. 65.

him Griesbach supplied a few readings. It was subsequently collated by Tischendorf in 1842, and by Tregelles. The text is of the Constantinopolitan type.

Andrew Erasmus Seidel brought it from the east, from whom it is commonly called *Seidelii*. It was afterwards purchased by La Croze and presented to Wolf, who is said to have sent it to Bentley. At present it is in the British Museum, among the *codd. Harleianos*, numbered 5684.

G. in the Acts and Catholic epistles, J. in the Pauline. This is a MS. in the Angelican Library at Rome, where it is marked A. 2. 15, formerly Cardinal Passionei's. It is imperfect in the Acts till viii. 10, and in Paul's epistles from Heb. xiii. 10 to the end. Blanchini and Birch examined it in a few places. Scholz collated the entire in 1820, and Fleck in 1833. It was most accurately collated by Tischendorf in 1843, and also by Tregelles, who noticed many errors in Scholz's extracts. Blanchini attributes it to the seventh or eighth century; Tischendorf to the ninth. The former gave a fac-simile specimen of it.*

G. in the Pauline epistles, *cod. Boernerianus*. This is a Greek-Latin MS. containing thirteen epistles of Paul, that to the Hebrews being absent both in the Greek and Latin. The Latin version can scarcely be called the old Latin or the Hieronymian, for it is a patchwork of both with many blunders. It is interlined between the Greek, being written over the words of which it is the translation. Besides the chasms which it has in common with F., viz. 1 Cor. iii. 8-16; vi. 7-14. Colos. ii. 1-8. Philemon 21 to the end; it wants Romans i. 1-5; ii. 16-25. Its similarities and differences in relation to F. have been already noticed. There is little doubt from the uniformity of the writing and colour of the ink that the Latin and Greek proceeded from the same hand. The Greek characters are uncial, but of a peculiar form. The Latin is written

* Evangeliarium Quadruplex, vol. i. at DLIX.

in cursive Anglo-Saxon. According to Hug, the text is from a stichometrical copy, though it is continuous, the *stichoi* not being separated. Instead of this, the transcriber marked the beginning of each of them by an initial letter. The copyist also added marks of punctuation; but he omitted the accents. The copy from which the codex was taken appears to have been written in Alexandria. This is shewn by the idioms that occur, προσωπολημψια, δοσεως και λημψεως, μεταλημψις, προλημψις, αντιλημψις, &c. ειλατο, γεγοναν, επεπεσαν, εξελθατε. Like cod. F. the MS. itself seems to have been written in the west, or by a native of the west. It has been referred to France or Germany; but it may belong as well to Switzerland. Kuster refers it to Britain; Doederlein to Ireland. More likely is it to have been made by a native of Ireland or Scotland who had emigrated to the continent of Europe, and was connected with some monastery there. On the margin there is frequently noted by the first hand *contra* γοδδιδασκαλκον, *contra Graecos*. Gottschalk disputed about predestination in the ninth century; and in the same century the Greeks and Latins separated. Hence the MS. appears to belong to the ninth century.

Kuster complains of the unskilfulness and ignorance of the scribe, and with reason, though some of the proofs he adduces are totally erroneous.* The copyist had certainly little acquaintance with Greek. He also unwarrantably corrected the Greek according to the Latin in some places. Notes are found in the margin which are Irish.

There is a transcript of this MS. in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, among the MSS. left by Bentley. It must have been intended for his edition of the Greek Testament. The text was first published by Matthaei at Meissen, 1791 4to, with a fac-simile specimen. The codex formerly belonged

* Praefatio to Reprint of Mill's Greek Test.

to Professor Boerner of Leipzig, and therefore its name *Boernerianus*. It is now in the Royal Library at Dresden.

H. *Seidelii* of the four gospels, in quarto, in uncial letters. This MS., as well as G., was brought from the east by Seidel. The text is mutilated in many places. It begins with Matt. xv. 30, and was collated by Wolf, who published the extracts in the third volume of his *Anecdota Graeca*. It has also been collated by Tregelles for his edition of the Greek Testament, who says that Wolf's is "both very defective and very incorrect." * Like G., it was purchased by La Croze and given to Wolf, whence it got into the public library at Hamburgh. Scholz places it in the eleventh century. When he says that the text agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension, though it has many readings which are common to the Alexandrine, no idea of the real form of the text is conveyed. Among Bentley's papers in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, fragments of these two MSS., G. and H., have been found by Tregelles, which Wolf himself cut out and sent to Bentley. He mutilated his own MSS.!

H. *Cod. Mutinensis* of the Acts of the apostles. This MS. is in folio in uncial letters. It is defective at the beginning from i. 1—v. 27. It also wants ix. 39—x. 19; xiii. 36—xiv. 3. From *καλεισθεν* in xxvii. 4 to the end of the Acts is supplied in uncial letters by a hand of the eleventh century. The other parts are also supplied, but by a recent hand of the fifteenth or sixteenth century. The MS. contains the Catholic and Pauline epistles too, but in the cursive character (marked 179). According to Scholz and Tischendorf it was written in the ninth century. It is deposited in the public library of Modena, and was first collated by Scholz; afterwards, far more accurately by Tregelles and Tischendorf.

H. of the Pauline epistles *Coislinianus*. This MS. is in

* Journal of Sacred Literature for October 1850, p. 451.

4to, written in large, square uncial characters of ancient form. It is furnished with accents and marks of aspiration, and had the Euthalian subscriptions. The words are stichometrically divided. All that remains of the MS. is fourteen leaves, which are separated now, twelve of them being in the Royal Library at Paris, and two in the Imperial Library at Petersburgh. Of course they contain nothing more than some passages in the Pauline epistles. Montfaucon first printed these fragments with a fac-simile;* and Griesbach collated them anew. Tischendorf made a most accurate copy of the whole. At one time the codex was on Mount Athos, where in the thirteenth century (1218) the leaves were attached by way of cover to another MS. From Mount Athos they were transferred to France, and were in Montfaucon's time in the library of Bishop Coislin at Metz. Hence the name Coislinianus (No. 202). The MS. probably belongs to the sixth century. According to Montfaucon it was written in Syria or Palestine, since a note at the end states that it was compared in the library at Caesarea with the codex of Pamphilus, written by his own hand. But this postscript belongs to Euthalius, and not to the copyist.

J. *Cod. Cottonianus* of the gospels. This fragment consists of four leaves of purple parchment, with silver characters. The following passages are contained in the leaves:—Matt. xxvi. 57-65; xxvii. 26-34; John xiv. 2-10; xv. 15-22. All were published for the first time by Tischendorf in his "Monumenta Sacra inedita," and are assigned by him to the end of the sixth or beginning of the seventh century. As the name *Cottonianus* implies, the leaves are now in the British Museum marked (Tit. C.XV). Six leaves originally belonging to the same MS, are now in the Vatican Library, viz. Γ of the gospels. There are two other leaves in the Caesarean Library at

* Bibliotheca Coisliniana, p. 251.

Vienna, viz. N of the gospels. It were desirable that the three parts should be brought and kept together.

J. of the Catholic epistles, K. of the Pauline epistles *g* of Matthaei. This MS. containing the Catholic epistles entire, with a catena of the fathers, and also the Pauline with these chasms, Romans x. 18—1 Corinth. vi. 13. 1 Corinth. viii. 7—11 is in the library at Moscow of the Holy Synod belonging to the Russian Church (No. XCVIII), having been brought from the monastery of St. Dionysius on Mount Athos. It was collated by Matthaei, and belongs to the ninth century.

J. of the Pauline epistles is the same as G. of the Acts and Catholic epistles.

K. *Cod. Cyprius* of the four gospels. This MS. in 4to is written in uncial letters of a later form, narrow and compressed. The punctuation marks are inserted without regard to grammatical division; and a dot is used to denote the end of a *stichos*, to save space. The accents are negligently placed and often wanting. Hug assigns to this MS. the first place in clearly informing us how the change from stichometry to proper punctuation occurred. Stichometry was laid aside before it was written. It contains the Eusebian canons, and a synaxarium, and was evidently intended for ecclesiastical use; for words referring to lessons frequently occur in the margin *a prima manu.*

The text was collated and described by Scholz,* who also gave a fac-simile of its characters. Montfaucon had formerly given a fac-simile, and assigned the codex to the eighth century.† But it belongs to the middle or end of the ninth. Tischendorf collated it anew, with far greater care than Scholz. So also Tregelles. The name *Cyprius* is given to it because it was brought from the island of Cyprus in 1673 into the

* Curae Criticae in historiam textus evangell.

† Palaeographia Graeca, p. 231.

Colbert Library. It is now in the Royal Library at Paris (No. 63.)

K. of the Pauline epistles is the same with J. of the Catholic epistles.

L. *Cod. Reg. Paris.* (62). This MS. of the gospels is written in uncial letters not of the ancient form but oblong. Each page is divided into two columns, and the words usually follow without intervals. The punctuation is indicated by two marks, a cross, and a comma. The accents are frequently wanting, and often wrongly placed even when inserted. The usual abbreviations occur; and the letters ΑΥ and ΟΥ are sometimes written with contractions. Sometimes a letter is omitted in the middle of a word. The τίτλοι, the Ammonian sections with references to the Eusebian canons are given, together with other minor divisions written in red letters and in various forms standing out in the margin. It has only five chasms, viz. Matt. iv. 22—v. 14; xxviii. 17 to the end. Mark x. 16-30; xv. 2-20; John xxi. 15 to the end. The orthography is what is called Alexandrine. Alexandrine forms abound, ex. gr. λημψομαι, ειπαν, ηλθαν, ισαν, ιδαν, εξηλθατε, ευρα, ευραμεν, εωρακαν. It appears to have been made in Egypt. Griesbach and Hug assign it to the ninth century; Tischendorf to the eighth.

Every page abounds with orthographical mistakes. Vowels and dipthongs are frequently confounded, of which Griesbach has furnished many examples.* The copyist appears to have been an ignorant man as well as negligent. He has made many mistakes; and, according to Griesbach had various copies before him from which he took readings into his text. The initial letters of the public lessons are written in red ink, and in the margin we frequently meet with ἀρχη and τελος shewing that the codex was intended for ecclesiastical use. The MS. is in the Royal Library at Paris.

Griesbach set a high value on the text of this MS. It

* Symbolae Criticae, vol. i. p. 67, et seq.

agrees remarkably with the readings of Origen, as may be seen by Griesbach's laborious comparison.* Above all, it has a great affinity to B. or the Vatican MS. It also coincides with C. or the cod. Ephrem, and is an excellent representative of the text current at Alexandria. The charges made against it by Wetstein have been disproved by Less, Michaelis, and Griesbach, who take a juster view of the codex.

Stephens was the first who collated it, but he did not print all his extracts. Beza printed forty readings from the papers of Stephens. It is thought that η of Stephens is the same MS., an opinion which Marsh has rendered all but certain.† Wetstein collated it hastily. Griesbach afterwards re-collated and described it with great care, with the exception of Matt. viii. to xviii. 10, which chapters he merely examined in a cursory manner. Since Griesbach and Scholz's collations, the whole has been extracted and published by Tischendorf with great industry and very accurate fac-similes in his "Monumenta Sacra inedita." According to this critic, Hug's table representing the character presents a most inadequate likeness.

L. Adopting the suggestion of Tischendorf, we apply this letter in the Pauline epistles to an ancient fragment written in the uncial character, cited in the commentaries of Matthaei. It merely contains Hebrews x. 1-7; x. 32-38, a few intermediate words being lost. This fragment was applied in A.D. 975 to bind together a codex of Gregory Nazianzen.

M. *Cod. Regius de Camps* (No. 48) of the four gospels entire. This quarto sized MS. is written in uncial characters, with accents and marks of punctuation. It has the Eusebian canons, synaxaria, summaries of chapters, and marks above the lines in red ink, apparently notes to regulate the chanting. There are various readings in the margin in cursive character *a prima manu*. The MS. was presented to Louis XIV. by

* Symb. Crit. vol. i. p. 80, et seq.

† Letters to Mr. Archdeacon Travis, &c. Leipzig 1795, 8vo.

the Abbé de Camps in 1706, and is now in the Royal Library at Paris. It may be referred to the end of the ninth century or beginning of the tenth. The text agrees generally with the Alexandrine one; and it has a few readings peculiar to K. or the *Cyprius*. Scholz collated it throughout. Tischendorf and Tregelles also collated it; the former of whom contradicts the assertion of Hug that the characters are *laboured* as if they were imitated. On the contrary, they possess some elegance. Montfaucon has given a fac-simile specimen,* and also Blanchini.†

N. *Cod. Caesareus Vindobonensis*. This fragment of the gospels consists of two leaves of purple parchment with silver letters, containing Luke xxiv. 13-21, 39-49. They belong to the same MS. as J and Γ of the gospels. As the name imports, the fragment is now in the Imperial Library at Vienna. The text was *accurately* printed for the first time by Tischendorf in his "Monumenta Sacra inedita." He refers the date to the end of the sixth or beginning of the seventh century.

O. *Cod. Mosquensis* of the gospels. This is nothing but a fragment of some larger MS. consisting of eight leaves, which contain John i. 1-4; xx. 10-13, 15-17, 20-24. Some scholia are written beside these portions in cursive characters. The fragment is now in the Holy Synod's Library at Moscow, having been brought from Mount Athos. The leaves were glued by way of fastening to a MS. of Chrysostom's homilies. Tischendorf dates them in the ninth century; and Matthaei collated them at Moscow.

In the editions of Wetstein, Griesbach, and Scholz, it will be observed, that O. designates a fragment of Luke's gospel presented to Montfaucon by Anselm Banduri. This fragment contains Luke xviii. 11-13, with verse 14 from τον οικον. But Tischendorf shews that it belonged to an evangelistarium or

* Palaeographia Graeca, pp. 260, 261.

† Evangeliarium Quadruplex, vol. i. p. CDXCII.

lesson-book of the gospels of the tenth century. Hence it should be expunged from the present list, and another O substituted, as we have done after Tischendorf's example.*

P. *Cod. Guelpherbytanus A.* This is a rescript MS. Fragments of the four gospels written, as is supposed, in the sixth century, were erased in the eighth or ninth century for the purpose of writing various works of Isidore of Spain. These fragments, containing portions of the four gospels, were published with a commentary by Knittel at Brunswick 1762, 4to. But though this scholar took great pains to decypher the fragments, and printed accurately all that he could read, there is a probability that more might be made out by closer inspection or the application of chemical substances. The parts that have been deciphered are enumerated by Tischendorf. As the name indicates, the MS. is in the library at Wolfenbüttel.

Q. *Cod. Guelpherbytanus B.* This is another rescript MS. in the same library at Wolfenbüttel. Fragments of the gospels of Luke and John were erased to make room for treatises of Isidore of Spain. The fragments were deciphered and published by Knittel. Tischendorf enumerates the passages. They are attributed like P. to the sixth century.

R. *Cod. Neapolitanus.* This is a *Typicum* or monastic ritual of the Greek church marked *Borbonicus* II. C. 15 in the library at Naples. Fragments of the gospels have been discovered under the recent writing, amounting to twelve or fourteen leaves. Tischendorf attributes them to the eighth century. By applying a chemical test Tischendorf was able to read one page, Mark xiv. 32-39, which he published in the Wiener Jahrbücher for 1847. R. in the editions of Griesbach and Scholz is applied to a Tübingen fragment having John i. 38-50. But Tischendorf shews that the fragment belongs to an *Evangelistarium* of about the eleventh century. Hence

* Prolegomena in N. T. p. 63.

it should be discarded from the present list. Our R. follows Tischendorf's annotation.*

S. *Cod. Vaticanus* 354. This MS. contains the four gospels complete. It is on vellum in folio, written in compressed uncial characters, and was made by one Michael a monk in 949, according to the subscription. The text contains what is called the Constantinopolitan recension. Birch was the first who collated it at Rome, and gave extracts from it in his edition of the four gospels. Tischendorf afterwards inspected it cursorily, but gave a good fac-simile of it, stating the faults of those representations which had been given by Blanchini and Birch.

T. *Cod. Borgianus* 1. This MS. in quarto contains fragments of John's gospel having the Thebaic or Sahidic version at the side of them. They consist of vi. 28-67; vii. 6-52; viii. 12-31. The date is the fifth century, not the fourth as Georgi endeavoured to prove. They were published by Georgi at Rome in 1789, with the Sahidic version; and are in the library of the Propaganda College at Rome. Tischendorf states that he examined the codex and made a fac-simile.

U. *Cod. Nanianus* 1, now *Venetus Marcianus.* This MS. contains the four gospels entire, with the Eusebian canons. It was first collated by Münter, whose extracts were inserted by Birch in his Greek Testament. It belongs to the ninth or tenth century. In 1843 it was collated again by Tischendorf, and recollated by Tregelles. There is reason to believe that Tischendorf's extracts are not very accurate. The MS. is in the library of St. Mark's at Venice; and though the text is generally of the later type, yet it accords with the Alexandrine in many remarkable readings.

V. *Cod. Mosquensis* of the four gospels. This codex is written on vellum in octavo in uncial letters, probably of the ninth century. But from οὐπω γαρ ην in John vii. 39 is cursive writing

* Prolegomena in N. T. p. 64.

of the thirteenth century. It was defective (in 1779) in Matt. v. 44—vi. 12 and ix. 18—x. 1. In 1783 it had also lost Matt. xxii. 44—xxiii. 35. John xxi. 10 to the end. It was first described, and extracts given from it by Matthaei in his Greek Testament, with a fac-simile. He collated it twice. It is deposited in the library of the Holy Synod at Moscow.*

W. *Cod. Reg. Paris* 314. This consists of two fragments (two leaves) containing Luke ix. 34-47 and x. 12-22. It is written on vellum, in quarto, and belongs to the eighth century. Scholz was the first who made a collation of the passages; but it is a very imperfect one. The whole has been published by Tischendorf with a fac-simile in his "Monumenta Sacra inedita." As the name imports, the codex is in the Royal Library at Paris.

X. *Cod. Monacensis*, formerly called *Ingolstadiensis* and *Landishutensis*. This MS. contains fragments of the four gospels. The passages it exhibits are accurately given by Tischendorf, not by Scholz. From John ii. 22—vii. 1 have been supplied by a hand of the twelfth century; so that the MS. is really defective until vii. 1. To the text of the gospels of Matthew and John are added commentaries taken from Chrysostom; on John xix. 6, &c., from Origen and Hesychius of Jerusalem; and on Luke, from Titus of Bostra. These commentaries are written in a small character among the Greek lines, resembling the character in an Oxford codex of Plato's Dialogues written in 896. Hence the date may be the end of the ninth or beginning of the tenth century. Dobrovski communicated some readings of this codex to Griesbach. It was collated for the first time by Scholz. After him, it has been collated again by Tischendorf and Tregelles. It is now in the University library at Munich, and commonly exhibits an ancient and good text—what has been called the Alexandrine.

* Matthaei's Greek Testament, vol. x. p. 265.

Y. *Cod. Bibliothecae Barberinae* 225. This is a fragment (six leaves) of John's gospel, written on vellum, in folio, probably of the eighth century. It contains John xvi. 3—xix. 41, prefixed to a codex of the gospels furnished with Theophylact's commentaries, of the twelfth century. Scholz imperfectly collated the fragment; and Tischendorf has published it entire, with a fac-simile in his "Monumenta Sacra inedita." The name implies that it is in the Barberinian Library at Rome.

Z. *Cod. Dublinensis*, a rescript MS. of Matthew's gospel. Dr. Barrett of Trinity College, Dublin, writing in 1801 says, that fourteen years ago he met with a Greek MS. in the library of the University, on some leaves of which he observed traces of a twofold writing, one ancient, the other comparatively recent. The old letters had been much effaced either by art or time. On minutely examining the ancient writing over which the other had been written, he found it to consist of three fragments of Isaiah, St. Matthew, and certain orations of Gregory Nazianzen. He applied himself to the transcription of what remained of Matthew's gospel; the whole was accurately engraved in fac-simile on sixty-four copper plates; and the work was published at the expense of the University in a very splendid form, in quarto. The editor gives on the opposite page to the fac-simile the words in the usual Greek type, with lines corresponding. Here his accuracy cannot be commended. In fact he has made many blunders. Below each page is a collation of the readings of A. B. C. D. L. and various other MSS.; several of the fathers, especially Origen, the two Syriac versions and others, including the old Latin. Extracts from all these sources are given; and the variations from the Amsterdam text (1711) of Gerard Maestricht carefully marked. The MS. is *not* collated with the text of Wetstein, as has been erroneously affirmed.

The prolegomena give an account of the MS., followed by

an essay on the genealogy of our Lord. An appendix contains a collation of the *codex Montfortianus.*

Hug says correctly that the MS. is inferior to none in point of beauty. The character is of the ancient form, large, round, and full. The shape of A. and M. is somewhat peculiar; while Υ Χ Δ have curves at the top. Sometimes Ι and Υ have two dots over them, as is the case in various ancient MSS. There are no accents or spirits. In regard to punctuation, the only mark is a dot. When this stands in a considerable blank space it denotes a period; in a space equal to about half a letter it is equivalent to the colon; in a space scarcely so large as that intended for the colon it denotes a comma. Each page contains one column, and the columns usually consist of twenty-one lines; sometimes but rarely of twenty-three. The lines are nearly of equal lengths, and ordinarily contain eighteen or twenty letters.

The codex has the τίτλοι or larger chapters marked both at the top of the page and in the margin. At present, however, this appears only once in the margin, viz. at xviii. 1; and four times at the top of the page. It has also the Ammonian sections, which are *actually* found here only in xiv. 13 and xviii. 1; but not the Eusebian canons. In this last respect it resembles D. The initial letters of sections stand out in the margin and are larger than the rest. That these marginal letters referring to the sections larger and smaller, are *a prima manu* we have no doubt. Whatever difference there may be between the forms of some letters in them and the forms of the same letters in the text, is easily accounted for, without supposing a later hand. Dr. Barrett seems to have had no idea of a different person; nor would any one who carefully examines the MS. itself.

With regard to orthography, the interchange of the vowels and dipthongs ε and αι, ι and ει is frequent. In Matt. xvii. 17 we have also ε for α in διεστραμμενη, and *vice versa* α for ε in

Matt. xi. 7. *Delta* is also written for *theta* in Βηδφαγῆ, just as in the cod. Alexand. Βηδσαϊδα. Hug observes* that he met with the following Alexandrine forms of words, λημψεσαι, Matt. x. 41; προσεπεσαν, vii. 25; ἐξηλδατε, xi. 7, 8, 9. To these may be added λημψονται, xx. 10, the space for the μ being now vacant; and λημψεσαι, x. 41, where the space for ω is also vacant.

The age of the original MS. has been carefully investigated by the editor, who assigns it to the sixth century, an opinion in which other critics commonly coincide. The text agrees well with this period, for it resembles that found in the most ancient and valuable documents. Although so much mutilated in every page, it is most useful in supplying the chasms of A. C. and D. Tischendorf gives an accurate list of the portions included in it, expressing his belief that more could be deciphered. If the Giobertine tincture were applied to it, it is very likely that many more words might be brought out. Since these remarks were written, we hear that leave has been given to revivify the MS. by a chemical test. The MS. was a *purple* one at first.†

Γ *Cod. Vaticanus.* These six leaves of the purple MS. with silver letters, belong to the same codex as J. and N. They contain fragments of Matthew's gospel in xix. 6-13; xx. 6-22; xx. 29—xxi. 19; and were collated by Gaetanus Marini. Tischendorf has published them entire with a facsimile, in his "Monumenta Sacra inedita." Their age is the end of the sixth or beginning of the seventh century. As the name imports they are now in the Vatican.

Δ *Cod. Sangallensis.* This is a Greek-Latin MS. of the four gospels, in the library of St. Gallen in Switzerland, containing the four gospels in Greek with the Latin interlinear,

* Einleit. vol. i. p. 245.

† See Evangelium secundum Matthaeum ex codice rescripto in Bibliotheca Collegii ss^ae^ Trinitatis juxta Dublin, 1801, 4to.

and deficient only in John xix. 17-35. The codex is on vellum, in quarto.

The Greek letters are uncial, not the large uncial of the fourth and following centuries, but a sort of uncial approaching the later cursive. The Latin is much smaller than the Greek. But the height as well as the breadth of the letters varies very much. In every line are one or more letters much larger than the rest, ornamented with different colours. The words are separated from one another, and there are frequent dots between them, not always inserted for the purpose of preventing misconception or uncertainty where the division into words might have been doubtful in an exemplar written continuously, but sometimes inserted *arbitrarily*, as will appear to any one who reads a single page of the MS. Hence no argument can be derived from these dots to shew that our codex was copied from another written *continuously* in which guiding marks had been inserted to prevent misconception. In one part, viz. Mark's gospel, there is a point at the end of every word.

There are no accents or spirits, except at the beginning of Mark, where several traces of them appear. But the accents are placed there very incorrectly. It would seem that both accents and spirits were just beginning to be written when the MS. was made.

The text is divided into στίχοι which begin with a large letter; but a dot is not always found at the end of a στίχος.

The Latin cannot be properly called the old Latin or *antehieronymian* version, but it is rather the Vulgate altered, patched, and ignorantly meddled with. It is full of mistakes, and of no value—without any independent character.

As the same hand wrote both the Latin and the Greek, and as the Latin character is the Anglo-Saxon, it might be supposed that the MS. was written in Scotland or Ireland. But the scribe may have been a Scotchman or Irishman and not have

written the codex in his own country. This is the likelier supposition; for though Rettig* has enumerated the various particulars which might be thought to point to Ireland, he does not think them conclusive in favour of that country having been the birth-place of the MS. itself. The MS. was probably written in Switzerland, where we suppose it to have always been; for it is well known that many Irish monks went from their own country and either founded monasteries in Switzerland and other parts, or else became inmates of them. They were preceptors and teachers in those establishments.

Rettig has endeavoured to shew that the MS. was written by various scribes, one part by one, and another by another. Though the writing is similar, yet there are minute distinctions and other things which make it probable that more than one person was employed in copying it. But that must have been at the same time, and may have been in the same place, different boys in the one monastery having been taught by the same master. It serves to corroborate this conclusion, that the character of the text differs in different parts; so that various sources appear to have been used. In Mathew's gospel the text is valueless; but in Mark's it resembles much the readings of B. and L., *i.e.* the most ancient and best readings. But though the text in Mark be so much superior to that in the other gospels; yet it seems to have been written by two transcribers; the first careful and accurate; the second hasty and negligent. Many letters are confounded with one another, which is the case in most MSS. Thus $\epsilon\iota$ and ι, $\alpha\iota$ and η, η and ι, $\alpha\iota$ and ϵ, η and ν are often interchanged. In addition to these, other letters are similarly confounded. The same kind of mistakes are found in the Latin, of which Rettig has given examples.

There are marginal notes of various kinds. Some relate to the numbers of the Eusebian canons and Ammonian sec-

* Prolegomena in Antiquiss. quat. evang. cod. Sangall. &c. &c.

tions. Others refer to the subjects treated of. There are two places in which the name Gottschalk is found. The name Aganon also occurs in places relating to asceticism, so that Aganon is identified with the bishop of Carnota, who died in 841, having rebuilt the monastery of St. Peter en Vallée. The close relation between the *cod. Boernerianus* and this one has not been unobserved. The same description applies to both, for their characteristic peculiarities are the same. Thus grammatical notes are inserted among the words of the Latin version in both; many marginal notes are the same in both; both texts indicate the arguments at the margin; the same words are untranslated in both; and the same mistakes occur in them. These things show that they have a near affinity. Indeed they are parts of the same MS., for in addition to the similarities collected by Rettig, it has been found that *the same* later hand has written on leaves now belonging to both, thus proving that they were once together. And the leaves wanting in the one are found in the other. There can be no reasonable doubt therefore that they are parts of one and the same codex. The MS. was not collated by Scholz, who does not appear to have visited St. Gall monastery. He does not say what prevented him from getting a collation. After some difficulty it was lent to Rettig, who made a fac-simile, and prepared the whole for publication, with learned prolegomena and annotations at the end. The work appeared with the following title "*Antiquissionus quatuor evangeliorum canonicorum codex Sangallensis Graeco-Latinus interlinearis nunquam adhuc collatus, &c. &c. curavit H. C. M. Rettig. Turici*, 1836, 4to."

⊖ *Cod. Tischendorfianus* 1. This fragment, consisting of four leaves, the third of which is almost gone, was brought from the East by Tischendorf. The leaves contain Matt. xiv. 8-29 (xiii. 46-55 being almost lost), xv. 4-14. They are attributed to the middle or end of the seventh century, and were published by Tischendorf, with a fac-simile, in his

"Monumenta Sacra inedita." He deposited them in the library of the University of Leipzig.

ℵ *Cod. Sinaiticus.* This appellation has been given by Tischendorf to two fragments very much mutilated, which he saw in the monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, on the cover of an Arabic book. The one fragment contains Matt. xx. 8-15; the other Luke i. 14-20. Tischendorf attributes them to the beginning of the ninth century. All that he could read in the mutilated fragments he published in the Wiener Jahrbücher for 1846.

CHAPTER XLIX.

CURSIVE MSS.

In this chapter we shall notice a few of the best cursive MSS.

1. This MS. contains all the New Testament except the Apocalypse. It is on parchment, in octavo, marked *Basileensis* B. vi. 27, in the library of the University at Basel. Wetstein, who first described and collated it, though it had been used by others before, says that the text of the gospels does not agree with the *textus receptus*, as in the Acts and epistles. It has in that part an ancient type of text, and is therefore important. Tregelles collated the gospels.

13. This is ā parchment MS. in quarto of the twelfth century, containing the four gospels, with various chasms which are specified by Scholz. It is incorrectly written; though the text is of the more ancient type. It was cursorily collated by Kuster and Wetstein; more accurately by Griesbach and Begtrup. The codex is in the Royal Library at Paris, where it is now numbered 50.

22. This is a parchment MS. in quarto of the eleventh century, containing the four gospels, with some chasms. The text is correctly written, and is of the Alexandrine

character. It was collated by Wetstein and Scholz, and is numbered 72 in the Royal Library at Paris.

33. This MS. on parchment, in folio, of the eleventh century, contains all the New Testament except the Apocalypse. It contains a part of the prophets, the epistles, Acts, and gospels. Almost all the extremities of the leaves are injured by damp, or torn, and the leaves themselves put into disorder by a blundering bookbinder. It was collated by Larroque. But Tregelles, who has collated the MS. with great care, says that Scholz is very inaccurate in his readings.* The text is of the ancient type called Alexandrine. In the Acts and Catholic epistles it is numbered 13; in the Pauline epistles 17. It is deposited in the Royal Library at Paris, where it is marked 14. Eichorn calls it "the queen among cursive MSS.,"† an appellation it deserves on account of its primary importance.

69. This MS., partly on parchment and partly on paper, embraces the entire New Testament, with some gaps. It is commonly assigned to the fourteenth century, though the text is of the ancient form. Mill collated it hastily. It was afterwards more accurately, but yet not thoroughly collated by Jackson. The text is *sui generis*, having been transcribed from some older MS. in which entire leaves were wanting. The codex belongs to the public library of Leicester. In the Acts it is marked 31; in the Pauline epistles 37; in the Apocalypse 14.

102. This number characterises a few fragments in a MS. deposited in the Medicean library at Florence, from Matt. xxiv.—Mark viii. 1. Wetstein procured a collation of them.

106. This is a MS. on parchment, containing the four gospels,

* See Kitto's Journal of Sacred Literature, July 1850, p. 228.

† Einleitung, vol. v. p. 217.

and belonging to the tenth century. It was collated by Jackson. The text is said to be Alexandrine, and often to follow the later Syriac version. The codex is in the library of the Earl of Winchelsea.

118. This MS. is on parchment, in quarto, and contains the four gospels. It is mutilated at the beginning and end, for it begins with Matt. vi. 3, and ends with John xvi. 25. Another more recent hand has supplied what was wanting. It is assigned by Griesbach, who described and accurately collated it, to the thirteenth century.* The codex is now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. It was formerly numbered *Marshi*, 24.

124. This is a parchment MS. in quarto of the twelfth century, containing the four gospels. It is mutilated in Luke's gospel. The text approaches the antique form, but it has some singular readings. It has been collated by Treschow, Alter, and Birch, and belongs to the Imperial Library at Vienna, *Nessel.* 188.

131. This is a Vatican MS. (360) containing the Gospels, Acts and Epistles. It is on parchment, in quarto, and belongs to the eleventh century. Formerly it belonged to Aldus Manutius, who made use of it when he was printing the Greek Testament. The text is somewhat singular in the character of its readings. In the Acts it is marked 70; in the Epistles 77. Scholz is incorrect in calling it 6 in the Apocalypse when it wants that book.

142. This is also a Vatican MS. (1210) on parchment, in duodecimo, of the eleventh century, containing the Gospels, Acts, Epistles, and Psalms. It was collated by Birch and Scholz. In the Acts and Catholic epistles it is marked 76; in the Pauline epistles 87.

157. This is a Vatican MS. (2) on parchment in octavo, belong-

* Symbolae Criticae, vol. i. p. 202, et seq.

ing to the twelfth century, and containing the four gospels. The text seems to have been taken from ancient codices. It was collated by Birch and Scholz.

209. This is a MS. on parchment in octavo, of the fourteenth or fifteenth century, containing the whole of the New Testament. It is now in Venice. The text is good, especially in the gospels. Birch and Engelbreth collated it. In the Acts and Catholic epistles it is marked 95, in the Pauline 108, in the Apocalypse 46.

346. This is a MS. on parchment in quarto, of the twelfth century, containing the gospels, with a chasm in the fourth. It is now in the Ambrosian Library at Milan.

435. This MS. on parchment is in quarto, and contains the four gospels with some chasms. The text is of the Alexandrine type. It was collated by Dermout, and belongs to the library of Leyden University, marked *Gron.* 131.

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40. This MS. on parchment in quarto of the eleventh century, contains the Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse. The end of the epistle to Titus, Philemon, and the Apocalypse are by a later hand. It was collated by Zacagni, and is now in the Vatican, numbered *Alexandrino-Vaticanus* 179. In the Pauline epistles it is 46, in the Apocalypse 12.

73. This is a Vatican MS. (367) on parchment in quarto, belonging to the eleventh century, containing the Acts and Epistles. It was collated by Birch, and in some places by Scholz. In the Pauline epistles it is marked 80.

81. This is a parchment MS. in folio of the eleventh century, containing the Acts and Catholic epistles, with a commentary. The text is of the ancient type. Birch collated it in some places. It is in the Barberinian Library at Rome, No. 377.

96. This codex is also on parchment in quarto, of the eleventh century. It contains the Acts and Epistles with a Latin and Arabic version, as also Philemon, and has been collated by Rinck. It is in Venice. In the Pauline epistles it is numbered 109.

114. This MS. is on parchment in quarto, belongs to the thirteenth century, and contains the Acts and Epistles with several of the Old Testament books. It has been collated very cursorily by Scholz, and is in the Royal Library at Paris, No. 57. In the Pauline epistles it is numbered 134 by Scholz.

137. This MS. is on parchment in quarto, belonging to the eleventh century. It contains the Acts and Epistles, the text being chiefly what is termed the Alexandrine. In the Pauline epistles it is marked 176. The codex is in the Ambrosian Library at Milan.

142. This is a parchment MS. in duodecimo, belonging to the twelfth century, containing the Acts and Epistles. It is in the library at Munich (243). In the Pauline epistles the number belonging to it in critical editions is 178.

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47. This MS. on parchment in quarto, belongs to the twelfth century, and contains Paul's epistles with Scholia. It is in the Bodleian at Oxford, where it is marked *Roe* 16.

53. This fragment is on parchment, folio, containing part of the epistle to the Hebrews. It belongs to the tenth century, and is in the public library at Hamburgh, where it is marked *Uffenbachianum*. The text is ancient and valuable. An exact description of it was given by Hencke, but it had been used before by Bengel and Wetstein. Tregelles says that he collated

it twice as carefully as he could.* He supposes that it once preceded the MS. of Chrysostom's homilies on the epistle to the Hebrews. According to Scholz, this fragment is written in the uncial character, which is rightly queried by Tischendorf. But the letters are not properly cursive.

55. This MS. is of the eleventh century, and contains not only the Pauline epistles, but the Acts (No. 46). It is in the library of Munich.

64. This fragment contains parts of the epistles to the Corinthians, and is evidently of the same age and character as the Uffenbach fragment in Hamburgh, No. 53. Indeed there is little doubt that both belonged to the same codex. Both are written in red ink. These leaves are now in the British Museum, *Harleianus* 5613.

73. This MS. contains the Acts (No. 68), as well as the Pauline epistles. It was collated by Auriville, and is attributed to the twelfth century. It belongs to the library of Upsal.

137. This MS. contains not only the Pauline epistles, but also the Gospels, Acts, and Apocalypse. It is mutilated in some verses of the epistle to Philemon. It was first collated but cursorily by Scholz, in the Royal Library at Paris, where it is numbered 61. In the Gospels it is 263, in the Acts 117, in the Apocalypse 54, according to Scholz's notation.

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31. This MS. is on paper, and belongs to the fifteenth century. It contains the Apocalypse and the works of Dionysius the (so-called) Areopagite. A collation of the first eight chapters was communicated to Griesbach

* See Kitto's Journal for October 1850, p. 451.

for his second edition. The codex is in the British Museum, numbered *Harleianus* 5678.

38. This is on cotton paper, and contains the Revelation, with some works of the fathers. It is in octavo, and belongs to the thirteenth century. It was collated by Birch and inspected by Scholz. The text is considered very valuable, as it agrees with the most ancient MSS. A. and C. In the Vatican it is marked 579.

41. This is also on paper, and belongs to the fourteenth century. It contains the Revelation with some other works. Birch collated it; and it was also inspected by Scholz. It is marked *Alexandrino-Vaticanus* 68.

51. This MS. was written in the year 1364, and contains all the New Testament. It was collated throughout in the Revelation by Scholz. The codex is in the Royal Library at Paris, No. 47. According to Scholz's notation it is 18 in the Gospels, 113 in the Acts, 132 in the Pauline epistles.

Upwards of five hundred cursive MSS. of the Gospels, ranging in date from the tenth to the sixteenth century, have been inspected more or less cursorily, or at least mentioned. More than two hundred of the same kind contain the Acts and Catholic epistles; upwards of three hundred the Pauline epistles; one hundred have the Apocalypse. Very few however have been properly described and fully collated. By far the greater number have been *hastily inspected.* The list, large as it is, might be much increased; for there are many in the great public libraries of England and the continent of Europe as yet unknown. Much as has been done in the way of making known and collating MSS., future labourers may add greatly to the stock of existing materials.

CHAPTER L.

EVANGELISTARIA AND LECTIONARIA.

We have already explained the nature of what are termed *Evangelistaria*, which are MSS. containing lessons from the four gospels adapted to the Sundays and festivals in the year. Of these codices a great many have been inspected, but few carefully collated throughout. Scholz mentions 123 new ones, of which one only was collated entire, five in the greater part, twenty-seven in select places, twenty-nine cursorily, and sixty-one merely named. These 123, added to such as had been mentioned or used before Scholz, make 178. Additional ones have been discovered and inspected by Tischendorf, of which he promises some account. The most important of these Evangelistaria are those in uncial characters, of which about fifty are known. Even they however have not been properly applied to criticism or thoroughly collated.

It is not easy to ascertain the exact age of *uncial evangelistaria*, because the ancient letters were retained for ecclesiastical purposes several centuries after the cursive character had become general. Some of them however are both ancient and valuable. Two *rescript* ones which are mere fragments—one at Venice, the other in the Barberinian Library, are assigned to the seventh century. One which Tischendorf has deposited

in the Leipzig Library called *Tischendorfianum V.* belongs to the eighth or ninth century; and probably a few others. The greater number however were written after the tenth century. Most appeared in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries.

There is one, *the Carpentras* which Tischendorf praises for the goodness of its readings, and which is undoubtedly ancient, though not as old as the sixth century, nor to be converted into a MS. of the four gospels, as it has been. Another in the monastery on mount Sinai is also praised by the same critic for its magnificence. To this may be added the *cod. Harleianus* 5598 in the British Museum which is a very splendid Evangelistarium, with letters gilt, coloured, and ornamented, written in the tenth century according to a notice in the last page; and the *Arundel codex* 547 in the British Museum, which is also very splendid, having many of the initial letters beautifully illuminated, and as old at least as the *Harleianus* if not older.

In regard to the text of the Evangelistaria, it is substantially the *textus receptus* or later Byzantine, in far the greater number of these codices. But in a few, the text is valuable and of the antique type, coinciding with E. F. G. H. S. U. V.

Similar codices or lesson books taken from the Acts and epistles are called *Lectionaria* or Lectionaries. Fifty-eight of these stand in Scholz's list. But few of them are written in uncial letters. We know of two only, one at Leyden which contains also an Evangelistarium, in Arabic and Greek, another at Treves. To these may be added a small fragment deposited by Tischendorf in the library of Leipzig University, Tischendorfianus VI. F. containing a few verses of the epistle to the Hebrews.

In relation to the gross number of Evangelistaria in the

cursive character, it is upwards of 150. When to this are added about 50 uncial ones, we have about 200 in all. Of Lectionaries there are about 60, to which may be added three uncial ones. But very little is known of these codices, with the exception of a few. They have not been fully described or collated. The places where they are deposited are given in the late editions of Scholz and Tischendorf; but little else.

CHAPTER LI.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON MSS.

With regard to MSS. of the New Testament, we believe that editors of the Greek Testament from Mill to Scholz have not acted on the best plan. They have unnecessarily multiplied codices. Aiming too much at *number*, they have heaped together an immense mass of materials which is useless to a great extent. The cursive MSS. in particular need not have claimed so much attention; or at least, might have been postponed till the older ones had been well examined. But since the time of Lachmann's first edition, a check has been put to the accumulation of *late* materials; and properly so. The first thing to be done is to collate the oldest, thoroughly and accurately. Let their texts be published in *fac-simile* or otherwise. If not, they should be collated in such a way as that no future critic may be under the necessity of resorting to them again and re-examining them. The uncial MSS. ought to be well known and fairly applied to the purposes of criticism. All the rest, or the great mass of the junior ones, may be dispensed with. They are scarcely needed, because the uncial are numerous. At present they do nothing but hinder the advancement of critical science by drawing off to them time and attention which might be better devoted to older documents. A line should be drawn somewhere, beyond which an editor should not go in citing codices. Why resort, for

example, to copies of the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries before giving the readings of copies belonging to the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth? By all means let us have the latter first; and *if* the former be then judged necessary, they may be produced. The attention of critical editors must therefore be more concentrated. They should devote themselves to the thorough elucidation of fewer and selecter materials. How little has been done by Scholz, after the years and labour expended on MSS. and versions, is known to every scholar. In aiming at too much, he did little that can be relied on for its accuracy. His collations are perpetually distrusted—so superficial and hasty were they. How useless his critical notes are, compared with what they might have been, had he taken fewer documents and examined them well. Hence we are glad to find that Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles proceed in a different way, by leaving very much out of view the great majority of MSS. belonging to a recent age, and exhibiting with accuracy the readings of the oldest. They have thus sifted and separated the materials. We are persuaded that their principle is a right one; whatever may be said of the modes in which they apply it. The criticism of the Greek Testament has gained a great deal in this way. It has made an important step in advance since the time of Griesbach. Critics have discovered a better way than Scholz's diffuse, perfunctory method.

Till ancient codices of the Greek Testament have been thus satisfactorily collated and applied, we should deem it advisable not to meddle with *Evangelistaria* and *Lectionaries*. It is true that these have never been much attended to or examined. Nor should they, especially at the present day, when older and better documents are not yet fully known.

In considering all that has been done in the department of MSS., the number, variety, and importance of those described, with the array of readings extracted from them, the first idea

that arises in the mind is a feeling of gratitude for the advantages we enjoy. Many laborious, indefatigable men have addressed themselves to the task, repulsive and wearisome as it is, with persevering zeal, and have placed within our reach the readings of valuable documents. We owe them our thanks. But in examining, comparing, and applying the extracts thus furnished there is great difficulty. Rules are all but worthless. Theory can be of little avail. The judgment, tact, and taste of every man must be mainly relied on.

MSS. are useful in the first instance in pointing out readings that have intruded into the original text. By their help we may detect interpolations which do not form a proper part of the primitive text. Thus when they all agree, or the great majority of them, in exhibiting a certain reading, there is good reason for attaching weight to their testimony, and for suspecting any form of the text their concurrent voice does not sanction. No alteration or corruption has taken place where the testimony of MSS. is unanimous or nearly so. There we may safely conclude that the genuine text is before us. But when they exhibit the same passage differently, some change has been made in the text. There has been an interpolation, omission, or transposition of words. Diversity of reading in the great body of MSS. at a certain place, indicates the existence of corruption in some of them. Where there is not diversity, there is of course no corruption. Thus a collation of MSS. at once exhibits corruption.

In restoring passages which have been altered from their original condition, MSS. must be used with caution and wise discrimination. In this respect they are not so useful or satisfactory as some perhaps might suppose.

The first thing to be ascertained in a MS. is its age. This is determined by the style of the letters, uncial or cursive; by the accents, divisions, punctuation marks, marginal accompaniments, inscriptions, and subscriptions, as well as other

circumstances in the MS. itself. In general it is not difficult to find out the true date or nearly so. It may be approached within half a century or so with tolerable certainty. In regard to uncial MSS. the opinions of the best critics do not differ more than a century. Having fixed the respective dates of the MSS. employed, the rule that the reading of an older copy is preferable to that of a later one, *ceteris paribus*, comes into operation. The nearer a document approaches the age of the original, it is natural to infer that it has undergone fewer alterations. Frequency of transcription has operated less in deteriorating its text than in others of a later date. The fewer hands it has passed through, the fewer changes we suppose to have been made in the text.

After determining the age of a MS. the next consideration is the internal condition of its text. There may be circumstances whose tendency is to lessen the authority derived from age. Thus a later document which has certainly been copied from a very ancient one will have more value than an earlier taken from an exemplar of no great antiquity. A MS. of the eighth century, for example, may have been immediately transcribed from one of the fifth, and therefore the former is entitled to greater weight than one belonging to the seventh century transcribed from an exemplar of the sixth. The MS. of the fifth century whence that of the eighth was derived may have been comparatively unknown till the time it was brought forth from its obscurity to be the parent of another. In such a case the MS. of the eighth century may be considered of higher antiquity than the oldest existing one of the sixth, because it was immediately made from a more ancient exemplar. This exception to the rule that the older the MS. the better it is, is however more apparent than real. It can scarcely be called a *real* exception. The fact can only be discovered from internal evidence.

Another circumstance which modifies the authority conse-

quent upon age alone is the degree of accuracy with which the MS. was written. A copyist may have been very ignorant or negligent. His carelessness may be apparent. In proportion to the care or negligence he used will be the authority of the document. It is an important thing in the estimate of a MS. to find that it was written with a laudable endeavour after accuracy of transcription from the original source.

Still more depends on the characteristic readings of a codex. Good readings constitute the best criterion of its goodness. These imply slight faults and variations, as well as few departures from the primitive text. They also imply the existence of a good copy at the basis of the text. As to the principles on which a good reading is to be determined, they are laid down in another place.

In determining the character of a MS. it is not unusual to refer to the country where it was written, as a fact not to be overlooked. But this is not always readily discovered. Critics are divided in regard to this point. Some prefer eastern, others western ones. Thus Scholz gives the preference to the former; Lachmann, Griesbach, and others to the latter. Little however can be made of mere locality apart from other considerations. Probably the Egyptian or Alexandrine are the best. But it should be observed here as affecting country, especially Alexandria, where there were so many learned men in the early times of Christianity, that the acquaintance of a copyist with the language of his MS. is not necessarily or always an excellence. His very knowledge might prompt him to alter places with the design of improving them. This indeed is a thing which cannot be always ascertained; and therefore it throws a degree of uncertainty over passages occurring in MSS. of a particular kind.

Thus a genuine reading cannot be determined by the mere antiquity of one or more documents in which it is found. Antiquity is doubtless valuable as affording a presumption in

favour of the text's purity; but many modifying circumstances must be observed.

The number of MSS. in which a particular reading is found should not be overlooked. This is an obvious and natural rule. The reading of the greater number of MSS. is preferable to that of the less number. But the canon often needs and receives limitation. Mere majority of copies is not sufficient to certify a reading, or to condemn it. Several may have been copied from one and the same codex, and therefore they are only entitled to one voice. They can prove no more than that the reading which they all exhibit was found in their common exemplar. Hence the rule has been laid down, that the majority of MSS. belonging to different classes, or in other words, to different recensions, can alone decide in favour of a reading. We do not see however how this can be usefully applied. The entire subject of recensions is so insecure and intangible, that nothing can be built upon it. It is not easy, even in Griesbach's view, to determine the recension to which every codex belongs. The most eminent scholars differ there. The very same MS. is said to incline to different recensions in different parts; for example, to one in the Gospels; to another in the Acts and Catholic epistles. In others the characteristic readings of more recensions than one are commingled, rendering it difficult to decide which preponderates in the text. When such things are affirmed of a codex, it will be needful to look whether it has received alterations from later hands, or whether it be not derived from various exemplars. Indeed all MSS. require to be looked at with this object, for it is not uncommon to find letters retouched, in which case they have sometimes received a different form from what they had at first, being thus entirely changed; or to find defects supplied by one or more persons different from the original copyist. Many codices have been altered here and there in their progress downward from remote times. Things have been taken into their text which did not stand

there originally. As to recensions, we doubt greatly whether MSS. can be referred to them in such a way as to assist in judging of the value of readings found in individual copies.

The authority of such codices as have been called *critici* is not equal to that of others bearing the same age. Having been compiled from several MSS., instead of being faithful transcripts of single copies, they cannot be equivalent in goodness to such as owe their existence to one parent. These eclectic copies may contain good and ancient readings, without affording a criterion to judge of the current text at the time and place they first appeared in.

Lectionaries or lesson-books intended for public ecclesiastical use are not placed in the same rank with other codices as to value, because they were more exposed to alteration. They must have been oftener copied, and therefore they were more liable to errors of transcription.

On the whole, the right of judging on these points belongs to those who have carefully inspected MSS. The eyes must be practised in the various forms of letters; and the mind must be habituated to the investigation of critical questions. General observations may lead the novice to think that the determination of the right reading is an easy matter in most cases; but practice will soon shew the reverse. Though MSS. are the most important class of materials for bringing back the New Testament text to its pristine state, even *they* are not so definite or authoritative as we could wish. In detecting corruptions their great utility is unquestionable. There they are of primary and preëminent value. But in replacing the true readings they are of less assistance of themselves. Yet they are the most credible witnesses for the express words of the original writers, though they do not satisfy all expectation. And to them must all editors of the original look as the basis of that text which came from the hands of the inspired authors. A reading which occurs in no MS. must be powerfully attested in another way to recommend it as true.

CHAPTER LII.

QUOTATIONS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT IN ANCIENT WRITERS.

THE third source of textual criticism consists of quotations or extracts made from the New Testament by the fathers. We shall begin with *Greek* writers.

1. Clement of Rome wrote an epistle to the church at Corinth, in which are many references to the New Testament. It belongs to the close of the second century.
2. Ignatius of Antioch is supposed to have written seven epistles; at least seven have been circulated in his name. But it is highly probable but only three of them are genuine, and that too, not as they exist even in the shorter Greek recension, but as they are found in an ancient Syriac version published by Cureton. They afford very little assistance in settling the Greek text of the New Testament.
3. We have already spoken of Justin Martyr, who belonged, as well as the preceding writers, to the second century. It is likely that he quotes the Gospels and Epistles, but in a peculiar way. Two apologies and the dialogue with Trypho the Jew are admitted as authentic; others are disputed.
4. Irenaeus bishop of Lyons wrote five books against

heresies, most of which are only extant in a Latin translation. Hence his quotations are serviceable for the correction of the old Latin version, the *versio vetus*, which the translator followed, rather than for the revision of the Greek text. If we compare the few remaining Greek fragments with the Peshito, we may perceive that the Asiatic text was by no means uniform. It differed even at that time in different copies. The best edition of his works is that of Stieren.

The elders or seniors spoken of in Irenaeus may be distinguished from himself in relation to the text. Most of their fragments exist only in Latin. They were collected by Routh,* and published separately. (Seniores apud Irenaeum.)

5. Theophilus of Antioch wrote an apology for the Christian religion in three books to Antolycus. His citations are very inexact, as they are almost always made from memory.

6. Marcion was born in Pontus, and occupies a chief place among the heretics of the church. Fragments of his works exist in Epiphanius and Tertullian, which were collected and published by Hahn.† But Hahn's work needs now to be supplemented and corrected. It will be seen from former remarks that Marcion's readings should be employed with great caution.

7. From the fragments of Valentinus and what is said of the Valentinians, some readings have also been derived. We learn their opinions however only in the works of Irenaeus, Tertullian, and Origen.

8. In like manner Heracleon the Gnostic, one of Valentinus's followers, may be of use. We know his treatment of the text only from the fragments in Origen's Com-

* Reliquiae Sacrae, vol. i. p. 41, et seq. first edition.

† Das Evangelium Marcion's in seiner ursprunglicher Gestalt, u. s. w.

mentary on John, which should be received with caution, for it is not likely that all Origen's complaints and accusations against Heracleon are well founded.

9. The epistle of Barnabas furnishes very small assistance in revising the text. It has been quoted however for this purpose.

10. There is an encyclical letter of the church at Smyrna respecting the martyrdom of Polycarp, which has also been applied to criticism. It is printed in Hefele's edition of the apostolic fathers, and elsewhere.

11. An epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians contains numerous quotations from and allusions to the New Testament. But part of it exists only in Latin. It is also contained in Hefele's edition.

12. Tatian a native of Syria or Assyria, wrote many works, of which the only extant one is the treatise πρὸς Ἕλληνας. In this however there is little that can be used in the criticism of the text. Unfortunately his *Diatessaron* or Harmony of the Gospels was early lost. He is said to have rejected and mutilated some of the New Testament writings.

13. Theodotus we know as a writer only by a treatise professing to be excerpts from him, printed in the second volume of Potter's edition of Clemens Alexandrinus. As to the person who made the extracts, whether Clement or some other, nothing is known. The treatise contains a number of citations from the gospels, but in such a way as does not shew what readings Theodotus had in his MS. Griesbach's collation of Clement includes the excerpts of Theodotus.

14. The work called "the Testaments of the twelve patriarchs" is one of the early apocryphal writings. Its use in criticism is but small.

15. Ptolemy the Gnostic wrote an epistle to Flora preserved in Epiphanius. It contains some citations from the

New Testament, but they appear to have been made from memory. And Stieren has endeavoured to shew that the letter was not written by one person, but two.* The work entitled πίστις σοφία preserved in Coptic and attributed to him, is probably spurious. It is now published.

16. Athenagoras, an Athenian by birth, and teacher in the school at Alexandria, is the author of an apology for Christianity and a treatise on the resurrection. His citations in them from the New Testament are few and unimportant.

17. Clemens Alexandrinus wrote much that is now valuable in relation to the New Testament text. Although he was often misled by his memory in quoting passages, yet he doubtless followed his MS. in many places. The frequent agreement between his readings and those of the old Latin version has been often noticed. Griesbach made a collation of his works from the index in Potter's edition. He does not profess however to have read them throughout for the purpose.

These are the writers and works belonging to the second century cited in critical editions of the Greek Testament. The most prominent and important are Irenaeus, Justin Martyr, and Clement of Alexandria. The rest might be omitted with very little disadvantage.

THIRD CENTURY.

18. Origen is in many respects the leading theological writer of the third century. Griesbach made a very careful collation of his works for the purpose of New Testament criticism, in his *Symbolae Criticae*, vol. ii. Many of his writings exist only in an old Latin version. In

* De Ptolemaei Gnostici ad Floram epist. Jenae, 1843.

these Latin portions Griesbach's collation is very imperfect. It is true that the Latin interpreter of Origen should be quoted for the old Latin version rather than for Origen; but even in this respect the readings of the Latin are valuable. In the Corinthian epistles, the commentary of Rückert will help to supply the collation made by Griesbach from De la Rue's edition of this father. Buttmann in Lachmann's larger edition of the Greek Testament has also supplied and corrected Griesbach's labours in some things. There is little doubt that Origen had various Greek MSS., and attended to the text more closely than any of his predecessors; but he generally wrote in haste, or rather dictated to others who wrote down his words.

19. Fragments of the works of Ammonius, an Alexandrine, exist only in Catenae.
20. Archelaus was a Mesopotamian bishop who held a *disputation* with Manes. Most of the fragments of it exist only in Latin, and are unimportant. They are contained in Routh's Reliquiae Sacrae, vol. iv.
21. The work called the "Apostolic Canons," published in Cotelerius's edition of the Apostolic fathers is of little use in criticism.
22. The "Apostolic constitutions" contained in the same work are of more utility.
23. There is a "Dialogue against the Marcionites," printed in the Benedictine edition of Origen's works which has been applied to this subject. It is unimportant.
24. Dionysius of Alexandria has several readings which have been quoted. The remaining fragments of his works are published in Galland's Bibliotheca, vol. iii. and Routh's Reliquiae Sacrae, vols. ii. and iv.
25. Hippolytus, a presbyter of Antioch, who in Rome attached

himself to the Novatian party, was the author of numerous writings, containing many New Testament quotations. In his extant works the Apocalypse is most quoted.

26. Methodius was bishop of Tyre. There are only fragments of his works remaining.

27. Petrus or Peter of Alexandria. There are only fragments of his writings preserved which have been published by Galland. in his Bibliotheca, vol. iv. and Routh, Reliquiae Sacrae, vol. iii. They contain a good number of quotations not of much value.

28. Gregory Thaumaturgus bishop of Neo-Caesarea in Pontus. His published writings do not contain much that is useful in the criticism of the text.

29. Porphyry wrote against Christianity, but his work was destroyed. The extracts preserved by Eusebius, Jerome, and others, contain very little that can be applied to textual criticism.

The principal writer of this century is Origen, whose works are far more valuable than all the rest together. Indeed the others might easily be dispensed with.

IN THE FOURTH CENTURY.

31. The works of Athanasius bishop of Alexandria have many verbal quotations from the New Testament, which shew the Alexandrine condition of the text at his time. They seldom agree with the *textus receptus*. Works which have been falsely attributed to him, in *both* Greek and Latin, are cited under the appellation of *Pseudo-Athanasius*.

32. Amphilochius of Iconium wrote various treatises, some of which have been lost. Those short pieces and fragments published as his by Combefis (Paris 1644, folio)

and Galland. (Biblioth. vol. vi.) are suspicious. It would seem that he quoted from memory, or used Constantinopolitan MSS. only.

33. Antony was an Egyptian monk. His *opuscula*, translated from the Arabic into Latin, and published by Galland. (vol. iv.) contain several quotations from the New Testament.

34. Apollinaris the younger of Laodicea wrote various commentaries which are mentioned in Greek catenae. A few fragments are all that remain.

35. Arius wrote a letter respecting his views to Eusebius, which is extant. But it contains little available for the criticism of the text.

36. Asterius of Cappadocia wrote comments on Scripture, and tracts in favour of Arianism, of which only fragments remain, printed by Galland. (vol. iii.) He generally gives the sense of Scripture without adhering to the words.

37. Basil, surnamed the great, bishop of Caesarea, wrote a great many works, most of which still remain, consisting of discourses, homilies, letters, &c. But the mode in which he referred to Scripture is so loose that we can scarcely tell the state of the text as he read it. His quotations are free, not literal.

38. Caesarius of Constantinople, brother of Gregory Nazianzenus, is said to have written four dialogues on 195 questions in theology. It is doubtful however whether those published be his (Galland. Biblioth. vol. vi.)

39. Cyril of Jerusalem wrote lectures, &c., theological and didactic, in which the sacred text is largely interwoven. But he seems for the most part to have relied on memory; and his citations are of such a kind as to be of little use in criticism.

40. Didymus of Alexandria wrote commentaries and many

other works, of which few survive, and those mostly in a Latin translation. His blindness from youth compelled him to quote Scripture from memory. Guerike has collected readings from two of his works.*

41. Of the writings of Diodorus of Tarsus only abstracts and extracts remain, preserved by Marius Mercator, Photius, and others.

42. Dorotheus of Tyre wrote various works, fragments of which are found in catenae. His readings agree with the received text.

43. Gregory of Nazianzum is the author of orations or sermons, epistles, and poems. In these he seldom *quotes* the New Testament. His readings agree for the most part with those of Gregory Nyssene.

44. Gregory of Nyssa, younger brother of Basil the great, is the author of numerous discourses and polemic treatises, published at Paris 1638, 3 vols. folio, and by Galland. in his Bibliotheca (vol. iv.) His works abound with quotations from Scripture, most of which are very free. Hence criticism can derive little assistance from his citations.

45. Epiphanius was bishop of Salamis in Cyprus, and wrote chiefly against heresies. The best edition is still that of Petavius published at Paris in 1722, folio. It is not very often that he quotes the New Testament literally.

46. Ephrem a Syrian bishop and voluminous writer of commentaries on Scripture, wrote in his native language, but his works were early translated into Greek. They have not been used as yet for critical purposes as they ought.

47. Eusebius bishop of Caesarea wrote many important works, of which his *Preparatio evangelica*, *Demonstratio evangelica*, and *Historia ecclesiastica*, are best known.

* De Schola quae Alexandriae floruit, catechetica, part ii. p. 33.

His quotations from the New Testament are numerous, and were apparently made with care. There is little doubt that he used Alexandrine copies of the Greek Testament, or copies which had undergone some revision there.

48. Eusebius bishop of Emesa was supposed by Augusti to be the author of three discourses which the latter published in 1829, and which Scholz treats as his. But Thilo proved that they belong to a later person of the same name. The same critic makes it probable that the two books *De fide adv. Sabellium*, printed by Sirmond among the opuscula of Eusebius of Caesarea, belong to the present writer. They have not yet been employed for critical purposes, nor are they of any consequence in this respect.*

49. Eustathius patriarch of Antioch wrote a work against the Arians, of which only fragments remain, published by Galland. (vol. iv.)

50. Evagrius, a native of Pontus, afterwards deacon, and monk in the Nitrian desert, wrote various works, of which some are extant only in a Latin version, others in fragments. All are published by Galland. in the seventh volume of the Bibliotheca. As far as we can judge, his text is substantially the Constantinopolitan.

51. Hesychius was presbyter at Jerusalem, and wrote a great many works, some of which are extant entire, others in fragments, while others have been lost. But his writings have not been much applied to the criticism of the text.

52. Macarius, an Egyptian monk, is the author of a number of homilies or discourses published by Pritius at Leipzig in 1714. Many fragments are also preserved

* See Gieseler's Compendium of Ecclesiastical History, vol. i. p. 357 (English translation.)

in catenae and printed in Galland's Bibliotheca (vol. vii.) Their authorship is not well established.

53. Meletius of Antioch does not seem to have written much. What has been preserved of his works is contained in Galland's Bibliotheca (vol. v.)

54. Pamphilus of Caesarea in Palestine wrote an apology for Origen in five books, only the first of which is extant in the Latin translation of Rufinus. It is in Routh's Reliquiae Sacrae (vol. iv.) His citations agree with Origen. The Pamphili passio printed by Galland. in his Bibliotheca (vol. iv.) also affords some readings.

55. Serapion was bishop of Thmuis in Egypt, and wrote a work against the Manichaeans printed in Latin in Galland's Bibliotheca (vol. v.) It contains readings worth noting.

56. Theodore bishop of Heraclea in Thrace wrote various expositions and commentaries, fragments of which exist only in catenae. His citations belong to what has been termed the Constantinopolitan recension.

57. Theodore of Mopsuestia was a distinguished biblical commentator, but most of his writings have been lost. Various fragments have been published, and in recent times several complete works and fragments by Angelo Mai, Fritzsche, and others. As yet they have *scarcely* been applied to textual criticism, where they would doubtless be of more assistance than many other writings of the fourth century.

58. Of Theodore the Egyptian, belonging to Pelusium, a few unimportant fragments are all that remain.

59. Theophilus of Alexandria wrote various letters and episcopal charges, published by Galland. in the Bibliotheca (vol. vii.) There is very little quotation of Scripture in them.

60. Timotheus of Alexandria wrote some unimportant works which are now lost, except a few fragments.

61. Titus of Bostra wrote three books against the Manichaeans, extant in a Latin translation in Galland's Bibliotheca (vol. v.)

62. Chrysostom wrote voluminously on the New Testament. His commentaries are important. But great caution must be used in applying them to criticism. He was more of the orator than the grammarian or expositor; and therefore neglected the exact words of Scripture. He has fallen into many mistakes from trusting to memory, from aiming at elegance rather than accuracy, and from haste, impetuosity of mind, or carelessness. There is little doubt also, that earlier and later readings are mixed up in his homilies *as now printed.* He has suffered greatly from transcribers at different times, who altered his Scripture quotations according to the text current in their time. This can be shewn in part from catenae. Chrysostom is also largely indebted to Origen and perhaps others, whose remarks he copied. The best edition of his works is that of Montfaucon. The editor who has contributed most to a good collation of this celebrated father is Matthaei, who has given extracts from MSS. But much remains to be done; though Tischendorf has since carefully examined Chrysostom's readings in the greater part of the Acts and the Pauline epistles.

The chief writers of this century whose works are available for critical purposes are Athanasius, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory of Nazianzum, Epiphanius, Eusebius of Caesarea, Ephrem Syrus, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Chrysostom. These afford a wide field for collation; and most of them would repay the labour of extensive examination. All the rest might be neglected without loss.

IN THE FIFTH CENTURY.

63. Antiochus was bishop of Ptolemais in Phenicia. Fragments of his works are quoted in catenae.
64. Basil, bishop of Seleucia, is the author of orations written in a very florid style. Little aid in criticism can be derived from them.
65. Cyril of Alexandria wrote expositions of Scripture, polemical treatises, sermons, and letters, which contain many citations from Scripture. Vater has shown his adherence to the Alexandrine recension.* His works were published by John Aubert in 7 parts folio, 1638, Paris.
66. Marcus Diadochus, probably an Egyptian bishop, author of a treatise against the Arians, printed in Latin in Galland's Bibliotheca (vol. v.) Those who identify him with Diadochus bishop of Photice, place him in the fifth century. But though even Tischendorf recently does so, we believe that he is in error. He belongs to the fourth century.
67. Eutherius bishop or archbishop of Tyanea is author of some epistles and sermons containing several citations from the Greek Testament.
68. Euthalius, deacon at Alexandria, wrote an analytical introduction to the books of the New Testament, published by Zacagni at Rome in 1698, 4to. It is useful in the criticism of the text.
69. Gelasius of Cyzicus, an island in the Propontis, wrote an ecclesiastical history. It is not of much use in criticism.
70. Gennadius of Constantinople is often quoted in catenae.
71. Isidore of Pelusium was a voluminous writer, as we have

* Spicilegium ad usum patrum Graecorum in critica N. T. 1810.

still 2013 excerpts from his letters. Many citations from the New Testament occur in them; but none which are not found in later Alexandrine authors. The letters are divided into five books, and were all published by the Jesuit Schott at Paris, 1638, folio.

72. Diadochus of Photice, a disciple of Chrysostom, wrote a few tracts on practical piety, printed in Galland. (vol. viii.)

73. Nestorius of Constantinople wrote various works, most of which, with the exception of a few extracts, have perished. Few citations in these fragments are of much value in criticism.

74. Nilus of Constantinople, afterwards an Egyptian monk, wrote a great many epistles and some treatises, which were published by Suares at Rome, 1673 folio. They contain many quotations from the New Testament, but very few literal ones.

75. Nonnus of Egypt wrote a paraphrase or poetic version of John's gospel, which has sometimes been quoted in the criticism of the text. But it is of little use in this respect.

76. Theodoret bishop of Cyrus was a distinguished writer in this century. Among his works and commentaries, his comments on Paul's epistles belong to the criticism of the New Testament text. His readings however present little that is peculiar, because he was dependent on Origen, and still more on Chrysostom. They agree on the whole with the *oriental* class. The best edition is the Halle one of Schulze and Noesselt, 1768-1774 8vo.

77. Philo of Carpathus. What remains of his writings is printed in Galland's Bibliotheca (vol. ix.)

78. Proclus bishop of Constantinople wrote sermons and epistles published by Ricardi, and also by Galland.

(vol. ix.) Some assistance in criticism may be derived from them.

79 Socrates of Constantinople is the author of an ecclesiastical history in seven books. It is however of very little use in criticism.

80. Sozomen of Constantinople is likewise the author of an ecclesiastical history in nine books, which has been quoted a few times in the criticism of the text.

81. Theodotus, bishop of Ancyra in Galatia, is known chiefly as a polemic writer. His extant works contain various citations from the New Testament (Galland. Bib. vol. ix.)

82. Victor of Antioch wrote a commentary on Mark's gospel. His citations of the text do not commonly differ from those of the *received* edition.

Here we may add the *Synopsis of Sacred Scripture* printed with the works of Athanasius, as it probably belongs to the end of the fifth century. The readings are Alexandrine.

The most important writers for critical purposes in this century are Theodoret, Cyril of Alexandria, Euthalius, and Isidore of Pelusium. The rest are of comparatively little consequence.

IN THE SIXTH CENTURY.

83. Anastasius Sinaita. Under this name various writings, consisting of Questions and Answers, Homilies, &c. are published in Galland's Bibliotheca (vol. xii.) The Scriptural quotations in them are mostly made from memory.

84. Andreas bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia wrote a commentary on the Apocalypse, which is commonly printed

along with Chrysostom's works. The most careful collation of it was made by Tischendorf.

85. Cosmas, commonly termed Indicopleustes, an Alexandrine monk, wrote a work on *Christian topography* in twelve books. His readings are of course Alexandrine.

86. For the remains of the writings of Eulogius bishop of Alexandria, which are of little consequence, we refer to Galland's Bibliotheca (vol. xii.)

87. Macedonius bishop of Constantinople. It is said by Liberatus that he corrupted the gospels and 1 Tim. iii. 16.

88. Procopius of Gaza wrote many commentaries on the Scriptures, but they are mostly on the Old Testament, and mere compilations from preceding authors.

89. The commentaries of Severus, bishop of Antioch, are preserved only in fragments, in the *catenae patrum.*

The commentary of Andreas of Cappadocia is alone of importance in this century. The other writers are of very small utility.

IN THE SEVENTH CENTURY.

90. Andreas, archbishop of Crete, wrote Homilies, Hymns, &c. published by Combefis at Paris, 1644 folio. The Scriptural citations in them are neither numerous nor important.

91. Leontius of Byzantium wrote a number of polemical treatises. They are printed in Galland's Bibliotheca (vol. xii.)

92. Maximus, a monk at Chrysopolis near Constantinople, wrote a great number of small treatises, polemic and dogmatic, moral and monastic, besides some commentaries, published by Combefis at Paris 1675, in two folio volumes. His readings belong to the eastern class.

93. Thalassius, monk in the desert of Libya, wrote several tracts, of little use in criticism. He is quoted in *catenae.*

To this century also belongs the Paschal or Alexandrine Chronicle, last edited by Dindorf at Bonn, 1832. Its readings are of course Alexandrine.

Maximus is the chief writer in this century for critical purposes.

IN THE EIGHTH CENTURY.

94. Johannes Damascenus or John of Damascus, a monk in the monastery of St. Sabas, wrote numerous treatises, chiefly polemical. His principal work is a system of theology derived from the fathers, and arranged in the manner of the schoolmen. His writings were published by Le Quien at Paris 1712, 2 vols. folio. His commentaries on Paul's epistles are chiefly dependent on Chrysostom; and it is clear that he quoted carelessly.

95. Elias of Crete wrote commentaries on the orations of Gregory Nazianzen, and other works. They have been very slightly examined for purposes of criticism.

96. Georgius Syncellus wrote a Chronicon, which was published by Goar, Paris, 1652 folio. It is of little use in criticism.

97. Tarasius patriarch of Constantinople, to whom the former writer was *syncellus*, wrote several letters extant in the collections of councils (Galland. vol. xiii.)

98. Theodore Studites, a monk of Constantinople, wrote catechetical discourses and other tracts, edited by Sirmond. They are of little value in criticism.

Of most importance in this century for textual criticism is Johannes Damascenus.

IN THE TENTH CENTURY.

99. Arethas, bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, wrote a commentary on the Apocalypse, which is usually printed with the works of Œcumenius. It is of considerable value in the criticism of the text, and was collated throughout by Tischendorf for his second critical edition of the Greek Testament.

100. Photius patriarch of Constantinople was a very voluminous writer. Where he quotes the New Testament he does it carefully and literally. His works were printed by Galland. (Biblioth. vol. xiii.), some by Scotti, others by Mai; and many are yet in MS.

IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.

101. Œcumenius may either have belonged to this century or to the preceding one. He is said to have been bishop of Tricca in Thessaly. The commentaries which have been published in his name are upon the Acts, the Pauline and Catholic epistles, and the Apocalypse. Tischendorf who examined these (except the Apocalypse) very carefully for his second edition says, that the text is not well edited. They are useful in textual criticism.

102. George Cedrenus, a monk of Constantinople, compiled a chronicle which was published by Fabrotus and Goar, Paris, 1647 folio. It is of little consequence for critical purposes.

103. Michael Psellus, a senator at Constantinople, wrote several commentaries and many tracts on a great variety of subjects. But they are rarely quoted for criticism.

104. Suidas a lexicographer may sometimes be consulted

with advantage, more however for interpretation than criticism.

105. Theophylact was bishop of Bulgaria, and wrote, or rather compiled from Chrysostom, commentaries on the gospels, Acts, and all the epistles, both Pauline and Catholic. The Venice edition of his works by de Rubeis and Finetti 1754-1763, 4 vols. folio, is the best. Several portions have been recently discovered and made known in MSS. belonging to the Vatican and the Medicean Library at Florence. These commentaries are valuable in criticism, and have been very diligently examined again by Tischendorf.

In this century Œcumenius and Theophylact are both valuable.

IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

106. Euthymius Zygabenus of Constantinople is the author of commentaries on the gospels and Psalms, with many other works, some of which have not been printed. He did not write commentaries on any other part of the New Testament except the gospels, the best edition of which was that of Matthaei in three volumes, 1792.

107. Glycas a Byzantine historian is chiefly known by his *Annals*, divided into four parts. His letters, some of which were published by Lami, relate to theological subjects. According to Scholz, who collated them, he quotes from memory where he departs from the *received* text.

108. Theophanes a Sicilian bishop, is the author of homilies, some of which were published at Paris, 1644 folio. He agrees with the received text.

109. Zonaras of Constantinople wrote, among other works,

commentaries on the apostolic canons, on some canonical epistles of the Greek fathers, and on the canons of the councils. But his quotations of Scripture though numerous, are scarcely ever literal.

Here Euthymius Zygabenus and Zonaras, are the best for criticism.

IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

110. Chrysocephalus, who is placed by some in the fourteenth century, wrote catenae and homilies. But his commentary on Matthew is his most important work. It is still in MS., part of it in the Bodleian.

IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

111. Gregorius Palamas, monk in one of the monasteries of Mount Athos, was a copious writer, but his published works have as yet been very little applied to criticism.

112. Theodulus (Thomas Magister) is too late to be of use.

CHAPTER LIII.

EXTRACTS FROM THE NEW TESTAMENT IN LATIN WRITERS.

We shall arrange the Latin fathers alphabetically.

1. Agapetus, a deacon in Constantinople in the sixth century, wrote *Scheda Regia*, instructions addressed to Justinian. The book contains few quotations from the New Testament.
2. Alcimus or *Alcimus Ecdicius Avitus*, archbishop of Vienne in the fifth century, wrote various poems, epistles, and homilies, many of which have perished. Fragments only remain. His works were printed by Sirmond at Paris 1634, 8vo, and are of little use in criticism.
3. Ambrosius, bishop of Milan in the fourth century, wrote numerous works including commentaries on Scripture, which were published by the Benedictines at Paris 1686, 1690, in two vols. folio. He has many quotations from the New Testament, but very few which are really useful, or from which the genuine text can be ascertained. Depending very much on the Greek interpreters, he must be classed on this account with those writers who belong to the Alexandrine school.
4. Ambrosiaster in the fourth century, is a name given to the writer of commentaries on Paul's epistles (except

that to the Hebrews). This writer, who was formerly thought to be Ambrose, is commonly supposed now to have been Hilary the deacon. If the text were more correctly edited, this work would be more serviceable in criticism. As it is, the Venice and Roman editions frequently differ; so that it is very difficult to discover the authentic reading of the author. When Scholz affirms that Hilary uses the Greek text of the Alexandrines and old Latin versions, he conveys a very erroneous impression. Passing over Ansbertus in the eighth century, and Apringius or Aprigius in the sixth, who are of no consequence, we come to

5. Arnobius, an African author, who wrote a treatise against the Gentiles in seven books, published by Orelli at Leipzig, 1816, two vols. 8vo. There are few scriptural quotations in it.
6. Augustine, bishop of Hippo, in the fourth century, quotes very many passages from the New Testament, but from the old Latin version, chiefly the Itala revision of it. The best edition of his works is the Benedictine, in eleven volumes folio, Paris 1679-1700.
7. Bede in the eighth century must have had the Greek text before him, for he gives the readings of Greek MSS. in many places, particularly in the Acts of the apostles, where he often agrees with E. (Cod. Laudianus in the Acts). His works were published at Cologne in eight volumes folio, 1688.
8. Caesarius of Arles, in the sixth century, wrote on moral subjects, and therefore his works are of little or no use in criticism. They are in Galland's Bibliotheca, vol. xi.
9. Cassian, belonging to the fifth century, did not write much that can be applied in criticism, though his works

are numerous, occupying a folio volume published at Frankfort in 1722.

10. Cassiodorus, in the sixth century, was a voluminous writer, and some of his works may be advantageously consulted by the critic, especially his short comments on the Acts, the Epistles, and Apocalypse.
11. Claudius, bishop of Turin in the ninth century, wrote commentaries on the greater part of the New Testament; but none have been published except that on the Galatian epistle.
12. Chromatius, bishop of Aquileia in the fifth century, wrote several homilies on the New Testament, printed in Galland's Bibliotheca, vol. viii. but unimportant in a critical view, as he used the Latin version.
13. Columbanus, a monk in the sixth century, wrote various treatises, &c. relating to monachism, of no consequence to critics.
14. Cyprian, bishop of Carthage in the third century, is too well known as an author to require any particular description in this place. In his works, which were best edited by Baluze and Prud. Maranus, Paris, 1726 folio, are found very many quotations from and allusions to the Scriptures. It would appear however that he usually cited from memory, or from the old Latin version current in Africa.
15. Epiphanius called *Scholasticus*, at the beginning of the sixth century, translated into Latin various Greek works.
16. Eucherius, bishop of Lyons in the fifth century, wrote several works, including homilies.
17. Fastidius, a British bishop in the fifth century, wrote a tract which was printed in the Bibliotheca of Galland. vol. ix.

18. Faustus, a Manichaean in the fourth century, wrote a book which Augustine quotes and refutes. It is of little or no use in criticism.
19. Faustinus, a presbyter at Rome in the fourth century, wrote on various theological subjects. His works are in Galland's Bibliotheca, vol. vii.
20. Facundus, an African bishop in the sixth century, wrote various treatises contained in Galland's Bibliotheca, vol. xi.
21. Julius Firmicus Maternus, in the fourth century, wrote a book on the falsehood of the pagan religions, which is included in Galland's Bibliotheca, vol. v.
22. Fulgentius, bishop of Ruspe, in Africa, at the beginning of the sixth century, wrote various theological works of some value, which are inserted in Galland's Bibliotheca, vol. xi.
23. Gaudentius, bishop of Brescia in the fourth century, wrote various discourses and tracts, which deserve to be collated. He quotes the old Latin version.
24. Nothing more than extracts remain of the treatises of Gildas of Britain in the sixth century which relate to Scripture. His only entire work now existing is *historical.*
25. Gregory the First, or the Great, a leading writer in the sixth century, followed the old Latin version without neglecting Jerome's revision of it. His numerous works, occupying four folio volumes, Paris 1705, contain many quotations from Scripture.
26. Haymo, bishop of Halberstadt in the ninth century, is the reputed author of Commentaries on Paul's Epistles and the Apocalypse, besides others on the Old Testament. But they are mere compilations from earlier writers.
27. Hieronymus or Jerome, in the fourth century, is well

known as the most learned of the fathers. His writings are of more importance in criticism than those of all the other Latin fathers together. He mostly used the Greek text, of which he had doubtless various MSS.; sometimes the old Latin version which he revised; and his own translation. The best edition of his works is that of Vallarsi in eleven volumes folio, Verona 1734-1742. We need scarcely say that they form an indispensable part of the apparatus required by a critic.

28. Hilary, bishop of Poitiers in the fourth century, wrote a number of theological treatises, in which are frequent references to Scripture. He used however the old Latin version. Scholz says that he had Greek MSS. before him; but as he was but imperfectly acquainted with Greek, this assertion may be doubted. His works were published by Scipio Maffei at Verona, in two volumes folio, 1730.

29. Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims in the ninth century, was a celebrated and leading writer in his day. In criticism however, his works are of little use.

30. Jacobus of Nisibis in the fourth century is said to have written the discourses and synodical letter inserted by Galland. in Armenian and Latin in his Bibliotheca, vol. v.

31. Juvencus of Spain, in the fourth century, wrote in poetry four books of evangelical history, inserted in Galland's Bibliotheca, vol. iv. He quotes the Latin version.

32. Lactantius, a native of Italy, who flourished in the fourth century, and an elegant Latin writer, composed his *Divine Institutions* in seven books. This and his other writings are in Galland's Bibliotheca, vol. iv. He used the old Latin version.

33. Leo, the first or great, bishop of Rome in the fifth century,

wrote many sermons and epistles, which have been best published by the brothers Ballerini at Verona, in three vols. folio, 1755-1757. He used the old Latin version.

34. Liberatus, archdeacon at Carthage in the sixth century, wrote his *Breviarium*, which may be consulted with advantage by the critic.

35. Lucifer, bishop of Cagliari in the fourth century, was the author of various theological treatises and epistles, which were published in the best form by the brothers Coleti in a folio volume at Venice 1778. The scriptural quotations in them are numerous and valuable. Lardner says that he has largely quoted the Acts, the epistle to the Hebrews, the second epistle of John, and almost the whole of Jude's epistle. Unquestionably he used the old Latin version. Whether he employed the Greek also is doubtful. The Alexandrine character of many of his readings may be accounted for without supposing him to have consulted the original.

36. Marius Mercator, a controversial writer of the fifth century, who opposed the Pelagian and Nestorian doctrines, has many scriptural quotations, but it seems that he used the Latin version. His works are in Galland's Bibliotheca, vol. viii.

37. Martin the First, bishop of Rome in the seventh century, wrote various epistles, some of which are extant and have been published, but they are of little use in criticism.

38. The works of Maximus bishop of Turin in the fifth century consist of short homilies, and are included in Galland's Bibliotheca, vol. ix. It is evident that he used the old Latin version.

39. Novatian, a Roman presbyter in the third century, wrote various theological treatises, in which are very few quotations from the New Testament, and those made

from memory. His works are contained in Galland's Bibliotheca, vol. iii.

40. Optatus, bishop of Milevi in the fourth century, wrote a polemic work against the Donatists, inserted in Galland. vol. v. He seems to have used the old Latin version.

41. Orosius, a Spanish presbyter belonging to the fifth century, is known as the author of a history and other works in Galland's Bibliotheca, vol. ix. He used nothing but the old Latin version.

42. Pacian, bishop of Barcelona in Spain in the fourth century, wrote various tracts and treatises, which are included in Galland's Bibliotheca, vol. vii.

43. Paulinus, bishop of Aquileia in the eighth century, was the author of various polemical works, which may be consulted with some benefit in criticism.

44. Pelagius, in the fourth century, wrote commentaries on the Pauline epistles (except that to the Hebrews), which are found in a very mutilated state among the works of Jerome. Sabatier refers to him under the name of the *Scholiast of Jerome.*

45. Philastrius was bishop of Brescia in the fourth century, and wrote a book respecting heresies in 150 chapters, which contains various quotations from the Scriptures, but in the old Latin version.

46. Phoebadius of Agen, in the fourth century, in his work against the Arians inserted by Galland. in the Bibliotheca, vol. v., quotes the old Latin version.

47. A work called Praedestinatus s. Praedestinatorum Haeresis, contains various unimportant scriptural quotations. It was once improperly ascribed to Vincentius of Lerins.

48. Primasius, an African bishop in the sixth century, wrote among other works a commentary on Paul's epistles, and an exposition of the Apocalypse.

49. Prosper of Aquitain, in the fifth century, used the old Latin version.

50. Prudentius of Spain, in the fourth and fifth centuries, was a poetical writer on religious subjects, of small ability.

51. Rufinus of Aquileia, belonging to the fourth and fifth centuries, wrote some histories, various commentaries and treatises, &c., which are not of much utility. He used the old Latin version.

52. Ruricius bishop of Limoges, belonging to the fifth century, wrote several epistles contained in Galland's Bibliotheca.

53. The works of Salvian, presbyter at Marseilles, belonging to the fifth century, are included in the Bibliotheca of Galland. vol. x. He used the old Latin version.

54. Sedulius, a writer and poet in the fifth century, is of no consequence in criticism.

55. Siricius, bishop of Rome in the fourth century, wrote various epistles which are contained in the Bibliotheca of Galland. vol. vii.

56. Tertullian of Carthage, in the third century, is too conspicuous a writer to require any lengthened notice here. In his various writings we see the form of the old Latin version as it was then circulated about Carthage; but his citations are made negligently, and not without alteration. His work against Marcion is useful in regard to the text of Luke's gospel; but it should be employed with great discrimination. The best edition is that of Semler published at Halle 1769-1773, 1776, completed in six volumes 8vo.

57. Tichonius, an African belonging to the fourth century, wrote rules for explaining Scripture, which are contained in Galland's Bibliotheca, vol. viii. A commentary on

the Apocalypse, quoted under his name, does not belong to him.

58. Valerian, a bishop in the maritime Alps, belonging to the fifth century, wrote homilies and an epistle inserted by Galland. in his Bibliotheca, vol. x.

59. Victor Vitensis, an African bishop of the fifth century, wrote a history of the persecutions in Africa under the Vandals; of little or no use in criticism.

60. Victor of Tunis, in the sixth century, wrote a *Chronicon*, part of which remains, and is inserted in Galland's Bibliotheca, vol. xii.

61. Victorinus Philosophus or the philosopher, an African by birth, belonging to the fourth century, wrote among other works, commentaries on the epistles of Paul and the Apocalypse. Those on the Galatians, Philippians, and Ephesians were first published by Mai, in the third volume of his *Scriptorum Veterum nova collectio*, p. 265, et seq.; and that on the latter is in Galland's Bibliotheca, vol. viii. As this writer used the old antehieronymian version, his commentaries which quote it are valuable in shewing the old Latin text of his day.

62. Vigilius of Tapsus in Africa, in the fifth century, is the author of numerous theological treatises. He used the old Latin version.

63. Zeno bishop of Verona, in the fourth century, also used the old Latin version in the sermons he wrote, which are found in Galland. vol. v.

64. Zosimus, bishop of Rome, who flourished in the fifth century, wrote epistles which are inserted by Galland. in his Bibliotheca, vol. ix.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THIS SOURCE.

This source of evidence has been decried by critics like

Matthaei, as if nothing certain or useful could be deduced from it. We do not share in this extreme opinion. Mill was right in using it even in opposition to the sentiments of his patron; and subsequent editors, not excepting Lachmann, have retained it as legitimate. The extent to which it should be employed, as well as the mode of its application, and the weight allowed to it, *may be* differently judged of, and *have been* variously determined; but the source itself has not been discarded or neglected. Taking it as a whole, it is not of so much weight or utility in criticism as MSS. Its authority is inferior to them. Codices occupy the first rank. Neither is it of the same consequence as the most ancient versions. We should not place it on an equality with them, for they occupy the next position to MSS. But quotations from the works of ecclesiastical and ancient writers constitute an evidence of themselves which has its determining value.

Yet comparatively little profit has hitherto accrued from this source of criticism. It has been unduly extended. Too many writers have been comprehended under it. It has been followed down to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. And besides, a multitudinous class of men have been collected and their works examined for the purpose. The consequence has been, that amid the vastness of the field little real culture of any one portion of it has taken place. All the writers have been very cursorily inspected. How indeed could it be otherwise? What critic can be supposed to have looked into the voluminous works of sixty or seventy authors? Can he be said to have *collated* them for readings? The thing is impossible. So far from this, hardly a single ancient writer has been yet examined as he ought to be, by a single scholar. We believe that too large a field was taken even by Mill and Wetstein. Griesbach's is also too great. In the hands of Scholz it swelled out to a greater extent—with what advantage to his text—let the text itself declare. And in Tischendorf's

edition, what a host of authors, Greek and Latin, is enumerated; few of whom he has ever looked at. It is therefore in compliance with the example of Griesbach, Scholz, and Tischendorf, rather than in consequence of our own conviction, that we have given the preceding list of writers. We believe that it should be *very materially* abridged in two respects. It should be curtailed in the centuries it embraces, as well as the number of writers contained in it. For, in the first place, the first five centuries are sufficient. The writers who belonged to them are by far the most important. All later ones might be dispensed with, except as several of them are necessary (ex. gr. Theophylact) to give us extracts from the leading fathers of more ancient times. And in the second place, a selection of *the most important* ecclesiastical authors in each century should be made. At present, obscure and unimportant ones are included, whose works are not worth the labour of a thorough examination. Having effected this necessary curtailment and so reduced the multitude to *the leading writers* of the first five centuries, the next thing requisite is to have each one carefully examined by one person. Let some *one* scholar undertake to collate *one* writer, in such a manner as that the writer shall not require a *recollation*, either for the purpose of extending the number of quotations discoverable in his works, or of correcting mistakes made with respect to those already procured. We want a *thorough collation* of each writer's works. To ensure greater accuracy, it is desirable that one person should confine himself to one author; but if he be competent and disposed to collate more, let him by all means do so. The sooner such satisfactory collations of all the chief writers are made, the better for criticism. Till now, New Testament criticism has been very deficient here. It has fared badly in this respect. The only approach to the thing recommended has been made by Griesbach, with regard to Origen. The labour which that immortal critic spent upon the works of the

Alexandrine father was immense. Had others done as much for other ancient writers, how different would have been the aspect of criticism in this department. But the example of Griesbach is a solitary one.

We trust that the influence of Lachmann's edition will lead to the abridgment we have recommended. There is no need to imitate the restriction of the Berlin philologian; nor would it be wise to do so. His range of authorities should be extended. But we are persuaded that he did right in breaking away from the current practice here, as he did in attempting to form a text irrespectively of the *textus receptus*. And we are much mistaken if the path he so boldly entered be not hereafter followed.

There is little doubt that the number of various readings derived from this source has been greatly multiplied from want of attention to the needful cautions and limitations. The list has been much augmented, owing to a variety of causes. Could we ascertain with certainty the reading which each ecclesiastical writer had in his copy at a particular place, the present heap would be diminished. It needs *sifting;* for it is doubtless replete with inaccuracies. Another plan must be adopted before it be in a right state.

In collecting readings from the works of the fathers, they must be distinguished into Greek and Latin, according to the languages they wrote in. Greater weight should be given to the former than to the latter, because they quoted from the Greek text itself, whereas, with some exceptions, the Latin writers quoted Scripture according to their established version, *i. e.* the *Latin*. The most ancient Latin fathers quoted the *versio vetus* in the particular recension of it which circulated in their district or which they preferred; the later ones were in the habit of quoting Jerome's revision of the old Latin, commonly called the *Vulgate*. Hence their citations are primarily and properly witnesses for the readings of the Latin version.

They bear on the original Greek text *indirectly;* not *primarily* and *directly* as the citations of Greek fathers who employed the original itself. Thus it is easy to perceive, that less value belongs to the citations of the Latin fathers, because the latter were generally unacquainted with the Greek text itself and used a Latin version. The same remark applies to the Syrian fathers. Ephrem employed a Syrian version. Perhaps he did not know Greek.

Among the Latin fathers, those deserve most attention who appear to have understood Greek, and to have been in the habit of consulting Greek copies. Here Jerome is a prominent example. Hilary of Poitiers may also be mentioned. Augustine had some knowledge of Greek; but he does not appear to have used Greek copies.

Rules have been given for making extracts from the writings of the fathers. But they are of little moment. Indeed they hardly deserve the name; for they are rather *cautions* to be observed by critics lest they go wrong. They are more of a *negative* than *positive* kind. We shall sum up in the following observations all that we believe to be useful on this topic. They are the best hints and suggestions which we have been able to put together as the result of reading and reflection. Though they may appear common-place, they are not to be despised. Plain as they are, they will approve themselves as pertinent:—

1. The best edition of each ecclesiastical writer should be used. This is of primary importance. There are correct editions; and there are corrupted ones. What is in all cases wanted is one critically and correctly edited from the best available MSS. Many have not been edited as they should. But the best existing one should be procured. There is little doubt that these writings have been altered in many cases, either by editors or copyists. They were made to agree with the text before the editors or copyists themselves, or with that

which they preferred No works have suffered so much as those of Chrysostom.

2. The readings found in the *most ancient* fathers should be preferred. But though antiquity has proportionately greater authority, there are limitations to it, especially in this instance, that ought not to be overlooked. There are circumstances which neutralise its value. The remaining monuments of the first two centuries are few. They also contain little that can be applied to critical purposes. And the writers of these centuries had little idea of a correct text, or the desirableness of revising it. They were very uncritical, allowing all kinds of glosses and changes to remain in the text, without solicitude.

3. The authors should be diligently considered as to *their learning* or erudition. The well-instructed fathers deserve more attention than the ignorant. Those whose attainments were respectable, whose habits were accurate, whose judgment was good, should be preferred. Nor should the creed of the church to which they belonged and the nature of the copies that prevailed in the region they inhabited be neglected. The natural abilities, acquired attainments, and theological atmosphere of the fathers must not be overlooked.

4. The great object is, to ascertain the reading which they actually found in the MSS. they used. The copies they possessed were more ancient than any now extant. Hence by means of their citations we may see older readings than we can obtain from any other source. But it is not easy in many instances to tell the particular reading contained in their copies. They often trusted to their memory in citation. By this means they committed mistakes in giving the words of Scripture. They also quoted *paraphrastically*, exhibiting *the general sense* of a passage rather than *the precise words*. Sometimes they have a mere allusion to a passage, a general reference, rather than a citation. They also *accommodated* passages to the pur-

port or thread of their discourse by changing them. Some they condensed; others they expanded. They quoted, too, part of a passage—such words only as related to the subject in question—which they incorporated with their own language. It is certain that they both *added* and *subtracted.* In some cases, critical conjecture was resorted to. Their own opinions were proposed.

These considerations will shew the difficulty of finding the *real, direct testimony* of the fathers with relation to varieties of reading. Allowance must be made for them by the critic. Lapses of memory, loose paraphrases or *allusions* rather than *citations properly so called*, the substitution of synonymous phrases for those employed by the sacred writers, additions, omissions, change of the order and construction observed in the original, all kinds of accommodation, as also emendations or conjectures, must be carefully attended to.

5. The different classes of writings should be attended to. There are *commentaries* or expositions of Scripture. There are also *polemical* treatises. There are likewise *practical* works intended for edification.

In regard to *commentaries*, it is indubitable that the author had a copy or copies of the New Testament before him from which he quoted accurately. This is specially the case when the words of Scripture are repeated and explained.* The same observation applies to all the sections of considerable length which we find among the writings of the fathers, not only their *exegetical*, but also their *doctrinal* and *polemical* ones. When the fathers wrote down these long lessons or Scripture paragraphs, they must have transcribed them from a copy they had before their eyes.†

Again, those quotations must be considered accurate which expressly appeal to MSS., or have a declaration associated

* See Griesbach's Dissertatio critica de codic. quat. evang. Orig. in his Opuscula by Gabler, vol. i. p. 278, et seq. † Ibid, p. 281, et seq.

with them to the effect of *such a reading and none other* being right.*

Still farther, quotations in which parallel passages are given and compared together, must be deemed accurate.†

If a passage be quoted oftener than once in the very same manner, we can hardly doubt of its being accurately cited. But if it be quoted differently in different places, that reading must be generally preferred which is found in the greater number of the citations.‡

If citations agree with ancient Greek MSS. still extant, it is clear that they were accurately extracted from copies accessible to the writer. The same holds good when they agree with ancient versions, or the citations of other ecclesiastical authors.§

Doctrinal and controversial works containing citations from Scripture do not generally furnish so much aid as exegetical ones. In polemical works especially, the fathers were not scrupulous or accurate in their use of Scripture. Not that this is always the case; for there are some who in handling controversial topics, or refuting erroneous tenets, shew very clearly what readings they found in their MSS.

Homilies and hortatory writings are of least use; for in them citations are usually loose and inaccurate. But some of the fathers, as Origen, were alike accurate in all their works, expository, controversial, or hortatory.

6. The omission of a passage in the works of the fathers does not always shew that it was wanting in the copies used. We must not rashly conclude from their silence that these authors were ignorant of any particular reading, or that they judged it spurious. Yet the silence of the fathers generally respecting an *important* passage renders it suspicious, as in the case of 1 John v. 7.

* See Griesbach's Dissertatio critica de codic. quat. evang. Orig. in his Opuscula by Gabler, vol. i. p. 285, et seq. † Ibid, p. 286, et seq.
‡ Ibid, p. 292, et seq. § Ibid, p. 294, et seq.

7. When the same passage is quoted in the same manner by *many* fathers, the evidence is strong that the passage is genuine, as they exhibit it. The evidence becomes stronger in proportion to the *number* and *character* of the writers, as well as the *number* and *character* of consenting MSS. and versions.

8. It is hazardous to admit a reading as authentic which is destitute of any other authority than that of ecclesiastical writers.

It is usual to class the writings of the heretics and enemies of Christianity along with those of the fathers. And they are rightly so placed. With due restrictions and caution, the same rules are applicable to them. This is true of the *Acts of councils*, which have also been applied to criticism. Perhaps however the last mentioned writings have been oftenest tampered with by transcribers and editors.

We had thought of appending examples to the preceding remarks, but want of space compels us to forbear. In the meantime Griesbach's essays may be referred to for illustrations.* None has investigated the writings of Origen with equal care. We may also send the reader to Wetstein's treatise *Libelli ad crisin atque interpretationem Novi Testamenti*, edited by Semler, along with the latter's review of Bengel's *Introductio ad Crisin*.† In regard to Irenaeus, Michaelis's *Tractatio critica de variis lectionibus Novi Testamenti*, &c. is valuable.‡ But the study of Griesbach's *Symbolae criticae* with his *Commentarius criticus*, is the best preparation for him who desires intelligently to apply this source of criticism to the emendation of the text. None had more sagacity than Griesbach in this department; and we need not say that sagacity and judgment are important qualifications in a critic.

* Dissertatio Critica de codicibus quatuor evangeliorum Origenianis, in Griesbach's Opuscula by Gabler, vol. i. p. 226, et seq.

† Published along with Ridley's Dissertation on Syriac versions, in 1766, at Halle.

‡ See pp. 21-26.

CHAPTER LIV.

CRITICAL CONJECTURE.

ANOTHER source of correction is said to be *critical conjecture.*

In the New Testament, critical conjecture has been very little exercised. This is as it should be. There is no need for it there. We have many distinct MSS.; and wherever one is defective, the parts wanting may be supplied from another. Ancient versions also, belonging to different countries and ages are at our disposal, from which we may gather the original text. Quotations in the writings of the fathers are within reach. Thus the materials for procuring a correct, unadulterated text are abundant. With these immense resources now readily accessible, it would be unwise to give scope to ingenuity, or to set bare presumptions above the legitimate sources of emendation. Critical conjecture is rendered wholly superfluous by the very copious array of *proper resources*—so copious, that it will never desert the critic, or leave him at a loss in determining the reading of a particular passage. We do not believe that the true reading has been lost from all existing documents, in any one instance. The thing is at least very improbable.

It is worthy of remark, that none of the critical editors sanction the adoption of conjectural emendations into the text. Even Bentley proposed to exclude them, for he says,—"The

author is very sensible, that in the Sacred Writings there's no place for conjectures or emendations. Diligence and fidelity, with some judgment and experience, are the characters here requisite. He declares therefore that he does not alter one letter in the text without the authorities subjoin'd in the notes." Griesbach in his edition of the Greek Testament was equally scrupulous in refraining from hazarding any conjectures in regard to the text; and later editors have followed his example.

But although it is unnecessary, and therefore improper, to change the Greek words without authority, we may freely put forth our judgment in regard to accents, marks of aspiration, and punctuation, since these formed no part of the primitive text. Here editors have followed their own views. Chapters, paragraphs, verses, clauses, may be very different in different editions, for they are simply matters of opinion on the part of an editor.

If the reader wishes to see the principal conjectures that have been put forth in regard to the New Testament text, he must consult the second volume of Bowyer's Greek Testament, printed in 1763, which has at the end 178 pages containing "Conjectural emendations on the New Testament, collected from various authors." Along with this work he may also take Knapp's edition of the Greek Testament, which has at the end a *sylloge* or collection of the more remarkable and celebrated conjectures, and Michaelis's section, in which he proposes several critical conjectures.* We venture to affirm, that a perusal of these works will do much to shew the uselessness and absurdity of speculating on the subject. The *nature* of the conjectures there given proceeding from good scholars, as they do for the most part, will teach the ridiculousness of forsaking *documents* for such improbabilities. *Difficulty in interpretation* has usually led to them. But it is

* Introduction to the N. T. translated by Marsh, vol. ii. p. 402.

better to interpret a passage as well as we can, or to confess our inability to explain it, than have recourse to the expedient in question.

The following may be taken as examples of conjecture :—

In Acts xv. 20, 29 occurs the puzzling word πορνείας, *fornication*—puzzling we mean in relation to its connection with the other particulars specified. Hence some have thought that the original may have been πορκείας, *swine's flesh*. This requires the alteration of no more than a single letter, and is more plausible than χοιρείας, which has the same meaning. If we were ever inclined to look with favour on a conjectural emendation in the Greek Testament, it was on the former of these two. But no document has it, and it must therefore be discarded.

More mischievous, because proceeding apparently from a theological bias, is the conjecture of Schlichting, approved by Crell and Taylor, of ὢν ὁ ἐπί instead of ὁ ὢν ἐπί in the epistle to the Romans ix. 5. Harwood, in the note to his Greek Testament, calls this "an ingenious conjecture which makes a grand and magnificent climax," but as he candidly allows, it is wholly unsupported.

Of the same kind as the last is Crell's θεοῦ instead of θεὸς in John i. 1, prompted by theological prejudice.

Ἐφρών for Ἐμμόρ is the conjecture of Grotius in Acts vii. 16.

In 1 Corinth. xv. 29, the difficult phrase βαπτιζόμενοι ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν is sought to be evaded by the conjecture of Valckenaer, βαπτιζόμενοι ἀπ' ἔργων νεκρῶν. This is approved by Venema and others.

In the "Remarks upon a late Discourse of free-thinking" by Bentley, we find him throwing out the conjecture of προσέχει, προσέχεται, or προσίσχεται for προσέρχεται in 1 Timothy vi. 3. In the same place he also speaks of ἀσελγειῶν instead of ἀσεβειῶν, Jude 18.*

* See pages 72, 73, sixth edition.

CHAPTER LV.

CRITICAL RULES.

In addition to *external* evidence, *internal* must not be overlooked. Without this it is impossible to prevent the existence of a merely diplomatic or historical criticism which confines itself to a limited range of evidence. Readings must be judged on internal grounds. One can hardly avoid doing so. It is natural and almost unavoidable. It must be admitted indeed that the choice of readings on internal evidence is liable to abuse. Arbitrary caprice may characterise it. It may degenerate into simple *subjectivity*. But though the temptation to misapply it be great, it must not be laid aside. Intuitive sagacity and tact have their value, when kept in due restraint and subordinated to other considerations of a more definite kind. While allowing superior weight to the external sources of evidence, we feel the pressing necessity of the subjective. Here, as in other instances, the objective and subjective should accompany and modify one another. They cannot be rightly separated.

The internal grounds by which the originality of readings is perceived have been divided into various kinds. Thus De Wette speaks of *Exegetico-critical*, *historico-critical*, and *such as arise out of a writer's characteristic peculiarities.** But it is

* Einleitung, p. 80, et seq.

simpler to speak of all under one head, without minute distinction. We shall therefore describe them all as *internal grounds* by which the genuine reading of a passage may be determined.

1. Those readings should be rejected which yield no meaning, or an improper one. The connexion is regarded as the criterion in judging of what has no sense or an unsuitable one. But here great caution is needed, lest a reading be thought to give no meaning, or an improper one, when that is only its *apparent* character. Thus De Wette pronounces Lachmann's form of the text in Matt. xxi. 28-31 senseless, when it is really not so.* On the contrary, it appears to be the original reading. A *true* example is furnished by the received reading in Romans vii. 6, viz. ἀποθανόντος in the genitive, instead of ἀποθανόντες. Our English translators have in vain endeavoured to make sense of the genitive. Another is found in Romans v. 14, viz. ἐπὶ τοὺς ἁμαρτήσαντας instead of μὴ ἁμαρτήσαντας. In the same manner 1 John v. 7 disturbs the connection and mars the general sense of the context, as Porson has shown.†

2. The mode of writing characteristic of the sacred authors may be used as a test in judging of the original reading. The one most in accordance with the practice of a writer should be preferred. Thus in Matt. xii. 14 the reading adopted by Lachmann and Tischendorf ἐξελθόντες δὲ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι συμβούλιον ἔλαβον κατ' αὐτοῦ is better than that of the received text, because it is in conformity with i. 24; ii. 3; iv. 12; viii. 10, 14, 18; ix. 4, 8, 9, 11, 19; xii. 25; xv. 21, 29; xvi. 5, 8, 13; xvii. 6; xviii. 27, 28, 31, 34. In xix. 3; xxvi. 17 αὐτῷ is rightly omitted after λέγων, since Matthew does not employ in such cases the dative of the person or persons addressed. In John xiii. 24, τίς ἐστιν is preferable to τίς ἂν εἴη, be-

* Einleitung, p. 80, et seq. † Letters to Travis, p. 397, et seq.

cause John does not use the optative. In 1 Corinth. vi. 2, ἢ οὐκ οἴδατε is preferable to οὐκ οἴδατε (Comp. Romans ix. 21; xi. 2; 1 Corinth. vi. 9, 16, 19, κ. τ. λ.)

In the application of this canon, it should be recollected that the practice of each author is not very fixed or definite. His *general* mode of writing may be perceived and defined, without including minute details. Allowance should also be made for fluctuation, arising doubtless from the feeling of freedom inherent in the mind. The sacred writers indulged in the license and variety natural to others; and as they were unconscious of restraint, their style was somewhat shifting. They were not tied down with rigorous uniformity to set phrases or modes of expression; and therefore the rule before us must not be *pressed.*

3. That reading should be regarded as genuine from which all the others may be naturally and easily derived. Thus in 1 Timothy iii. 16, if ὅς were the true reading, the alteration of it into θεός would readily suggest itself to those who knew that the *mystery of godliness* related to the *Divine Word.* And ὅς naturally gave rise to ὅ the neuter, for the sake of grammatical accuracy. But if θεός were the original reading, it is difficult to understand why or how ὅς could come into the mind of critics and transcribers. Still more difficult is it to imagine ὅ giving rise to θεός or ὅς. Hence by this canon ὅς should be preferred.

4. The more difficult and obscure reading should be preferred to the plainer and easier one. Hence we prefer ὁ ὀργιζόμενος τῷ ἀδελφῷ in Matt. v. 22, without εἰκῇ; and οὔπω γὰρ ἦν πνεῦμα in John vii. 39, without δεδομένον or any other addition. For the same reason, we prefer the common reading πάντες οὐ κοιμηθησόμεθα· πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγησόμεθα, 1 Corinth. xv. 51, to that adopted by Lachmann, or to any form of the passage. So too in Matt. xxi. 7, ἐπεκάθισεν ἐπάνω αὐτῶν is preferable to

ἐπάιω αὐτοῦ, the latter having apparently arisen from the desire to avoid the difficulty of referring the pronoun to the two animals ὄνος and πῶλος.

5. Harsher readings, that is, such as contain ellipses, Hebraisms, and solecisms are to be preferred to purer ones. Thus δικαιοσύνη is better than ἐλεημοσύνη in Matt. vi. 1. So too ἡ λέγουσα in Rev. ii. 20 is better than τὴν λέγουσαν. In 2 Corinth. viii. 4, the reading δέξασθαι ἡμᾶς, at the end of the verse is an elliptical supplement, which should not be received into the genuine text.

6. Unusual readings should be preferred to those containing usual forms or words. Thus κρυφαίῳ in Matt. vi. 18 is preferable to κρυπτῷ. In like manner ἐσκυλμένοι, not ἐκλελυμένοι, is the right reading in Matt. ix. 36. From this it appears that the canon which is commonly applied to other books can hardly be followed here, viz. that *grammatical accuracy* or *propriety* must be used as a test. The style of the New Testament writers is not strictly grammatical, and therefore it should not be judged by the ordinary rules of grammarians. The critic must be sparing in choosing readings for their correctness or elegance in a grammatical view, else later ones will be adopted. The same holds good of rhetorical grounds, which are also a fallacious test of originality. We should not expect rhetorical elegance, or conformity to the rules observed by polished authors, in the writers of the New Testament. Propriety of sequence, completeness of delineation, fulness and rotundity of style, were qualities unstudied by the sacred penmen. They were not solicitous about sentences constructed according to the precise forms of human rhetoric. Hasty, imperfect, and negligent constructions are found in them. This being the case, it becomes a matter of some moment to forbear deciding on the genuineness of readings by grammatical accuracy or rhetorical propriety, for it happens in not a few instances that the test in question would mislead. Accordingly

we do not agree with those editors who expunge the second ἔτι in Romans v. 6. Lachmann is right in retaining it. Neither should the clause in Romans xi. 6, εἰ δὲ ἐξ ἔργων, οὐκέτι ἐστὶ χαρις· ἐπεὶ τὸ ἔργον οὐκέτι ἐστὶν ἔργον, which corresponds to the preceding one, and makes the sentence full and complete, be retained as genuine. We should also expunge ἐν τῷ φανερῷ in Matt. vi. 18, and ἀργούς in xx. 6.

7. Unemphatic readings are preferable to emphatic. Thus in the epistle to the Ephesians v. 30, the true reading is ὅτι μέλη ἐσμὲν τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ, without ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὀστέων αὐτοῦ. In Mark v. 12, πάντες before οἱ δαίμονες should be expunged. So in Luke vi. 38 ᾧ γὰρ μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε is preferable to τῷ γὰρ αὐτῷ μέτρῳ ᾧ μετρεῖτε.

8. The shorter reading is to be preferred to the longer in cases where the latter furnishes suspicion of being an explanatory insertion. Thus from ἀμὴν to ἐκείνῃ in Mark vi. 11 should be expunged from the text. The same should be done to the eleventh verse of Matthew xviii. In the tenth verse of the same chapter, the reading οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτῶν διὰ παντὸς βλέπουσι κ. τ. λ. is preferable to οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ διὰ παντὸς κ. τ. λ.

9. Readings which favour ascetic or monkish piety are suspicious. On this ground we are inclined to prefer the reading μακάριοι οἱ πλύνοντες τὰς στολὰς αὐτῶν in Rev. xxii. 14 to μακάριοι οἱ ποιοῦντες τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ. Hence perhaps πρῶτον was omitted in some documents, Matt. vi. 33.

10. Readings which strongly favour orthodox opinions are suspicious. Hence θεὸς in 1 Timothy iii. 16 was made out of ὅς. 1 John v. 7 may also be referred to this head. So too θεὸν inserted in the fourth verse of Jude's epistle. Perhaps the reading θεὸς in John i. 18 instead of υἱὸς belongs here.

11. Readings which yield a sense *apparently* false should be preferred to those which seem more suitable. Thus δεκατεσσάρων should not give place to τεσσάρων in Gal. ii. 1. Ὁ ὕστερος

in Matt. xxi. 31 is preferable to ὁ πρῶτος. Hence the common reading in Matt. xxvii. 9 should not be disturbed. The same remark applies to Acts vii. 15, 16.

These rules, it should be observed, are never to be used by themselves. They are to be applied only where the external evidence is divided, and nearly equally balanced. Where there is reason for doubting on which side external testimonies preponderate, the internal considerations now stated may serve to turn the scale to a certain side. They are not *absolute* rules or *unqualified* canons. If they were, they would be inconsistent with one another. Thus Nos. 3 and 7 seem not to agree when looked at simply *per se*. The utmost caution and care must be used in applying them. Many limitations guide, modify, and restrain their operation. Context, parallels, historical circumstances, an intimate acquaintance with the characteristic developments of sentiment, phraseology, constructions, use of particles, &c. in each particular writer, accompany their exercise. Intuitive sagacity and tact are important qualities in securing their successful use. Much depends on the mind of him who employs them. Critical feeling or sensibility is of importance. Griesbach made a good use of them on the whole. Few critics however can employ them with a judiciousness equal to his.

We may farther remark, that the canons or considerations now described are capable of reduction to a very few. Thus from the fifth till the last are virtually contained in the fourth. They are deducibles from the fourth, or rather the expansion of it into particulars.

We have already given rules for estimating the individual witnesses belonging to each class of testimony, viz. to MSS., versions, the quotations of the fathers; to which have now been added critical canons of an internal nature. It remains for us to look at them together. We have to do with them conjointly, and not singly. The classes have not only a

separate but a relative value towards one another. Considering them *together*, it may be asked how they should be adjusted and disposed.

The first place belongs to ancient, uninterpolated, good, Greek copies. Their authority is paramount. From them chiefly should the text be derived. The nearer their testimony approaches to unanimity, the greater certainty belongs to it. And the authority of *ancient* MSS. is unquestionably superior to that of the modern, though the number of the latter is very much greater. Whoever undertakes to edit the Greek Testament should form his text *mainly* from the oldest and best MSS., disregarding the mass of cursive ones.

Where ancient MSS. are not unanimous in a reading, or the right text is doubtful, it is necessary to consult the earliest and most critical of the fathers; and when they expressly quote or comment upon a reading, or speak of its being in MSS. in their time, much weight attaches to their testimony. Greek fathers who belong to this class, such as Origen and Jerome who knew and used Greek copies, may be put on a level with the oldest and best MSS.

The testimony of ancient versions is valuable in doubtful cases, especially where the manifest goodness of the reading proves that the variety has not been caused by a blunder of the translator. What versions are most useful in shewing is, the insertion or omission of members of sentences and important words.

Next to versions in point of value come the bare and casual quotations of the fathers, or the express and unquestionable quotations of those who are later than the fifth century. It is not often that the true reading cannot be determined by means of the ancient MSS., aided by versions and the quotations of the fathers. When the three sources are combined, they are usually sufficient to indicate pretty clearly the genuine text. Yet there are cases where other considerations

are desirable. Internal canons may be fairly applied, after some hesitation is felt in settling the text on the basis of external evidence. Indeed these critical rules should be taken *along with* the external testimonies. They should guide and influence judgments based on external documents. If it be thought they are not *necessary*, they are at least highly desirable.

With these general statements, we shall proceed to consider various cases of doubtful reading. Examples will be of more benefit than rules; for the latter can only be expressed in general terms. Minute limitations cannot be conveniently given, since they arise out of particular cases. In all doubtful instances, we are disposed to rely on the most ancient and best MSS., rejecting readings found *only* in modern copies, weighing the congruities or incongruities of such as are supported by *the most important* testimony, and deciding accordingly. We do not affirm that the *most ancient* MSS. may not contain an incorrect reading. Doubtless they agree in various false ones. But versions, quotations, and internal congruity will serve to point out the mistakes in question.

CHAPTER LVI.

CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF PASSAGES.

HAVING described the various sources whence criticism derives a correct text, we shall now allude to the most remarkable passages in the New Testament whose authenticity has been disputed. There are several such places, about which critics have entertained conflicting opinions. By discussing these, the mode in which the sources already described may be applied will be seen, and the way in which their comparative merits should be adjusted. When one is put in possession of all the evidence, he will be able to judge himself of those portions, without the uncertainty of having to rely on the reports of others.

1 *Timothy* iii. 16.

Καὶ ὁμολογουμένως μέγα ἐστὶν τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον, θεὸς· ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί, ἐδικαιώθη ἐν πνεύματι, ὤφθη ἀγγέλοις, ἐκηρύχθη ἐν ἔθνεσιν, ἐπιστεύθη ἐν κόσμῳ, ἀνελήφθη ἐν δόξῃ.

"And without controversy, great is the mystery of godliness; God was manifest in the flesh, justified in the spirit, seen of angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory."

This passage has given rise to much discussion. There are three different readings of it, which are supposed materially to affect the sense.

1. One reading is, ὃς ἐφανερώθη.

2. A second is, ὃ ἐφανερώθη.

3. The common reading is, θεὸς ἐφανερώθη.

Let us consider the evidence in favour of each—

1. This is supported by A. *a prima manu*, by C. *a prima manu*, F. G. 17, 73, 181.

A. The controversy respecting the original reading of this MS. is now settled. It is matter of history. It has been ascertained beyond a doubt that it must have had ος at first. The present reading indeed is $\overline{\Theta\text{C}}$ or θεός, but the two transverse lines, one in ο, making it Θ or Theta, the other above, marking a contraction, proceeded from another hand than the original transcriber. The line above is thick and clumsy compared with the slenderer and more graceful strokes made by the copyist; the same is the case with the transverse stroke in ο. Both too differ in the colour of the ink from the rest of the word. But Young, Wotton, Mill, Croyk, Berriman, Woide, Grabe, who saw the MS. when it was less worn and faded than it is now, believed that its original reading was θεός. On the other hand, Wetstein, Hempelius, Porson, Griesbach, Tischendorf, Tregelles, and many who have carefully examined it in recent times, believe that it had ὃς at first. We think that the more intently it is looked at with the naked eye and with powerful glasses by such as are skilled in matters of the kind, the conclusion will appear the more clear that its real reading was ὃς.

C. or Cod. *Ephraemi*.

The original reading of this MS. was also formerly disputed. Woide, Weber, and Parquoi, were in favour of θεός; Wetstein and Griesbach of ὃς. The arguments of Griesbach are valid and convincing.* If anything was wanting in them to prove that ος was the first writing, it was supplied by Tischendorf, who has had most to do with C. He has

* Symbolae Criticae, vol. i. pp. 8-28.

shewn very clearly that both the middle line of O and the line above ΘC are so drawn and have such an appearance as to betray a later hand than the first. Both lines were made by the second corrector.* Tregelles coincides with Tischendorf in believing that OC was the primitive reading.

In regard to G. or the *codex Boernerianus*, it certainly reads ὃς not ὅ. Nor is there the least trace in its text of any other reading than OC, as any one may see by consulting Matthaei's edition of it, which has a fac-simile of this very passage.

As to F. *Cod. Augiensis*, it is not a transcript of G. as has sometimes been stated. The idea of resolving its testimony into that of G. because it has OC after G. altered, is absurd. G. has not been changed from O to OC; and F. is not a copy of G.

These observations will shew that Griesbach rightly quoted G. and F. as supporting the reading OC.

It is in the Gothic version. The later Syriac in the margin, the Memphitic, and Sahidic seem also to have had it. But attempts have been made to explain away the evidence of the margin of the Philoxenian, the Memphitic and Sahidic versions. Thus Henderson asserts,† that the marginal ܘܣ in the later Syriac was only intended more definitely to mark ܐܠܗܐ, *God* as the immediate antecedent to the verb, and quotes various passages in the version where ܘܣ ܐܠܗܐ occurs, *God who*. But this is not apposite. Whenever a marginal (not a textual) ܘܣ can be quoted in favour of this position, we shall consider the matter; but till then we must abide by the plain fact that ܘܣ was meant to stand as another reading for the one in the text.

In opposition to the testimony of the Memphitic and Sahidic for ὃς, Laurence simply *asserts* that "they more probably use

* Prolegomena in Cod. Ephrem. Rescript. p. 39, et seq.

† In the American Biblical Repository for 1832, p. 34.

a relative connected with an antecedent expressive of the word *mystery*, in precise conformity with the Vulgate, for in both the Coptic and Sahidic the word *mystery* is decidedly proved to be *masculine* by the definitive article masculine in one case, and the prefix in the other, so that the subsequent relative occurs of course in the same gender." After this the learned archbishop proceeds,—"Having thus *proved* that the Coptic, the Sahidic, &c. do not necessarily read ὃς but most probably ὅ, &c. &c."* This is a curious way of *proving* a thing, by simply *asserting* the thing *to be proved*. In fact, not the slightest particle of proof is offered for ὅ in preference to ὃς. It is *possible* that the two versions in question read ὅ, but we believe it far more likely that they had the masculine ὃς. The relative pronoun in both is *masculine;* and though the antecedent representing the word *mystery* be masculine also, yet that is rather in favour of ὃς than ὅ, because a word might be chosen for *mystery* of *the masculine* gender on purpose to have it agree in gender with the relative pronoun.

Among the fathers, it is supported by Cyril of Alexandria who writes thus:—πλανᾶσθε, μὴ εἰδότες τὰς γραφάς· μήτε μὴν τὸ μέγα τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον, τουτέστιν Χριστὸν ὃς ἐφανερώθη, κ. τ. λ.

And a little after: εἰ γὰρ ἄν οὐχ' ἕτερον οἶμαι τί τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον, ἢ αὐτὸς ἡμῖν ὁ ἐκ θεοῦ πατρὸς λόγος, ὃς ἐφανερώθη, κ. τ. λ.†

"Ye err not knowing the Scriptures, nor indeed the great mystery of godliness that is Christ who was manifested in the flesh," &c.

"For I think the mystery of godliness can be nothing else than our very Logos himself, who proceeded from God the Father, who was manifested," &c.

This passage appears to us to favour ὃς rather than ὅ. It shews very clearly that Cyril did not read θεός.

* Remarks on Griesbach's classification of MSS. pp. 78, 79.

† Opera, ed. Aubert, vol. v. part ii. p. 6, §§ 7, 8.

In like manner the same father reads ὅς in his explanation of the second Anathematism. It is true that Aubert, the editor of his works, has in that place θεὸς; but it has been clearly shewn by Wetstein and Griesbach that ὅς is the true reading, because it is found in the MSS. of Cyril and in catenae.

In his first oration on the orthodox faith, the same father writes: καὶ ὁμολογουμένως, κ. τ. λ. θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί. Τίς ὁ ἐν σαρκὶ φανερωθείς; ἢ δῆλον ὅτι πάντη τε καὶ πάντως ὁ ἐκ θεοῦ πατρὸς λόγος, κ. τ. λ. And immediately after: καὶ οὔτε που φάμεν; ὅτι καθ' ἡμᾶς ἄνθρωπος ἁπλῶς, ἀλλ' ὡς θεὸς ἐν σαρκὶ, καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς γεγονώς.*

"And confessedly, &c. God was manifested in the flesh. Who was it that was manifested in the flesh? Is it not obvious that it was he who is absolutely and entirely the Word proceeding from God the Father? &c. We do not say that he was simply a man as we are, but as if God in the flesh, and born like us."

Here again Cyril has been altered, for the very context proves that he did not read θεὸς but ὅς. Aubert has followed interpolated MSS. in this case also, as Griesbach has shewn.†

Henceforth let not the advocates of θεὸς adduce Cyril in their favour; for it is clear that he is against that reading. He may be quoted for ὅς. Printed editions of his works *do* exhibit θεὸς; but from MSS. and other sources we conclude that his language has been altered. If he read θεὸς, why did he not appeal to 1 Timothy iii. 16 against the emperor Julian who denied that Jesus was ever called *God* by Paul? He could not have overlooked a reading so much to his purpose. Yet he never adduces θεὸς from this passage against Julian. Nor does he appeal to it against Nestorius, which we must believe he would have done had he read it, for it must have been very effective against his great adversary.

* Opera, ed. Aubert, vol. v. part ii. p. 124.

† Symbolae Criticae, vol. i. p. 52.

And if θεὸς were the original reading, how comes it that it was not quoted by the fathers against the Arians, after the commencement of the Arian controversy. It cannot be shewn that Athanasius himself ever cited it, though it be so apposite.

It is probable that Clement of Alexandria also read ὅς. We find the following from him in Œcumenius: ὦ μυστήριον· μεθ' ἡμῶν εἶδον οἱ ἄγγελοι τὸν Χριστόν. "O the mystery. The angels saw Christ with us." The context of this passage clearly shews that Clement could not have had θεός. He probably read ὅς, like the other Alexandrine fathers. It is true that the words quoted do not *exactly determine* whether he read ὅς or ὅ; but they *favour* the former. And yet they have been quoted to shew that Clement *clearly* read the text with the neuter relative!

Origen has Ἐὰν δὲ ὁ ἐμὸς Ἰησοῦς ἐν δόξῃ ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι λέγηται.*

"If my *Jesus* is said to have been taken up to glory."

In another work, the same writer is made to say in the Latin version by Rufinus—"Is qui verbum caro factus apparuit positus in carne, sicut apostolus dicit, quia manifestatus est carne, justificatus, etc."†

"He who became flesh as the Word appeared in the flesh, as the apostle says—'he who was manifested in the flesh (reading qui for quia), &c. &c.'"

There can be little doubt that this passage favours the reading ὅς.

An excerpt in Latin from a work of Theodore of Mopsuestia is given in the Acts of the council of Constantinople, where the reading ὅς is found. Jerome on Isaiah liii. 11 also supports it. Pseudo-Chrysostom has also been cited for the same.‡

* Contra Cels. Lib. iii. sect. 31, Opp. vol. i. Benedictine edition, p. 467.

† Comment. in epist. ad Roman. cap. i. 2.

‡ In a treatise printed in the Benedictine edition of Chrysostom, vol. x. p. 764.

Gelasius of Cyzicus, in the Acts of the council of Nice, may also be quoted for the same. Epiphanius has it twice. In like manner it is highly probable that Chrysostom read ὅς, though all printed editions of his works make him read θεός. Editors have tampered with his text; as was not uncommon. He has suffered greatly in his citations from Scripture; his homilies being so often transcribed. In any case it can be shewn that Chrysostom did not read θεὸς as he is made to do in the printed editions of his works. No reliance can be placed on the *cited words of the text*, as that text interspersed among his commentaries, was continually modernised by copyists. Thus while we read in Montfaucon's edition of his works* . . . . εἰς ἕτερον ἀνάγει τὸ ῥᾶγμα, λέγων, θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκὶ τουτέστιν ὁ δημιουργὸς ὤφθη, φησὶν, ἐν σαρκί; the same passage stands in Cramer's catena:† εἰς ἕτερον ἀνάγει τὸ ῥᾶγμα· ὅτι "ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί," δημιουργὸς ὢν· ὄντως μέγα τὸ μυστήριον, πανταχοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἠκούσθη καὶ ἐπιστεύθη τοῦτο· μὴ γὰρ νομίσῃς ἁπλῶς ῥήματα εἶναι ψιλὰ, ὤφθη φησὶν ἐν σαρκί. Here θεὸς has grown out of ὅτι. Henceforth therefore Chrysostom should not be cited for θεός. And if he did not read thus, he must have had ὅς or ὅ, probably the former.

It would also appear that Liberatus, Victor, and Hincmar had MSS. which read ὅς; or at least they regarded θεὸς as a late reading, since they affirm that Macedonius of Constantinople, who lived under the emperor Anastasius at the beginning of the sixth century, changed ὅς into θεός.

A good deal has been written respecting the statements of these witnesses against Macedonius. And it must be confessed that their testimony is of little value, though Sir Isaac Newton laid great stress upon it. Considerations have been adduced which go far to shew the improbable circumstances mixed up with the story. Macedonius doubtless preferred θεὸς

* Vol. xi. p. 606. † Page 31.

as the reading, and may have attempted to alter ὅς into θεὸς in some copies; but it is very unlikely that he was deposed and expelled from Constantinople for the alteration in question. It is not likely that the story is *wholly* baseless; but that it is largely fictitious we fully believe. All that can be safely inferred from it is, that the witnesses in question reckoned ὅς a prior reading to θεὸς; and that they may have had it in documents before them.

The following have also been thought to favour ὅς, though several of them might equally perhaps apply to ὅ.

Barnabas writes, Ἴδε, πάλιν Ἰησοῦς οὐχ' ὁ υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου, ἀλλ' ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, τύπῳ καὶ ἐν σαρκὶ φανερωθείς.*

The epistle to Diognetus usually printed with Justin's works, has ἀπέστειλε λόγον ἵνα κόσμῳ φανῇ, ὃς ὑπὸ λαοῦ ἀτιμασθείς, διὰ ἀποστόλων κηρυχθείς, ὑπὸ ἐθνῶν ἐπιστεύθη.†

Gregory of Nyssa says, τὸ μυστήριον ἐν σαρκὶ ἐφανερώθη· καλῶς τοῦτο λέγων· οὗτος ὁ ἡμέτερος λόγος.‡

Basil writes, τοῦ μεγάλου μυστηρίου ὅτι ὁ κύριος ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί. καὶ ἀθετοῦντας τοῦ μεγάλου μυστηρίου τὴν χάριν τοῦ σεσιγημένου μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνων, φανερωθέντος δὲ καιροῖς ἰδίοις· ὅτε ὁ κύριος, κ. τ. λ. ——————αὐτὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί, κ. τ. λ.§

Both these last testimonies certainly favour ὅς.

Didymus: "Secundum quod dictum est: manifestatur in carne."‖

Theodotus: ὁ σωτὴρ ὤφθη κατιὼν τοῖς ἀγγέλοις διοτι καὶ εὐηγγελίσαντο αὐτόν.¶

Nestorius: τὸ ἐν τῇ Μαρίᾳ γεννηθέν . . . . ἐφανερώθη γάρ, φησίν, ἐν σαρκὶ ἐδικαιώθη ἐν πνεύματι.**

* Epistola, cap. xii. † Page 501, ed. Colon. 1686.
‡ Antirrhet. advers. Apollinar. p. 138.
§ Opp. Benedictine edition, vol. iii. p. 401, epist. 261. ‖ In 1 Joann. 4.
¶ Epitom. xviii. vol. ii. p. 973, in Clement's works by Potter.
** Ap. Arnob. junior.

2. ὅ is supported by the following documents and authorities :—

It is in D. *a prima manu.*

It is also in the old Latin and the Vulgate. The old Syriac may have had ὅς as well as ὅ, since the relative ? *Dolath* applies equally to the masculine and neuter genders. The Syriac noun for μυστήριον is masculine, and therefore *Dolath* may be considered masculine in this place; but that does not help us, since the Syriac noun means nothing else than *mystery.* On the whole it is impossible to decide whether it had ὅς or ὅ. Henderson's reasoning to shew that it may have had θεὸς equally well as ὅ, is a piece of special pleading undeserving of notice;* and the attempt of Laurence to shew that ὅ *not* ὅς is favoured by the version, proves a failure.† To say that μυστήριον, or its Syriac representative, is the antecedent to the Syriac relative Dolath, is saying nothing at all in favour of the neuter more than the masculine, especially as the Syriac representative of μυστήριον is *masculine,* which the translator may have understood of *a person.*

In like manner the Arabic of Erpenius may favour either ὅ or ὅς. The same remarks apply to it as to the Syriac version. The observations of Henderson to shew that its reading is consistent with θεὸς are as far-fetched as they are in relation to the Peshito. It by no means holds good that if the translator had intended to say the *mystery* was manifested, he would have used the pronoun الذي not ان, because along with the latter is here the pronominal suffix referring to the Arabic representative of μυστήριον. On the other hand, the Arabic reading of this version applies indifferently to ὅς and ὅ.

The pronoun in the Ethiopic is equally ambiguous, and therefore we cannot from it determine in favour either of ὅ or ὅς. Thus Griesbach rightly says, that these three versions

* See American Biblical Repository for 1832, p. 19.

† Remarks on Griesbach's classification of MSS. pp. 79, 80.

support either ὃς or ὅ, it being impossible to decide for the masculine or neuter relative from the nature of the words employed in these versions. When Laurence undertakes to shew that they "do not indifferently read ὃς or ὅ, but indisputably ὅ," he undertakes too much. The following is his proof:—

"If ὃς be the reading, it is evident that the following clauses of the verse *cannot* be grammatically connected *by a copulative*, but that the passage must be translated as the Unitarians translate it, '*He*, who was manifested in the flesh, *was justified*,' &c. But in all the versions alluded to the subsequent clauses *are* grammatically connected *by a copulative*, ... that is, by the same letter *wau* in the different characters of the different languages expressive of the same conjunction *and*; so that the passage must unavoidably be rendered, 'which was manifested in the flesh, *and* was justified in the Spirit,'"* &c.

If this be the "indisputable shewing" of these versions having ὅ not ὃς, it amounts to no shewing at all. It is wholly baseless, proceeding on *the assumption* that the following clauses of the verse *cannot* be grammatically connected *by a copulative* while ὃς is the reading; and that the rendering *he who* is incompatible with the use of these copulatives. Now, we hold that the rendering of ὃς *he who*, is *not* incompatible with the use of the copulatives in the clauses that follow. What more natural, for example, than the translation, "He who was manifested in the flesh, was justified in the spirit, was seen of angels, was preached unto the Gentiles, was believed on in the world, was received up into glory;" the whole being one emphatic explanation of *the mystery of godliness?* In this view, which is good Greek and good sense, the copulatives inserted alter nothing. They merely dilute the emphasis a little. Hence the copulatives, which perform so important an

* Remarks, &c. pp. 79, 80.

office in Laurence's opinion, may be safely left out of view as of no consequence whatever.

The Armenian is as doubtful as the three versions just alluded to. According to Henderson, "Dr. Laurence maintains that the Armenian version reads neither ὃς nor ὅ, but θεός." * But this is incorrect, and unjust to Laurence. After referring to two editions before him, Laurence proceeds to say, "In both of these, the following is the literal rendering of the passage in question:—"*Great is the deep counsel of the adoration of God, who* or *which*," &c. Now if we connect the relative with the antecedent *God*, the reading will of course be equivalent to the common one θεός. But as there are no genders in the language, it may be connected with any antecedent indifferently. And it should be added that the phrase *adoration of God* may be nothing more than a mere compound expression, similar (would our own language admit the combination) to that of God-worship, and may thus simply correspond with εὐσεβείας." † Thus Laurence holds the same opinion respecting the Armenian as Dr. Henderson himself, viz., that its testimony is doubtful.

All the Latin fathers have *mysterium* or *sacramentum quod* manifestatum, &c., even though they understood it of Christ. Hilary, Augustine, Pelagius, Julian, Fulgentius, Idacius, Ambrosiaster (Hilary the deacon), Leo the Great, Victorinus, Cassian, Gregory the Great, Bede, Chrysologus, Martin the first, &c. Indeed all the Latin fathers except Jerome and Epiphanius the deacon are in favour of ὅ the neuter.

3. θεὸς is supported by D. *a tertia manu* J. K. and almost all the cursive MSS.

It is also in the Arabic of the Polyglott and the Slavonic version. In favour of it we also have Didymus (De Trinitate) but on 1 John 4, he rather favours ὃς, as we have already

* See American Biblical Repository for 1832, p. 20.

† Remarks, &c. pp. 80, 81.

seen; Dionysius of Alexandria, Theodoret, Euthalius, Macedonius, John of Damascus, Theophylact, Œcumenius. Of the Latin fathers, Epiphanius the deacon (in the eighth century) is the only one who has *Deus*. Chrysostom should no longer be quoted out of the printed editions as favourable to this reading; for there is little doubt that he had ὅς.

The only ones of these witnesses who can be said to have much weight are Theodoret and Dionysius. The former comments thus on the passage: μυστήριον δὲ αὐτὸ κάλει, ὡς ἄνωθεν μὲν προορισθέν. (Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί). θεὸς γὰρ ὤν, καὶ θεοῦ υἱὸς, καὶ ἀόρατος ἔχων τὴν φύσιν, δῆλος ἅπασιν ἐνανθρωπήσας ἐγένετο. Σαφῶς δὲ ἡμᾶς τὰς δύο φύσεις ἐδίδαξεν, ἐν σαρκὶ γὰρ τὴν θείαν ἔφη φανερωθῆναι φύσιν.*

"He calls it a mystery as having been foreordained from the beginning. God was manifested in the flesh. For being God and the Son of God, and having an invisible nature, he became manifest to all by being incarnate. Thus he has clearly taught us the two natures, for he said that the divine nature was manifested in the flesh."

Dionysius of Alexandria thus writes: Εἷς ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστὸς, ὁ ὢν ἐν τῷ πατρὶ συναΐδιος λόγος· ἓν αὐτοῦ πρόσωπον, ἀόρατος θεὸς, καὶ ὁρατὸς γενόμενος· Θεὸς γὰρ ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί.† "Christ is one, the co-eternal Logos who is in the Father. There is one person of him who is the invisible God, and who became visible; for God was manifested in the flesh."

Though we cannot say that Dionysius here cites the words of 1 Timothy iii. 16 expressly, yet it is probable that he had in his mind the passage before us. But it is doubtful whether he has been rightly edited. His language seems to have been tampered with, for the sake of the Vulgate.

This is quite probable, when we consider that none of the Alexandrine fathers read θεός. They either are silent respect-

* In ep. 1, ad Timoth. vol. iii. p. 478, ed. Paris, 1642.

† Epist. advers. Paul Samosat.

ing the passage, which in this case is almost equivalent to their not reading θεὸς, inasmuch as it was so opportune against the Arians, Nestorians, and others; or they shew their preference for ὅς. Cyril, Clement, Origen, Athanasius, &c. could not have had θεός. And we must believe that Dionysius was not singular among the Alexandrine fathers. He favoured the Alexandrine reading, which is undoubtedly ὅς.

No importance can be attached to Didymus a blind man, who reads θεὸς in his work on the Trinity, but seems to prefer ὅς in another place, viz. "Secundum quod dictum est: manifestatur in carne" (1 John 4). As the Alexandrines did not know θεὸς, it is natural to suppose that Didymus formed no exception. We do not therefore put him among the witnesses for it, believing that he has suffered from meddling transcribers or correctors. Nor can any weight be assigned to the testimony of Euthalius in favour of θεὸς, though one should think so from the manner in which Henderson brings it forward. Euthalius, says he, "reads in like manner θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκι, 'God manifest in the flesh;' *and* entitles the chapter or division in which the words occur, περὶ θείας σαρκώσεως, 'of the *divine* incarnation.'" * One would naturally conclude from these words, that Euthalius had expressly quoted the passage with θεὸς; whereas he merely gives the heading of the section in which it occurs, the title περὶ θείας σαρκώσεως, *of the divine incarnation;* which he might equally do if ὅς or ὅ had been the reading; since the fathers often applied *the mystery* (μυστήριον) *to the person of Christ.* Thus Euthalius's testimony ceases to be explicit or valuable. It is a mere inference, and that an uncertain one, that he found θεὸς in the Greek text.

The authority of Macedonius can hardly be pleaded in favour of θεὸς; because Hincmar, Victor, and Liberatus said that he had corrupted the text or changed ὅς into θεός. *If*

* American Biblical Repository for 1832, p. 39.

Macedonius *did actually alter* ὅς into θεὸς in some copies, we cannot tell that he made the change after Greek MSS. He may not have followed them at all. But indeed the story wants a good foundation.

As to Damascenus, Theophylact, and Œcumenius, they are all too late to be of much value.

Other writers are quoted for θεός. Thus Ignatius in his epistle to the Ephesians writes: Εἷς ἰατρός ἐστιν σαρκικός τε καὶ πνευματικὸς, γεννητὸς καὶ ἀγέννητος, ἐν σαρκὶ γενόμενος θεός.*

When writing thus Ignatius *may* or *may not* have had 1 Timothy iii. 16 in his mind; but it is neither proved nor implied that he took the words from the passage with θεός. He could have employed such phraseology without having read 1 Timothy iii. 16 in any shape. The same remarks will apply to another place in his epistle which has likewise been cited on this subject: Πῶς οὖν ἐφανερώθη τοῖς αἰῶσιν . . . . . παλαιὰ βασιλεία διεφθείρετο, θεοῦ ἀνθρωπίνως φανερουμένου. Here too the Syriac recension has υἱοῦ for θεοῦ.†

Hippolytus is also cited in support of the same reading: Οὗτος προελθὼν εἰς κόσμον θεὸς ἐν σώματι ἐφανερώθη.‡

This is not a *quotation* of 1 Timothy iii. 16. It is perhaps a free reference to it, from which nothing can be inferred in favour of the reading θεός.

The following have also been quoted from Athanasius:— φοβεῖσθαι τὴν περὶ τοῦ τηλικούτου μυστηρίου ζήτησιν, ὁμολογεῖν δὲ ὅτι πεφανέρωται θεὸς ἐν σαρκὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀποστολίκην παράδοσιν.

But this occurs in the tract *De Incarnatione verbi Dei*, which is now universally rejected as Athanasius's.

Another passage is: Ἔχουσι γὰρ ἀπόστολον συγγνώμον αὐτοῖς νέμοντα, καὶ οἱονεὶ χεῖρα αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ λέγειν ἐκτείνοντα, ὅτι καὶ ὁμολογουμένως μέγα ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον, θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί.§

But most MSS. omit this passage. In one MS. it is in

* Cap. 7. † Cap. 19. ‡ Advers. Noet. cap. 17. § Epist. 4 ad Serap.

the margin, not in the text. Hence it must be regarded as the gloss of some other person, and not Athanasius's own. Henderson has suppressed the fact that most MSS. of Athanasius omit this passage.

Gregory Nyssene is cited in favour of θεός. Thus he writes: πεισθέντες ὅτί ἀληθῶς θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκὶ, ἐκεῖνο μόνον ἀληθινὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον εἶναι, κ. τ. λ.

Again: πάντες οἱ τὸν λόγον κηρύσσοντες ἐν τούτῳ τὸ θαύμα τοῦ μυστηρίου καταμηνύουσιν· ὅτι θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκὶ, ὅτι ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο.

Again: Τιμοθέῳ δὲ διαῤῥήδην βοᾷ ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί. *

These passages are explicit in shewing that Gregory had θεὸς, provided the printed copies of his works can be relied on. But no reliance can be placed on these; especially as elsewhere he read differently, probably ὅς, or as others suppose, ὅ.

The apostolic constitutions are also cited on the same side: θεὸς κύριος ὁ ἐπιφανεὶς ἡμῖν ἐν σαρκί. †

Here there is no citation, nor do the words at all justify the inference that 1 Timothy iii. 16 had θεός.

Gregory Thaumaturgus is also cited here, or rather Apollinaris in Photius: θεὸς ἐν σαρκὶ φανερωθείς. If this be derived from 1 Timothy iii. 16, no reliance can be placed on it, as it is given by Photius of Constantinople in the tenth century, who had probably no other reading in the text than that of the received text which is contained in all the Constantinopolitan copies.

Let us now review the external evidence in favour of the three forms of our present text.

Ὅς is supported by A. or the codex Alexandrinus; by C. or the cod. Ephremi; by F. or the cod. Augiensis; and by G. or the cod. Boernerianus. Thus two of the most ancient

* Orat. x. contra Eunom. Opp. vol. ii. p. 265, ed. Paris 1615. † vii. 26.

and valuable MSS., both belonging to the fifth century, have this reading; while G. of the ninth century, a valuable MS. of that age, is on the same side; and F. too, contemporary with G. Indeed F. and G. were both taken from an older codex.

Ὅ is supported by D. or the Clermont MS., an ancient and valuable document belonging to the end of the sixth century.

Θεὸς is supported by a corrector of D. or the Clermont MS., who could scarcely have been older than the eighth century; by J. a MS. of the ninth century; and by K. of the same age. It has also almost all the cursive or later MSS. in its favour.

There can be no question that ὃς is *best attested by ancient and valuable MS. authority;* while ὅ has but *one* uncial MS. in its favour. Hence on the ground of MS. evidence we should adopt the former reading. When Dr. J. P. Smith writes, "if we regard the authority of MSS. alone, in every mode of estimating that branch of the evidence, and upon every system of families, recensions, or classes, he is quite satisfied that the reading GOD should be decisively preferred,"* he evinces a most strange inclination for *number* in MSS., neglecting their *antiquity;* for it is only by *counting* not *weighing* authorities that any one could prefer θεὸς to ὃς. But indeed every critic who knows that ὃς has the uncial codices A. C. F. G. in its favour, and that θεὸς is supported only by D*** J. and K. of the uncials, will not hesitate for a moment to disregard the crowd of cursive MSS. as well as D*** J. and K. by the side of A. C. F. and G. which take us up to *the fifth* century.

With respect to versions—Ὅς has in its favour the Gothic, margin of the Philoxenian, and in all probability the Memphitic and Sahidic.

* The Scripture Testimony to the Messiah, vol. ii. p. 384, fourth edition.

Ὃ is supported by the old Latin and the Vulgate.

Θεὸς, on the other hand, is supported by the Arabic of the Polyglott and the Slavonic version.

Here the evidence of versions is rather in favour of ὃς. Still the preponderance in this respect of ὃς over ὅ is small; since the old Latin is of great weight. But *number* is sufficient to outweigh every other consideration.

With respect to the *fathers*, their testimony is contradictory and uncertain, as we have already seen.

Ὃς is supported by Epiphanius, Cyril, Chrysostom, and Jerome; *with certainty* by Epiphanius and Jerome; *in all probability* by Cyril and Chrysostom.

Ὃ is supported by almost all the Latin fathers except Jerome. It does not clearly occur in any of the Greek fathers.

Θεὸς is clearly favoured by Theodoret, Damascene, Œcumenius, and Theophylact. Here again ὃς is best supported. It is manifestly sustained by more ancient authorities than θεὸς; and as to ὅ, the evidence of the Latin fathers cannot be regarded as independent of the Latin version. They used and quoted the *versio vetus*, and afterwards the revised copy of it made by Jerome. Hence they are witnesses for the Greek text only *through* the Latin translation.

In this manner we arrive at the conclusion that ὃς is best supported by the external evidence in its threefold division of MSS., versions, and fathers.

We come now to *internal* evidence.

Ὃς is the most difficult reading. It appears harsh and ungrammatical. Hence it would be most readily altered. Again, the origin of the other two can be better explained from it than its rise from either of them. It is easy to see how prone copyists would be to change ὃς into ὅ in order to make it agree in gender with the antecedent μυστήριον. They knew also that the passage was commonly explained of

Christ; and as most MSS. were in the hands of the orthodox, they might change ΟC into Θ̄C. In this manner it would be a better weapon against such heretics as impugned the proper deity of Christ. Certainly the tendency in early times would be to change, by a slight process, ὅς into θεός. Little suspicion would attach to the person or persons who did so, amid the anxiety to uphold the divinity of Christ's person. The altered reading would be generally welcomed and adopted. And, improbable, as we naturally reckon it to be that mention should have been made of ὅς being changed into θεός, since the writings of those likely to speak of it are so few, yet mention *is* made of it in the case of Macedonius. Whatever truth there be in that account, one thing at least is certain, that some persons about or soon after the time of Macedonius, regarded the reading ὅς as the original out of which arose θεός.

On the other hand, had θεὸς been early changed into ὅς, we should most probably have heard of it in history. The orthodox must have noticed the alteration, and would doubtless have reprobated it. They would at once have detected and exposed it as a corruption of the text made to impugn a great doctrine for which they contended so strenuously. Yet we do not read in any ancient writer of the text having been corrupted from θεὸς into ὅς. Hence it may be inferred that it was *not* so changed. The origin of ὅς is not accounted for by the fathers in that way—a way in which it was most natural for them to explain it had they not felt that it was the true reading.

If it be said that ὅς may have arisen by accident or the carelessness of transcribers from θεὸς, we answer, that even then it would soon have been noticed and restored. An *accidental* alteration would soon have been converted by the fathers into a *designed* one on the part of heretics, had ὅς become as extensively diffused as we judge from A. and C. that it really was.

But various objections have been made to ὅς.

It does not accord with the laws of grammatical construction. This has been often asserted but never proved. It is not necessary to refer ὅς to μυστήριον as its simple and sole antecedent. Neither is it necessary to refer it to θεοῦ ζῶντος with a parenthesis between. We do not adopt either of those constructions; and therefore all considerations based on them, and tending to shew that ὅς is neither good sense nor good Greek, may be left for those whom they concern.

We are disposed to understand ὅς in the sense of *he who*. To this construction too a common objection has been made, that it is foreign to the Greek idiom both classical and Hellenistic. It is said, for example, that the regular Greek construction would require ὁ φανερωθείς. The participle with the article prefixed is affirmed to be proper, as in the epistle to the Galatians i. 23, ὁ διώκων ἡμᾶς, κ. τ. λ. *he that persecuted us*. In opposition to this argumentation we hold, that ὅς, in the sense of *he who*, is good Greek. It includes in itself both the demonstrative and relative. But it has been said, that where there is such an usage of ὅς as that before us, in the nominative, it is not used in the sense of *he who*, but *whosoever*, i.e. it is not employed *particularly* or *specifically*, but *generically*. It must be equivalent to ὅς ἐὰν or ὅς ἄν. In answer to this, we believe that the usage of ὅς in this way may be rendered sufficiently specific by the preceding context. So John iii. 34, Luke vii. 43, and other places. We cannot see therefore any valid objection to the rendering *he who*. It is good Greek, good sense, and has no internal consideration against it. But it should be remarked that we do not take the clauses *was justified in the Spirit*, &c. &c. as making up the predicate of the preposition of which ὅς is the subject; but *all* the clauses, including ὅς ἐφανερώθη, as an explanatory and emphatic adjunct to the *mystery of godliness*. It is intended to point out *in what* the mystery of godliness consists, shewing that it is concentrated and embodied in THE PERSON WHO *was manifested in the flesh, justified in the*

spirit, seen of angels, preached among the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory. The proper antecedent or subject to which ὃς ἐφανερώθη refers is *implied* in μυστήριον τῆς εὐσεβείας preceding.*

In favour of ὅ the neuter, it is said to be the more obscure reading. We believe this to be incorrect. Ὃς is the obcurest reading of the three. How could ὅ be the obscurest reading, when the fathers generally interpreted τὸ μυστήριον of the person of Christ? The fathers did not find the neuter difficult, else they would have altered it. They found ὃς much more obscure; and therefore they changed it into θεὸς or ὅ.

In favour of ὅ it is likewise alleged, that this reading overran all the versions used by the churches of Christ in the east and west—an extravagant and incorrect assertion, as is abundantly evident from what has been already advanced.

Against ὅ, internal evidence has been urged. It is asked, How could a mystery be manifested in the flesh, or justified in the spirit, or received up into glory? In answer to this we might urge the interpretation assigned by the fathers to μυστήριον, viz. *the person of Christ.* But here again we are told, that the fathers were wrong in understanding μυστήριον as *a designation of Christ*, because the usage of the term, wherever it occurs in the New Testament, is adverse. *The mystery of godliness* must mean, it is said, *some mysterious doctrine relating to Christ;* but cannot designate Christ himself as the mysterious person. There may be *some* force in this objection; but there cannot be much. The person of Christ was itself a mystery; and we should not therefore object to the interpretation of μυστήριον given by the fathers. And we should the less object to it, if it were true, as has been said, that Porson agreed with them in interpreting it as a designation of Christ's

* See Winer's *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms*, p. 527, fourth edition; De Wette's *Exegetisches Handbuch* on 1 Timothy iii. 16; and Huther in *Meyer's Kommentar*, Abtheilung xi. p. 135.

person. But there is not a particle of evidence that Porson did so. *Kidd*, who collected and arranged Porson's tracts, says, "De sensu parum aut nihil refert; cum personam circumlocutione significant Graeci, quam citissime ad ipsam personam revertuntur. "Ος non τὸ ζητὸν, sed τὸ σημαινόμενον respicit."* These are not *Porson's* words or sentiments.

In favour of θεὸς we can see no internal evidence; for it is manifest that it arose from ὅς, not *vice versa*.

Against it, we may adduce the absence of the article before θεὸς, which should be in the subject of a proposition like the present. We should certainly expect it in this place. Professor Stuart found two hundred and fifty-seven cases, in which the article is prefixed to θεὸς when it is the subject of a proposition. On the other hand, he noticed four instances of exception to that prevailing usage, viz. 2 Corinth. v. 19; Gal. ii. 6, iii. 7; 1 Thes. ii. 5.†

It is also against θεὸς, that some at least of the expressions in the passage do not agree well with it. This is especially the case with ὤφθη ἀγγέλοις.

In adopting ὅς as the true reading, we are countenanced by the best critics such as Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, De Wette, Huther.

On the other hand ὅ is approved by Grotius, Sir Isaac Newton, Wetstein, Norton.

The common reading is sanctioned by Mill, Bengel, Matthaei, Rinck, and many others.

In closing this dissertation, we believe a fair case to be made out, as far as the present state of evidence warrants, in favour of ὅς. But the general sense is not materially different, whether we read ὅς, ὅ, or θεός. The meaning is much the same, whichever be adopted. Hence we cannot enter into the reasons of such as believe the text to be very important in a

* Tracts and Miscellaneous Criticisms of the late R. Porson, by Kidd, p. 291.

† American Biblical Repository for 1832, p. 76.

theological view. It is by no means decisive either for or against the proper divinity of Christ. Too much stress has been laid upon it, in doctrinal controversies respecting the person of the Redeemer. We fully agree with Mr. Stuart in saying: "I cannot feel that the contest on the subject of the reading can profit one side so much, or harm the other so much, as disputants respecting the doctrine of the Trinity have supposed. Whoever attentively studies John xvii. 20-26; 1 John i. 3, ii. 5, iv. 15, 16, and other passages of the like tenor, will see that 'God might be manifest' in the person of Christ, without the necessary implication of the proper divinity of the Saviour; at least that the phraseology of Scripture does admit of other constructions besides this; and other ones moreover, which are not forced. And conceding this fact, less is determined by the contest about ὅς and θεὸς in 1 Timothy iii. 16, than might seem to be at first view."*

1 *John* v. 7.

This verse has been the subject of many controversies during the last three centuries—of controversies however which have proved of great benefit to biblical criticism, because various Greek MSS. and ancient versions have been examined with greater accuracy than they might otherwise have been.

In the received text the seventh and eighth verses stand thus:—*ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες [ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ὁ Πατὴρ, ὁ Λόγος, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα· καὶ οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς ἓν εἰσι. Καὶ τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῇ γῇ] τὸ πνεῦμα, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ τὸ αἷμα· καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἕν εἰσιν.*

"For there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost: and these three are one. And there are three that bear witness in earth, the spirit, and the water, and the blood: and these three agree in one."

* American Biblical Repository for 1832, p. 79.

1. About 180 cursive MSS. containing the Catholic epistles have been examined. In addition to these there are in these epistles the uncial codices A. B. C. G. J. All these omit the passage except C. which is here imperfect. H. of the Acts is *not* uncial in regard to the Catholic epistles; for they are written in cursive characters by a later hand than the Acts. In short, no Greek MS. written before the fifteenth century has the disputed verse. Thus MS. evidence is decidedly against it.

In like manner the verse is wanting in all the ancient versions. It is not in the Vulgate, the old Syriac, and the Philoxenian versions. It is absent from the Memphitic and Sahidic. Nor is it found in the Ethiopic, the Armenian, the Slavonic, the Arabic in Walton, and that published by Erpenius.

In modern *editions* of the Peshito it is sometimes found; but not in the genuine Syriac. Tremellius first translated it from Greek into Syriac, and placed it in the margin, whence later editors took it into the text. In recent editions of the Slavonic it is also found; but not in the MSS. or older editions. The same may be said of the Armenian version.

But the Vulgate has the passage now. In the Clementine edition of the Vulgate it stands thus:—"Quoniam tres sunt qui testimonium dant in coelo: Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus sanctus: et hi tres unum sunt. Et tres sunt, qui testimonium dant in terra: Spiritus, et aqua, et sanguis: et hi tres unum sunt." And it is found in the majority of its MSS., especially after the eighth century. Yet it is absent from the oldest and the best, such as the codd. Amiatinus, Harleianus, Alcuin's copy. Even *all the modern* MSS. do not exhibit the verse; and those which have it express it in various forms, as the codd. Toletanus, Demidovianus, &c. Thus the last mentioned codex has "*Quia tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra, spiritus, aqua, et sanguis, et tres unum sunt. Et tres sunt qui*

testimonium dant in coelo, pater, verbum, et spiritus, et hi tres unum sunt; while cod. Tolet. *nearly* agrees with it. In both the eighth verse is put before the seventh, which is the more usual order in the older copies that have the passage. And with regard to the copies of the Latin Vulgate that have the text, it also deserves mention, that those prior to the ninth century do not exhibit it *a prima manu;* while in many it is found in the margin from a more recent hand. One noticed by Porson has the seventh verse both before and after the eighth; many omit after the three earthly witnesses, *et hi tres unum sunt;* while others add to the phrase et hi tres unum sunt, *in Christo Jesu.* Indeed the position and form of the passage fluctuate in the different Latin MSS. in a remarkable manner.

Thus the Vulgate may be fairly regarded as a witness against the passage, rather than for it. Were all the more recent MSS. of it, which form the great majority of existing ones, uniform in their testimony; did they exhibit the passage in the same manner and *a prima manu*, their value in favour of the authenticity would be greater; but as long as they are the junior copies, and present the strange diversities they do, the evidence they furnish cannot counterbalance the older copies which uniformly want the passage. The circumstance that the more ancient of those who have it give the heavenly *after* the earthly witnesses, is a strong presumption that the former arose by a mystical interpretation out of the latter.

The ancient Greek fathers have not quoted the place, even where we should naturally expect them to do so. In adducing arguments for the Trinity, or the divinity of the Son and Holy Spirit, we can scarcely conceive of their overlooking it; especially as their arguments are frequently puerile and inapposite. Clement, Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Dionysius of Alexandria, Athanasius, Didymus, Basil, Gregory of Nazianzum, and Gregory of Nyssa, Epiphanius, Caesarius, Chrysostom, Proclus,

Alexander of Alexandria, Cyril of Alexandria, the Synopsis Sacrae Scripturae, Andreas of Caesarea, Johannes Damascenus, Elias of Crete, German of Constantinople, Œcumenius, Theophylact, Euthymus Zygabenus, Nicetas, besides various Greek catenae, and the Greek scholia of various MSS. ignore it. Nor is it mentioned in the Acts of any council, oecumenical or provincial, held among the Greeks.

Neither is the passage cited by the Latin fathers when most to their purpose, and where it might have been looked for. Thus it is omitted by the author of the treatise *De baptizandis haereticis* in Cyprian's works, by Novatian, Hilary of Poitiers, Lucifer, Ambrose, Faustinus, Leo the Great, Jerome, Augustine, Eucherius, Facundus, Junilius, Hesychius, Bede, Gregory, Boethius, Philastrius, Paschasius, Arnobius junior, &c. &c.

The advocates of the authenticity have affirmed notwithstanding, that it is quoted by Cyprian, Tertullian, and others, but in this they can be successfully met in argument, as we shall see afterwards.

The best critical editions have left out the words as spurious. They are not in Erasmus's first two editions. They are wanting in those of Aldus, Gerbelius, Cephalaeus, Colinaeus, Mace, Harwood, Matthaei, Griesbach, Scholz, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and others. Bowyer enclosed them in brackets, and Knapp in double brackets, indicating their spuriousness.

Luther did not insert them in the first edition of his German version, and refused to admit them into any subsequent edition. But he had not been long dead when the passage was foisted in, contrary to his express request in the preface to the last edition printed during his life. Some editions of the version which have it exhibit it in smaller letters; others enclose it in brackets; others present it without any distinction.

Such is the strong evidence that lies against the authenticity.

2. Let us now, in the second place, adduce the evidence which has been alleged in favour of the passage.

(1.) The following MSS. have been quoted for it:—

Codex 173. This is the only MS. that contains the words as they stand in the received text but *a secunda manu*, the emendation being as recent as the sixteenth or seventeenth century, and taken from the Vulgate, as Scholz himself says. This codex was accurately noted by Birch: "In cod. Neapolitano Regio textus hujus commatis, cum additamentis recenti charactere margine scriptis, sequenti modo reperitur," &c. The codex itself belongs to the eleventh century, while the marginal reading belongs, as we have said, to the sixteenth or seventeenth. There is no reason, therefore, for charging Scholz with inconsistency, as he has been both ignorantly and unjustly accused.

The passage is also in 34, *i.e.* the *codex Montfortii*, *Montfortianus*, or *Britannicus* (of Erasmus).

There it stands thus:—ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ πατὴρ, λόγος, Καὶ πνεῦμα ἅγιον, Καὶ οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς, ἓν εἰσι· Καὶ τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῇ γῇ, πνεῦμα, ὕδωρ, καὶ αἷμα· εἰ τὴν μαρτυρίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων λαμβάνομεν, ἡ μαρτυρία τοῦ θεοῦ μείζων ἐστίν· κ. τ. λ. Here it will be seen that the words καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἓν εἰσιν in the eighth verse are wanting, an omission peculiar to the modern copies of the Vulgate. Again, the omission of the article in naming each of the heavenly witnesses; the use of ἐν τῇ γῇ for ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς; the position of ἅγιον with respect to πνεῦμα, being after whereas it ought to precede the substantive, are remarkable. For these reasons Porson inferred that the passage was a bungling translation from the Latin—a statement which bishop Burgess tried in vain to disprove; for all that he said in opposition was turned aside by Crito Cantabrigiensis. Another indication of the Latin origin is ὁ χριστός ἐστιν

ἀληθεία, a palpable translation of *Christus est veritas;* contrary to the usual Greek reading.

The age of the MS. too is modern. It probably belongs to the fifteenth century; not certainly to the eleventh, as Martin of Utrecht thought; nor to the thirteenth, as Dr. A. Clarke imagined. All the best critics, Michaelis, Griesbach, Porson, Marsh, Scholz, Tischendorf, Turton (Crito Cantabrigiensis) assign it either to the fifteenth or sixteenth century. It is now in the library of Trinity College, Dublin; and has been shewn by Porson to be *probably* the *codex Britannicus* of Erasmus.*

Another MS. containing the passage is the *codex Ottobonianus*, marked 162 by Scholz, and now in the Vatican 298. It is a Greek-Latin copy of the Acts, the Catholic and Pauline epistles, and is ascribed by Scholz to the fifteenth century, which is rather too early. Here the passage is in a form different from the usual one. It wants the article before the words Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; instead of ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ it has ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ; and for ἐν τῇ γῃ, ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς. Scholz states that there are innumerable transpositions of words in the MS.; but does *not* say that they are from the Latin. He affirms that *this* passage is translated from the Vulgate, of which indeed there can be little doubt. Hence its evidence is of no value.

The passage is also in the *codex Ravianus* at Berlin. But this is universally admitted to be a forgery made from the Greek text of the Complutensian and the third edition of Stephens.

Another MS., the *codex Guelpherbytanus* C. has it, but in the margin and from a more recent hand than the text. Doubtless the marginal passage was taken from a printed edition, not a MS. It is also found in another Wolfenbüttel MS. of the seventeenth century; but this testimony is of no value, for Knittel affirms that the codex contains the various readings of the Vulgate and Peshito versions, with those of the

* Letters to Mr. Archdeacon Travis, 1790, 8vo.

Latin translations made by Erasmus, Vatablus, Castalio, and Beza.

(2.) It is said to have been in the old Latin version which formed the basis of the Vulgate. But no *MS.* of that version can be adduced in support of the statement. Yet the writings of the African fathers who used it are appealed to. But we shall see by and bye, that none of the African fathers in reality cite the passage; and therefore the argument goes for nothing. It is simply an error to say that the old Latin contained the passage.

Here Wiseman's argument is ingenious but unsound. He is right in thinking that there were two ancient recensions of the *versio vetus*, the Italian and the African; but errs in saying that the clause had been lost at an early period both from the Greek MSS. and the Italian. He is right in holding that the version originated in Africa; but wrong in holding that the African recension, *as far as we know it now in MS. copies*, is superior in authority to the Italian. Hence his conclusion "that the existence of an African recension containing the verse gives us a right to consider as quotations passages of African writers (such as those of Cyprian and Tertullian), which in the works of Italian authors may be considered doubtful," is fallacious, as is proved sufficiently by Augustine's writings, whence it is evident that he was ignorant of the passage though preferring and using Italian copies of the vetus.

It is but right, however, to add the *mode* in which the learned writer reasons. He gives a quotation from the ancient MS. preserved at the monastery of Santa Croce in Jerusalem, which contains, among other works, one terminating with the words *explicit liber testimoniorum*, and having in an earlier hand as a title *Libri de Speculo.* The work is nearly the same with that published by Vignier at Paris 1655, under the name of the *Speculum* of Augustine; but which was rejected as

spurious by the Benedictine editors of Augustine. The Santa Croce MS. differs from Vignier's publication in one particular, viz. its Scripture quotations are from the *versio vetus*, whereas in Vignier they are from Jerome's Vulgate. Hence Wiseman thinks that the MS. in question contains the genuine speculum of Augustine. In it the passage before us stands thus: "Item Johannis in aepistula. . . . . Item illic tres sunt qui testimonium dicunt in coelo, Pater, Verbum et Sp. s. et hii tres unum sunt."—(Cap. ii. fol. 19, de distinctione personarum.) In this manner Augustine is brought in as a witness for the verse along with Tertullian and Cyprian. The evidence of African writers is in favour of the verse having existed in the text or recension of that church, and consequently the MSS. which contained the verse possessed not a mere individual authority but one equal to that of the whole class to which they belonged.

The objection to all this is, that the acknowledged writings of Augustine shew no acquaintance on his part with the verse before us. This favours the suspicion that the *Speculum* contained in the Santa Croce MS. is *not* the work of Augustine. It is mere assumption in Wiseman to reply that "St. Augustine in his ordinary works used the Italian recension, from which the verse had been lost at an early period. The Speculum, as we learn from Possidius, was written for the unlearned, and hence he made use in it of the African recension which universally contained the verse." *

It is said to be in the Latin version called the Vulgate. But we have already seen that it is absent from the oldest and best copies of it. Hence it would be more correct to say that the Vulgate is a witness *against* the passage.

(3.) It is quoted by many Latin fathers. But it is remarkable that there is not the evidence of a single Italian father for the verse in question. Their writings shew their ignorance of

* See Catholic Magazine, vol. iii. p. 363.

it. Even when defending or proving the doctrine of the Trinity, they do not quote it; though they cite the neighbouring context relating to the earthly witnesses. The only evidence of this kind adduced for it is the African authority, which we proceed to consider. We need scarcely say that the authority of the Latin fathers is inferior to that of the Greek in determining the original text, because they commonly used a Latin version current among them; whereas the Greek used the Greek itself. And even if they do quote in express terms the passage before us, the fact would prove no more than that it was in their MS. or MSS. of whatever Latin version they used.

Tertullian has been brought forward as a witness for the verse. Thus in his treatise against Praxeas (chapter 25), he writes: "Cæterum de meo sumet, inquit, sicut ipse Patris. Ila connexus Patris in Filio et Filii in Paracleto, tres efficit cohaerentes alterum ex altero: *qui tres unum sunt, non unus;* quomodo dictum est: Ego et Pater unum sumus, ad substantiae unitatem, non ad numeri singularitatem." From the words *qui tres unum sunt* being now in the Vulgate, it has been thought that Tertullian found them in the old Latin. It is observable however, that he does not produce them as a quotation; and from what follows it is plain that he did not know of the verse, because, in proof of the assertion he immediately adds, *quomodo dictum est ego et pater unum sumus*, which is a quotation from John's gospel x. 30. If he had been acquainted with a text asserting the unity of the three persons, he would surely have appealed to it, instead of to one that relates merely to the Father and Son. Well does Bishop Kaye say, "In my opinion the passage in Tertullian, far from containing an allusion to 1 John v. 7, furnishes most decisive proof that he knew nothing of the verse." *

* The Ecclesiastical History of the second and third centuries, illustrated from the writings of Tertullian, p. 550, second edition.

Another passage in Tertullian's works supposed to allude to the present verse is in his treatise *de Pudicitia* (chapter xxi.) "Et ecclesia proprie et principaliter ipse est spiritus in quo est *trinitas unius* divinitatis, Pater, et Filius, et Spiritus sanctus. Illam ecclesiam congregat quam Dominus in tribus posuit," &c. It would be difficult to tell why Tertullian might not write thus without the least acquaintance with 1 John v. 7.

Cyprian has also been adduced as a witness in favour of this verse. In his epistle to Jubaianus he writes: "Si baptizari quis apud haereticum potuit, utique et remissam peccatorum consequi potuit,—si peccatorum remissam consecutus est, et sanctificatus est, et templum Dei factus est; quaero cujus Dei? Si creatoris; non potuit, qui in eum non credidit: si Christi; non hujus potest fieri templum, qui negat Deum Christum: si spiritus sancti, *cum tres unum sint*, quomodo Spiritus placatus esse ei potest, qui aut Patris aut Filii inimicus est?" Here Cyprian does not attempt to prove the unity of the three persons. He alludes to no passage affirming the unity. He simply takes it for granted, "*since* the three are one." He supposes it to be a truth already known from Scripture. It should also be noted, that the words in question have been suspected as suppositious. Though they appear in most editions of Cyprian's works, they are not in that of Erasmus. It would be worth while therefore to examine the best MSS. of Cyprian to ascertain the truth.

Another passage in the same father occurs in his treatise De ecclesiae unitate: "Dicit Dominus; ego et Pater unum sumus: et iterum de Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto scriptum est: *et tres* (or hi tres) *unum sunt;* et quisquam credit, hanc unitatem de divina firmitate venientem, sacramentis coelestibus cohaerentem, scindi in ecclesia posse, et voluntatem colliden-tium divortio separari."

Here the words are expressly introduced by the formula of citation *scriptum est.* It is said that there is first a quotation

from John x. 30, *I and my Father are one;* and next another from 1 John v. 7. This is the most plausible proof of the passage being quoted by an early Latin writer. Let us look closely at it.

Cyprian's treatise *on the unity of the church* abounds with references to Tertullian's against Praxeas; and in writing this passage it is not improbable that he had Tertullian in his eye. The one closely followed the other. Again, if Cyprian quotes the seventh verse, how can he call the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, *sacramenta coelestia, heavenly mysteries.* It is appropriate to call the spirit, the water, and the blood, *heavenly mysteries,* if it be thought that they mystically represented the Trinity. May not therefore the citation here be from the eighth verse, not the seventh? This is at least possible, for the final clauses of the two verses are alike in the Latin version, though different in Greek. Hence it is impossible to judge from a mere quotation of this clause in a Latin writer, whether he alludes to the seventh or eighth verse. He may refer to the one equally with the other. But does not Cyprian affirm that the words *et tres unum sunt* are written of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit? How then can they refer to the spirit, the water, and the blood in the eighth verse? To these questions we reply, that the Latin fathers interpreted *spiritus, aqua, et sanguis* in the eighth verse *mystically,* understanding by them *Pater, Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus.* Hence we suppose that Cyprian may have quoted the eighth verse in its *mystical* sense; and we have seen already the presumption arising from the use of *sacramenta coelestia* that he *did* so quote. The presumption is strengthened by the fact, that Facundus, bishop of Hermiana in Africa, about the middle of the sixth century, understood Cyprian to cite the eighth verse. Facundus attempts to prove the doctrine of the Trinity by a mystical interpretation of the eighth verse, appealing to Cyprian, who, he alleges, gives the same expla-

nation. Hence we should believe the assertion of one who lived in the same country and used the same version with Cyprian. Thus the conclusion follows, that the words of this father, on which the advocates of 1 John v. 7 lay so great stress, do not contain a quotation from the seventh verse, but a spiritual application of the eighth.

But the testimony of Fulgentius bishop of Ruspe in Africa, who flourished in the sixth century, is brought to neutralise that of Facundus. "Let us now make a very probable supposition—namely, that Fulgentius understood Cyprian to quote the seventh verse instead of the eighth. Fulgentius had in the margin, or possibly in the text, of his copy of St. John's epistle, this disputed verse; which he was anxious to retain as a very useful weapon against the Arians. Knowing, as he must have known, that it held its place in the epistle by a very dubious title—and perhaps believing that it had some right to be there—he would naturally endeavour to strengthen its claims as much as he could. And this purpose he carried into effect by producing something which looked very like Cyprian's judgment in its favour."*

In like manner Phoebadius, a Gallican bishop about the middle of the fourth century, is supposed to have referred to the seventh verse. In his treatise against the Arians, (chap. 45) he says, "Sic alius a Filio Spiritus, sicut alius a Patre Filius. Sic tertia in Spiritu ut in Filio secunda persona: unus tamen Deus omnia, *quia tres unum sunt.*" These words are taken from Tertullian's treatise against Praxeas.

Eucherius, bishop of Lyons, who is placed about the year 440, is also thought to have cited the seventh verse.

"Item in epistola sua Johannes ponit: Tria sunt quae testimonium perhibent, aqua, sanguis, et spiritus. Quid in hoc indicatur? RESPON. Simile huic loco etiam illud MIHI

* See a Vindication of the literary character of the late Professor Porson by Crito Cantabrigiensis, p. 274.

videtur, quod ipse in Evangelio suo de passione Christi loquitur dicens: Unus militum lancea latus ejus aperuit; et continuo exivit *sanguis* et *aqua;* et qui vidit, testimonium perhibuit. In eodem ipse de Jesu supra dixerat; inclinato capite tradidit *spiritum.* QUIDAM ergo ex hoc loco ita disputant: aqua baptismum, sanguis videtur indicare martyrium, spiritus vero ipse est, qui per martyrium transit ad dominum. PLURES tamen hic ipsam interpretatione mystica intelligunt Trinitatem eo quod," &c. &c.*

But these words fairly interpreted shew, that Eucherius applied the eighth verse mystically to the Trinity, contrary to what bishop Burgess argued. This has been plainly proved by Porson and Crito Cantabrigiensis, as well as by Griesbach.

Vigilius of Tapsus is the first that quotes or refers to the verse. He belonged to the end of the fifth century. In a work against Varimadus, published under the name of Idacius Clarus, these words occur: "Johannes evangelista ad Parthos: Tres sunt, inquit, qui testimonium perhibent in terra, aqua, sanguis et caro, et tres in nobis sunt; et tres sunt qui testimonium perhibent in coelo, Pater, Verbum et Spiritus, et hi tres unum sunt." It has been supposed however, not without reason, that the work has been interpolated by later hands.

The next witness in favour of the verse is Fulgentius, bishop of Ruspe about 507. In his work against the Arians he writes: "In Patre ergo et Filio et Spiritu Sancto, unitatem substantiae accipimus; personas confundere non audemus. Beatus enim Joannes Apostolus testatur: *tres sunt qui testimonium perhibent in coelo, Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus Sanctus; et tres unum sunt.* Quod etiam beatissimus martyr Cyprianus, in epistola *de Unitate Ecclesiae* confitetur, dicens, "Qui pacem Christi et concordiam rumpit, adversus Christum facit: qui alibi praeter Ecclesiam colligit, Christi Ecclesiam spargit." Atque ut unam ecclesiam unius Dei esse monstraret, haec con-

* Eucherii opp. p. 86. Basil, 1530.

festim testimonia de Scripturis inseruit: "Dicit Dominus, *Ego et Pater unum sumus:* et iterum, de Patre, Filio, et Spiritu Sancto scriptum est, *Et hi tres unum sunt.*" Non ergo ex tribus partibus unum colimus Deum," &c.

In his treatise De Trinitate he writes: "En habes in brevi alium esse Patrem, alium Filium, alium Spiritum Sanctum; alium et alium in persona, non aliud et aliud in natura: et idcirco, *Ego*, inquit, *et Pater unum sumus. Unum* ad naturam referre nos docent, *sumus* ad personas. Similiter et illud: *Tres sunt*, inquit, *qui testimonium dicunt in coelo: Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus: et hi tres unum sunt.*

The verse is also quoted in a fragment of a treatise attributed to Fulgentius, against an Arian bishop Pinta.

There is also a fragment of a treatise against Fabianus assigned to the same writer in which the passage is alluded to: "Beatus vero Joannes Apostolus evidenter ait, Et tres unum sunt: quod de Patre, et Filio, et Spiritu Sancto dictum, sicut superius, cum rationem flagitares, ostendimus."

From these places it would appear, that though Fulgentius was acquainted with the disputed verse, he had his doubts of its authenticity. The passage had begun to be written in his day, and he was desirous to retain it against the Arians.

Another argument is derived from the confession of faith, supposed to be drawn up by Eugenius at the end of the fifth century, and presented by the orthodox bishops of Africa to Hunerich king of the Vandals, who was a zealous Arian. In this confession is the following passage: "Et ut adhuc luce clarius unius divinitatis esse cum Patre et Filio Spiritum S. doceamus, Joannis evangelistae testimonio comprobatur. Ait namque: *Tres sunt qui testimonium perhibent in coelo, Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus Sanctus; et hi tres unum sunt.* Numquid ait, &c. *Sed tres*, inquit, *unum sunt.*" Here the passage in question is clearly quoted by these African bishops.

The whole narrative rests on the authority of Victor

Vitensis, a very suspicious writer. Besides, it is not said that the 363 bishops who went to Carthage *subscribed* it. Victor says nothing about *subscription.* And even if they *had* affixed their names, it is not probable that the majority of them would examine accurately every phrase, and compare it with the copies they had been accustomed to use. The *author* of the confession may have had it in his MS., but that all who subscribed the declaration believed it to be a genuine part of Scripture, is too much to affirm. Should we allow the entire story to be true, the Vandals cannot be supposed to have been conversant with Scripture MSS. or the writings of the early fathers. They did not strive to overcome their opponents by argument, but by force of arms. Hence the orthodox party might produce the verse as Scripture, with little fear of detection.

The author of the confession is not known. It has been ascribed to Victor, Eugenius, Vigilius. Porson thinks that it was written by Vigilius Tapsensis, and published under the name of Eugenius.*

Cassiodorus, a Roman senator of the sixth century, has also been quoted in favour of the verse. The words relating to the point are these:—"Cui rei testificantur in terra tria mysteria; aqua, sanguis, et spiritus: quae in passione Domini leguntur impleta: in coelo autem Pater, et Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus; et hi tres unus est Deus." But an attentive examination of the passage with its surrounding context will shew, that the words quoted contain a mystical application of the eighth verse to the Trinity; and that they are not a quotation of the seventh. We believe that the three heavenly witnesses did *not* exist in the copy of Cassiodorus, as Porson and Crito Cantab. have shewn.

The passage is quoted by Ambrosius Anspertus in the eighth century, and by Etherius of Axum in Spain at the close

* Letters to Travis, p. 338.

of the same period. Indeed from the eighth century, it was commonly cited by ecclesiastical writers, because it was then in the Latin Bible.

At one time, Jerome was produced as a witness in favour of the authenticity, because in several editions of the Vulgate a prologue accompanies the Catholic epistles purporting to proceed from Jerome. But most critics have seen that the prologue is a forgery, written long after the age of Jerome. The writer boasts of having arranged the epistles in their proper order, refers particularly to the first epistle of John, and condemns the unfaithful translators who, while inserting the testimony of the water, the blood, and the spirit, had omitted that of the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit. Even Martianay, who superintended the Benedictine edition of Jerome's works, condemned the prologue as spurious; though he inserted it in the edition. Thus the earliest writer in whom the passage appears is Vigilius, at the close of the fifth century; and every critic knows the character of the works attributed to him, and the uncertainty of Chifflet's reasons for claiming them.*

At what time the mystical application of the eighth verse to the Trinity first appeared, it is not easy to discover. Some think that Augustine was the first who ventured on that use of it. So Bishop Marsh has conjectured, when he says that "Augustine was induced in his controversy with Maximin to compose a gloss on the eighth verse." † The allegorical explanation was in all probability *prior* to that father; but he gave it his sanction, by which means its reception was greatly promoted. It is clear, that in the Latin church it was tolerably well known during the fifth and sixth centuries. "The gloss," says Marsh, "having once obtained credit in the Latin church, the possessors of Latin MSS. began to note it in the margin,

* Vigilii Tapsensis Vindiciae, pp. 64-68.

† Lectures on Divinity, part vi. p. 18, et seq.

by the side of the eighth verse. Hence the oldest of those Latin MSS. which have the passage in the margin have it in a different hand from that of the text. In later MSS. we find margin and text in the same hand, for transcribers did not venture immediately to move it into the body of the text, though in some MSS. it is interlined, but interlined by a later hand. After the eighth century the insertion became general."*

The mystical application of the eighth verse is a proof of the non-existence of the seventh. For if the seventh were known, to what purpose was the allegorical explanation of the eighth? On that supposition, no rational account of its origin can be given. But the mystical application of the eighth clearly shews that it was itself the origin of the seventh. Hence what is now the seventh verse, or in other words the gloss embodying the allegorical explanation, *followed*, at its first insertion, the eighth verse; just as a gloss naturally follows the text it is made upon.

But did not the disputed verse get into the first printed editions from Greek MSS.? On the publication of Erasmus's edition he was attacked by Lee, afterwards archbishop of York, and by Stunica, one of the Complutensian editors, for omitting it. He replied to both in two Apologies and professed his willingness in the former, which was an answer to Lee, to insert the verse in his next edition, should any Greek MS. be found containing it. And as such a MS. was found in England, he fulfilled his promise in inserting the clause in his third edition published in 1522, though he had strong suspicions about the *codex Britannicus* as he calls it.

This MS. is commonly believed to be identical with the Dublin or *codex Montfortianus*, notwithstanding the attempts that have been made to shew their diversity. For the passage appears thus in Erasmus's third edition: *καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἐστι τὸ*

* Lectures on Divinity, part vi. p. 18, et seq.

μαρτυροῦν, ὅτι τὸ πνεῦμα ἐστιν ἡ ἀληθεία· ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, πατὴρ, λόγος, καὶ πνεῦμα ἅγιον, καὶ οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς ἕν εἰσι· καὶ τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῇ γῇ, πνεῦμα, καὶ ὕδωρ, καὶ αἷμα, καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἕν εἰσιν. Thus the third edition of Erasmus differs from the cod. Britannicus in having the final clause καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἕν εἰσιν; and in the insertion of καὶ before ὕδωρ. Erasmus's description of the text of the *cod. Britannicus* also differs from *the Dublin MS.* for he says:—"Veruntamen, ne quid dissimulem, repertus est apud Anglos Graecus codex unus, in quo habetur quod in Vulgatis deest; scriptum est enim in hunc modum:"—ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, πατὴρ, λόγος καὶ πνεῦμα, καὶ οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς ἕν εἰσιν· καὶ τρεῖς εἰσιν μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῇ γῇ, πνεῦμα, ὕδωρ καὶ αἷμα· εἰ τὴν μαρτυρίαν, κ. τ. λ.* On another occasion he remarks, that "the British codex had οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς, while the Spanish edition (Complutensian Polyglott) had only καὶ οἱ τρεῖς, which was also the case in the spirit, water, and blood; that the British had ἕν εἰσι, the Spanish εἰς τὸ ἕν εἰσιν; and finally, that the British added to the earthly witnesses καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἕν εἰσι, which was not here added in the Spanish edition."

But still, it is most probable that the *cod. Britannicus* and the Dublin MS. are the same; and that Erasmus, who never saw the MS. he gives an account of, made some mistakes in transcribing its text from the papers before him, as Porson long ago shewed.

There is less reason for believing that the Complutensian editors inserted the passage on the authority of Greek MSS.

They read thus: ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ὁ πατὴρ, καὶ ὁ λόγος καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἕν εἰσι. καὶ τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες, κ. τ. λ. The Latin version in the same Polyglott is, *Quoniam tres sunt qui testimonium dant in celo, pater, verbum et spiritus sanctus, et hi tres unum sunt, et tres sunt qui, &c.* When Stunica was challenged by

* Apologia ad Stunicam.

Erasmus to produce his Greek evidence for the place, he appealed to no Greek MSS. He simply replied: *Sciendum est Graecorum codices esse corruptos; nostros vero ipsam veritatem continere.* This is a proof that the Greek MSS. used by the editors did not contain the disputed verse, especially when it is remembered that Stunica quotes the *codex Rhodiensis* in opposition to Erasmus in this very epistle of John, viz. on iii. 16 and v. 20. The editors have also affixed a marginal note to the Greek text—a circumstance very unusual with them, as only three instances of it occur in the whole edition. In this note, the object of which was to secure themselves from blame for printing the verse, we should expect their best defence of it. Yet they do not mention any Greek MS. that contains it, nor any various readings in Greek MSS. They simply appeal to Thomas Aquinas. When we add to this, the agreement of their Greek of the passage with the verse as it stands in their text of the Vulgate, it is certain that they had no Greek MSS. containing it. We believe therefore, that the editors took the passage *not* from Greek MSS. but from the modern copies of the Vulgate, Pseudo-Jerome, and Thomas Aquinas.

It was also asserted and maintained, that the text existed in some of the Greek MSS. used by Stephens, whence he inserted it in his text. In his third edition he cites seven Greek MSS. of the Catholic epistles of which three belonged to the Royal Library in Paris. Now it is his manner, when any words are omitted in his MSS., to place an obelus in his text before the first word, and a semicircle after the last, shewing the extent of the omission. But in this edition the semicircle comes after the words ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ in the seventh verse. Hence it has been inferred, that *these words only*, and not the entire passage, were wanting in his seven MSS. But it has been shewn by Simon, Marsh, and Porson that the semicircle was put by mistake in the wrong place. It ought to be after

ἐν τῇ γῇ in the eighth verse. None of the MSS. now in the Parisian Royal Library has the passage; and one of Stephens's MSS. at present in the library of Cambridge University is also without it. We say *one* of Stephens's MSS. now in Cambridge on the authority of Marsh, who has made it all but certain, in his letters to Travis, that this Cambridge MS. (K.k. 6. 4. olim. Vatabli) and ιγ of Stephens are identical.

None of the other early editions need be canvassed for the purpose of ascertaining whether they derived the disputed passage from Greek MSS. It passed into Stephens's editions from the three last of Erasmus; Beza followed Stephens in inserting it; and thence it came into the Elzevir editions of 1624 and 1633, where it established itself as an integral part of the *received text.* It was also thought at one time, that Valla's *variae lectiones* afforded some evidence of a Greek MS. or MSS. in his possession which had the seventh verse. On 1 John, chap. v. there are only three notes, and the first of the three is on the words, *Et hi tres unum sunt.* Here he observes, "*Gr. Et hi tres in unum sunt,* εἰς τὸ ἕν εἰσι." Here a difference between the readings of the Greek and Latin is indicated. Now as the words *Et hi tres unum sunt* are in the Vulgate at the end both of verses 7 and 8, it was thought that Valla's note referred to the former, not the latter. If so, he had at least one Greek MS. with the seventh verse. But we believe that it has been made all but certain by various writers, especially by Porson,* that Valla's Greek MSS. *wanted* the seventh verse; and that no argument can be derived from his silence in favour of the opinion that they had it. The note in question refers to the eighth verse, not to the seventh.

Of the seventh verse *in Greek,* we perceive the earliest germs in Greek scholia appended to the margin of MSS. Thus in 62 a scholiast remarks in the margin at the word πνεῦμα in the eighth verse; τὸ ἅγιον καὶ ὁ πατὴρ καὶ αὐτος ἑαυτοῦ;

* Letters to Travis, p. 24, et seq.

on ἐν εἰσι he says, εἷς θεὸς, μία θεότης; and on verse 9 he adds to μαρτυρία τοῦ θεοῦ: τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. In like manner, in a Parisian codex, 2247, it is remarked on verse 8: τουτέστι τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον καὶ ὁ πατὴρ καὶ αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ; and on ἐν εἰσιν; τουτέστι μία θεότης, εἷς θεός. Another scholion produced by Matthaei has: οἱ τρεῖς δὲ εἶπεν ἀρσενικῶς, ὅτι σύμβολα ταῦτα τῆς τριάδος.*

The entire verse appeared for the first time in Greek in a Greek version of the *Latin* Acts of the Lateran council held in 1215. There it had this form: ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν οὐρανῷ, ὁ πατὴρ, λόγος, καὶ πνεῦμα ἅγιον· καὶ τοῦτοι οἱ τρεῖς ἕν εἰσιν.

In the fourteenth century Manuel Calecas, a monk of the Dominican order, *quotes* it in this form: τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες, ὁ πατὴρ, ὁ λόγος, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, omitting ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ and οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς ἕν εἰσιν.

At the commencement of the fifteenth century, Joseph Bryennius, a Greek monk, quotes part of the sixth with the seventh and eighth verses thus: καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἐστι μαρτυροῦν, ὅτι ὁ Χριστός ἐστιν ἡ ἀληθεία· ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῷ ουρανῷ, ὁ πατὴρ, ὁ λόγος, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, καὶ οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς ἕν εἰσι. καὶ τρεῖς οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῇ γῇ, τὸ πνεῦμα, τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ τὸ αἷμα.

But the whole treatise in which this passage occurs was not in two Moscow MSS. of Bryennius's works, examined by Matthaei.

The passage was inserted in the Sixtine Vulgate published 1590, and the Clementine editions 1592, &c. having previously been in the Complutensian Polyglott, the third edition of Erasmus 1522, in the various editions of Stephens 1546-1569, and in the editions of Beza 1565-1576, whence it passed into the Elzevir ones 1624, 1633.

After this survey of the external evidence against and for the passage, we believe no one will hesitate to conclude that it is spurious. The testimony against it is strong and over-

* See Griesbach's Diatribe in locum 1 Joann. v. 7, p. 638.

whelming. Let us now consider the *internal* evidence for and against it.

(1.) It is said that the connexion requires the seventh verse. The sense is not complete without it. But those who thus argue, assume that the words ἐν τῇ γῇ in the eighth verse are genuine; whereas they are equally spurious with ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, which are thought necessary to the antithesis. Although the words *in terra* in the eighth verse are wanting in some Latin MSS. which have not the heavenly witnesses, as we are informed by Stephens, Hentenius, Lucas Brugensis, and others; yet they are not found in the oldest copies. It is likely that they were inserted to correspond to the interpolated *in coelo* of the preceding context.

(2.) The grammatical structure of the original Greek requires the insertion of the seventh verse, else the latter part of the eighth must also be rejected. If the seventh verse do not precede, it is difficult to account for the use of the masculine gender in the eighth. We should expect τρία εἰσιν τὰ μαρτυροῦντα, because each of the witnesses to which the clause refers is in the neuter gender. But if the seventh verse be authentic, the writer might naturally carry on the same expression τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες, since the spirit, water, and blood attest the same thing with the heavenly witnesses.

To this it may be replied, that the spirit, water, and blood are *personified* in the passage; and therefore the masculine gender is employed. They are introduced as speaking witnesses for the fact that Jesus has come and truly suffered, according to prophecy.

(3.) Some think, that from the existence of the article τὸ before ἓν εἰσιν in the last clause of the eighth verse, it must refer to ἕν in the preceding verse, and consequently that both verses are so inseparably connected that they must be retained or rejected together. This ingenious supposition is mentioned by Wolfius in his Curae Philologicae; and has been ably dis-

cussed by Middleton in his work on the Greek article. But it derives its weight solely from the supposition that the three earthly witnesses concur in testifying *the one thing* testified by the heavenly witnesses. If ἓν εἶναι in the seventh verse express *the consubstantiality of the divine persons*, the τὸ ἕν of the eighth verse can have no allusion to the word ἕν in the seventh verse. It is only in case the ἓν εἶναι in the seventh denotes *consent* or *unanimity* that this argument is valid. Now interpreters are not agreed that the heavenly and earthly witnesses attest the same thing. Bishop Burgess, the most strenuous defender of the disputed verse in modern times, thinks that the heavenly witnesses of the seventh verse attest the divine nature of Jesus; the earthly witnesses of the eighth verse, his human nature.

It is observed by Turton, that τὸ ἕν may be equivalent to τὸ αὐτό, just as in Philip. ii. 2, supposing τὸ ἓν φρονοῦντες in that passage to be the genuine reading, in which case it is not necessary to refer the article to anything preceding.*

(4.) It is said that the diction is characteristic of John the apostle. The term *Word* is applied to Christ by no other evangelist or apostle; and in the fourth gospel he often speaks of the *witness* of the Father and the Holy Spirit.

It is difficult to see the force of this argument. No expressions identical with those in 1 John v. 7 occur in John's authentic writings; and besides, it is easy to *manufacture out of what he has written* similar sentiments and phraseology.

On the other hand, the connexion is clearer and the sense easier of apprehension without the disputed words. The opponents of their authenticity argue that internal evidence is *against* the passage.

(1.) John never uses ὁ πατὴρ and ὁ λόγος as correlates; but always ὁ πατὴρ and ὁ υἱός. In the same way all the New

* Vindication of the literary character of Professor Porson, &c. p. 352.

Testament writers employ the terms. Hence the phraseology is foreign to the usage of the New Testament.

(2.) We should expect that the heavenly witnesses ought to be placed *after* the earthly ones; since the preceding context had referred to the earthly. The oldest copies of the Vulgate have them indeed in that order, but then

(3.) There is no proper relation between the water, the blood, and the spirit, and the Father, the Word, and the Spirit. Nor can any suitable contrast of the three be pointed out.

(4.) "Without the interpolation, certainly, the mention of the water, blood, and spirit in the sixth verse is, with great propriety, followed by the repetition of the same terms in the genuine text; which repetition is rendered emphatic by the exaltation of the spirit, water, and blood into three witnesses." *

(5.) "The whole design of the apostle being here to prove to men by witness, the truth of Christ's coming, I would ask how the testimony of the 'three in heaven' makes to this purpose? If their testimony be not given to men, how does it prove to them the truth of Christ's coming? If it be, how is the testimony in heaven distinguished from that on earth? It is the same spirit which witnesses in heaven and in earth. If in both cases it witnesses to us men, wherein lies the difference between its witnessing in heaven and its witnessing in earth? If in the first case it does not witness to men, to whom doth it witness? And to what purpose? And how does its witnessing make to the design of St. John's discourse? Let them make good sense of it who are able. For my part, I can make none." †

We believe that internal evidence is *against* the passage as well as the external; and therefore reject the whole as certainly spurious.

* Porson, Letters, &c. p. 397.

† Sir Isaac Newton, Opp. vol. v. pp. 528-529, ed. Horsley.

Matthew vi. 13.

"Οτι σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία καὶ ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· ἀμήν.

"For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory for ever. Amen."

The authenticity of these words has been much contested. Many have been so long accustomed to regard them as a part of the Lord's prayer, that they think it impious to disturb them, or to call in question their divine authority; while others do not scruple to set them aside on the ground of substantial evidence.

We shall adduce the evidence on both sides.

In favour of the clause we have the following authorities:—

1. It is found in all the Greek MSS. yet examined except eight. It is contained in the Peshito, Philoxenian, and Jerusalem-Syriac versions; in the Ethiopic, Armenian, Georgian, Gothic, Slavonic. It is in a very few MSS. of the Memphitic in the margin, in the Erpenian Arabic, and the Persian of the London Polyglott. It is also in some MSS. of the Latin version. The *apostolic constitutions* have it once in the usual form, once in another manner. Thus in (vii. 24) they have: ὅτι σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· ἀμην, which may be said to contain the germ of its present form. But in iii. 18 they exhibit it fully.

2. It is found in Isidore of Pelusium, Chrysostom sometimes, Theophylact, Euthymius, German of Constantinople but differently from the usual way. Pseudo-Ambrose gives a doxology much more copious than the present; but in other places he repeats the Lord's prayer without it, and omits all mention of it in his explanations.

Such is the amount of external evidence in favour of the words. The *internal* may be summed up in the words of Calvin: "The clause is so exactly suitable, for it was added

not only for the purpose of kindling our hearts to seek the glory of God and of reminding us of the proper object of our prayers, but likewise to teach us that our prayers which are here dictated to us, are built on no other foundation than God alone, lest we should lean on our own merits."*

The authorities against the doxology's authenticity are these:—

1. It is omitted in B. D. Z. i. 17 (but this has ἀμήν) 118, 130, 209, and those very ancient MSS. out of which Luke (xi. 2-4) was interpolated. There is also a scholium in several MSS. examined by Wetstein, Birch, and Matthaei to this effect: τὸ δέ· ὅτι σοῦ κ. τ. λ. ἔν τισιν οὐ κεῖται μέχρι τοῦ ἀμήν. The scholiast of cod. 36 on Luke observes, that Luke finishes the prayer with the words, *lead us not into temptation;* but that Matthew added, *but deliver us from evil.*

2. It is omitted in the Memphitic, the Arabic of the Roman edition (1591) and Polyglott, the Persian of Wheloc, the old Latin (except cod. Brixianus, San Germanensis 1. Bobbiensis has *quoniam est tibi virtus in saecula saeculorum*), the Vulgate (which has however *Amen*, though that too is absent from some MSS.)

3. The Greek fathers, even when they explain at length the Lord's prayer and its several parts, omit the doxology; as Origen, Cyril of Jerusalem, Maximus, and Gregory of Nyssene. The last writer however concludes his exposition thus: χάριτι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅτι αὐτοῦ ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα ἅμα τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεί, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν;† "by the grace of Christ, for his is the power and the glory with the Father and the Holy Spirit, now and always and for ever

* "Neque enim ideo solum addita est, ut corda nostra ad expetendam Dei gloriam accendat, et admoneat, quisnam esse debeat votorum nostrorum scopus, sed etiam ut doceat, preces nostras, quae hic nobis dictatae sunt, non alibi quam in Deo solo fundatas esse, ne propriis meritis nitamur."

† De Orat. Domin. orat. v.

and ever, Amen." Yet he does not give this as a part of the sacred text. In like manner, Caesarius adduces a doxology twice, not as a part of Scripture, but of a Liturgy: *σοῦ ἐστι τὸ κράτος καὶ ἡ βασιλεία καὶ ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων;** "thine is the might, and the kingdom, and the power, and the glory of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, now and always, and for ever and ever." Euthymius blames the Massilians for despising *the invocation added by the fathers*, viz. *τὸ παρὰ τῶν θείων φωστήρων καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας καθηγητῶν προστεθὲν ἀκροτελεύτιον ἐπιφώνημα——τὸ ὅτι σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία καὶ ἡ δόξα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, οὐδὲ ἀκοῦσαι ἀνέχονται;* "for thine is the kingdom and the glory of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit." The doxology is also omitted by the Latin fathers, Tertullian, Cyprian, Juvencus, Chromatius, Ambrose, Sedulius, Fulgentius, and Jerome, who did not find it in the gospel of the Nazarenes. Tertullian expressly calls the sixth petition, the *clausula* of the prayer.

Most authorities that omit the doxology omit Ἀμήν. But some add ἀμὴν which want the doxology.

As to internal arguments against the authenticity, two have been advanced, one by Bengel, the other by Tholuck. The former says: "In some such way we celebrate him, with which while we are sojourners and soldiers we ought to be content. When all the sons of God shall have arrived at the goal, there will be nothing but doxology in heaven; His Kingdom has come, his will has then been done, he has forgiven our sins, &c.; but petition was more suitable to the time when our Lord prescribed this formula of prayer to his disciples, than praise. Jesus was not yet glorified," &c. † But Tholuck

* Dialog. I. Qu. 29, and Dial. III. 116.

† "Scopus orationis dominicae hic est, ut doceamur paucis petere ea quorum *indigemus*, v. 8, et ipsa oratio, etiam citra doxologiam, summam

appositely observes, that this objection takes too little notice of the prayer's *etiological* form.

Tholuck states that the arrangement of the three predicates *βασιλεία*, *δύναμις*, and *δόξα* would correspond better with the two triads of petitions, if the *δύναμις* stood before the *βασιλεία*.*

To this we may add, that there is no doxology in Luke where the same prayer is recorded; nor do any MSS. of his gospel which have not been interpolated exhibit a conclusion similar to that here found. This corroborates the view of those who look upon the doxology as spurious. Should it be said that the words were struck out of the text in Matthew to render it more conformable to Luke, the allegation is not probable. It would have been marvellous that a few daring transcribers or commentators should have omitted the doxology; and if so many writers of undoubted reputation and piety could have joined in the omission of a most beautiful and appropriate conclusion to the model of prayer taught by our Lord. Hence we cannot receive the explanation given by Matthaei, nor admit the probability of his conjecture that the corruption is to be traced to Origen.

The words are expunged from the text by the great majority of critical editors, the Complutensian ones, Erasmus, Bengelius, Mill, Wetstein, Griesbach, Scholz, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and others. They are also reckoned spurious by Grotius, Camerarius, Luther, Zwingli, Œcolampadius, Pellican, Bucer, Melancthon, Drusius, Walton, Mill, Grabe, Pfaff, Penn, De Wette, Tholuck, &c. &c.

laudis divinae imbibit.—Celebramus eum autem (patrem coelestem) tali fere modo, quo peregrinantes et militantes contenti esse debemus. Ubi ad metam pervenerit universitas filiorum Dei, mera fiet in coelo doxologia *sanctificetur, nomen Dei nostri: venit regnum ejus, facta est voluntas ejus, remisit nobis peccata, etc.* praesertim tempori illi, quo Dominus hanc formulam discipulis praescripsit, convenientior erat rogatio quam hymnus. Jesus nondum erat glorificatus, etc."—Gnomon.

* Auslegung der Bergpredigt, p. 388, third edition.

Looking at the state of evidence on both sides, there can be little doubt that the words are not a part of the prayer as at first spoken and written.

It is an important circumstance that B. D. Z. are against them, whose value cannot be outweighed by K. H. V. Δ with the whole host of cursive copies. The evidence of versions is contradictory; but most of the fathers knew nothing of the words. The oldest MSS. and the very old Memphitic and Latin versions want them, shewing that the *western* class in both its families was a stranger to the clause. Very important however is the Peshito as a witness for the authenticity. Yet in this case, as in others, there is good ground for suspecting that it has been interpolated. In the Syriac gospels of Cureton the doxology is *shorter* than in its present state; shewing that it was at the time *in progress* of formation. It had not then grown to its full size.

The fathers are decidedly against the authenticity. Such critics as Origen and Jerome knew nothing of it in their day, or did not regard it as a part of our Saviour's words. It seems to have been appended in some copies at least about the middle of the fourth century to the Lord's prayer; and therefore it is in Chrysostom and the Gothic version; unless indeed the works of the Constantinopolitan father have suffered interpolation here, as in other cases. It is most likely that the origin is Constantinopolitan or Asiatic, as Bengel rightly supposed.

The variety of forms in which the words appear is also adverse to their authenticity; for had they been a part of Matthew's gospel at first, we cannot account for the shapes in which they appear.

The interpolation may be explained in a very natural way. The clause was transferred from liturgical forms to the text of the New Testament. The custom of responding to prayers passed from the Jewish to the Christian church; the people sometimes pronouncing the single word *Amen*, and sometimes

more. This explains the different modes in which the clause appears in different MSS., and the retention of ἀμήν in several copies which have not the preceding (interpolated) words. We believe therefore, that the doxology originated in the ancient liturgies.*

Matthew xix. 17.

Τί με λέγεις ἀγαθόν; οὐδεὶς ἀγαθὸς, εἰ μὴ εἷς ὁ θεός.

"Why callest thou me good? There is none good but one, that is God."

Such is the reading of the received text in this place.

Another reading is: Τί με ἐρωτᾷς περὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ; εἷς ἐστιν ὁ ἀγαθός.

Here from the nature of the clauses and of the evidence, it will be better to consider them separately.

Τί με ἐρωτᾷς περὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ.

1. This is found in B. D. (D., and Origen once, omit τοῦ) L. 1, 22, *x* of Matthaei *a secunda manu*, where it is written twice, once in the usual manner, afterwards in this way. The same reading exists in the Memphitic, Sahidic, Ethiopic, Armenian, in the margin of the Philoxenian, the Vulgate, the old Latin (except cod. Brixianus). Origen quotes it four times. Eusebius, Cyril of Alexandria sometimes, the so-called Dionysius the Areopagite, Antiochus, Novatian, Jerome, Augustine Juvencus also have it.

2. On the other hand, the received reading Τί με λέγεις ἀγαθόν, is found in all MSS. of the Constantinopolitan recension, including C. E. K. S. V. Δ; in both the Syriac versions, in the Arabic, Persic, and Slavonic versions, the cod. Brixianus of the old Latin version; in Justin Martyr, Cyril of Alexandria mostly, Chrysostom, Euthymius, Theophylact, and others. Δ has τί με ἀγαθόν.

* See Roediger's Synopsis Evangeliorum, &c. Appendix iii. p. 229, et seq.

Εἷς ἐστιν ὁ ἀγαθός.

1. This is found in B. D. (but D. omits ὁ) L. 1, 22, the Armenian version, the Jerusalem-Syriac, some codices of the old Latin, Origen who quotes it three times, and Justin Martyr possibly.

2. On the other hand, οὐδεὶς ἀγαθὸς εἰ μὴ εἷς ὁ θεός is found in all MSS. of the Constantinopolitan class, in the various versions not quoted for the other, in Chrysostom, the author of a Dialogue concerning the Trinity, Ambrose and others. U. omits ὁ the article.

There are other varieties of reading as

Εἷς ἐστιν ὁ ἀγαθὸς ὁ θεός supported by the Memphitic, Vulgate, and many MSS. of the old Latin, Novatian, &c.

Εἷς ἐστιν ὁ ἀγαθός ὁ πατήρ, and εἷς ἐστιν ὁ ἀγαθός θεός ὁ πατήρ, are supported by very few documents.

It is apparent that our choice lies between the common reading and τί με ἐρωτᾷς περὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ; εἷς ἐστιν ὁ ἀγαθός. But it is not easy to decide between them; for the authorities are not preponderating in favour of either. B. D. are certainly weighty documents for the latter reading; but such MSS. as C. and Δ for the former are also important. The evidence of versions and fathers is contradictory and perplexing.

Nor can much be inferred from internal considerations. It is urged with plausibility that the common reading has arisen from a desire to make Matthew's text conformable to those of Mark and Luke. It is also the easier and less difficult reading; and should therefore be regarded as inferior to the more obscure.

On the other side, in favour of the common reading it may be said that it arose from anti-Arian polemics, as Baumgarten-Crusius thought, or by the arbitrary meddling of Origen, as Wetstein supposed; or that it originated in the accidental omission of ἀγαθὲ in the sixteenth verse, by which τί με λέγεις

ἀγαθὸν became incongruous, and had to be altered into τί με ἐρωτᾷς περὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ. But these are mere conjectures.

On the whole, we prefer the latter reading with Griesbach, Lachmann, and Tischendorf.*

Matthew xxi. 28-31.

1. Ἄνθρωπος εἶχε τέκνα δύο· καὶ προσελθὼν τῷ πρώτῳ εἶπε· τέκνον, ὕπαγε σήμερον, ἐργάζου ἐν τῷ ἀμπελῶνί μου. Ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν οὐ θέλω· ὕστερον δὲ μεταμεληθεὶς ἀπῆλθε. Καὶ προσελθὼν τῷ ἑτέρῳ εἶπεν ὡσαύτως. ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν· ἐγὼ κύριε· καὶ οὐκ ἀπῆλθε. Τίς ἐκ τῶν δύο ἐποίησε τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρός; λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· ὁ πρῶτος.

This is Griesbach's reading, differing from the received one only in having ἑτέρῳ instead of δευτέρῳ, which is an unimportant variation.

2. Another form in which the passage appears is with ὁ ὕστερος instead of ὁ πρῶτος.

3. A third form is: καὶ προσελθὼν τῷ πρώτῳ εἶπε· τέκνον, ὕπαγε σήμερον, ἐργάζου ἐν τῷ ἀμπελῶνί μου. Ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν ἐγὼ κύριε καὶ οὐκ ἀπῆλθεν. Καὶ προσελθὼν τῷ ἑτέρῳ εἶπεν ὡσαύτως. ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν· οὐ θέλω· ὕστερον δὲ μεταμεληθεὶς ἀπῆλθεν, κ. τ. λ. as No. 1.

There are also minor variations, but such as are comparatively trifling; and therefore they may be omitted.

It should also be observed, that some authorities which have ὕστερος (or ἔσχατος) instead of πρῶτος (No. 2), follow the order of No. 3, while others of them retain the common order.

2. We may put together the authorities for ὕστερος and its equivalents ἔσχατος and δεύτερος, in verse 31. For this reading then we have, B. D. 4, 13, 69, the Jerusalem-Syriac, Memphitic, Armenian, Arabic of the Polyglott, Vulgate, old Latin, Hippolytus, Hilary, Isidore, John of Damascus, Pseudo-Athanasius, Augustine, Juvencus, &c. It should be remarked

* See Griesbach's Commentarius Criticus, part i. p. 154.

however, that all MSS. of the old Latin and the Vulgate have not this reading. Yet the best of both have it, the codd. Vercellensis, Veronensis, Corbeiensis of the one; and the Evangelium Palatinum of Jerome's translation. *Novissimus* was the Latin reading. Jerome appeals to other copies which read *primus*—ex. gr. the cod. Brixianus.

3. This form of the text is contained in *some* of the authorities which read ὁ ὕστερος or some of its equivalents, such as B. 4, 13, 69, 124, 238, 262, 346, the Memphitic, Jerusalem-Syriac, Arabic of the Polyglott, and of Erpenius, Isidore, John of Damascus, Pseudo-Athanasius, and some MSS. of the old Latin and Jerome's version. It is not in D. and most MSS. of the old Latin, and the Vulgate.

With the exception of the authorities in favour of 2 and 3, all others have the received reading (1.)

In regard to No. 2, we are inclined to adopt it as the true reading on the valuable authority of B. and D. as well as the old Latin and Jerome's translation. This is corroborated by the fact that Hippolytus states the answer of the Jews to Christ was *the latter*, not *the former;* along with Origen's testimony of the answers of the two sons being in the order in which they stand in the received text—*i. e.* the first son refusing and afterwards going; the second promising and not going. Lachmann has accordingly taken ὁ ὕστερος instead of ὁ πρῶτος into the text.

No. 2, which we look upon as the original reading, led to No. 3. It was found difficult to explain the passage with the answers of the two sons as they are, and the Jews' reply to our Lord ὁ ὕστερος; and therefore the order was inverted to obviate the difficulty. Even B. has the order changed, in which however, Lachmann has not followed it, and properly so.

The difficulty is very considerable. How could the Jews say that ὁ ὕστερος did the will of his father, when it was the *first* son who repented and went into the vineyard according to

the father's desire? The expression ὁ ὕστερος must be explained with Schweizer and Tregelles, *he who afterwards went.* It does not refer to *the order* in which the two sons are mentioned, but to his *after* conduct; or in other words, to the expression ὕστερον δὲ μεταμεληθεὶς ἀπῆλθε.

The common reading πρῶτος was another expedient for evading the difficulty besides the inversion of the order of the answers given by the two sons. The reading of the old Latin version adopted by Lachmann, as being the most difficult, and as explaining the origin of the others, should be preferred as the true one.

Matthew xxvii. 35, 36.

[Ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ προφήτου· διεμερίσαντο τὰ ἱμάτιά μου ἑαυτοῖς, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἱματισμόν μου ἔβαλον κλῆρον]. Καὶ καθήμενοι ἐτήρουν αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ.

"That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, They parted my garments among them, and upon my vesture did they cast lots."

The words enclosed in brackets are omitted in many authorities.

1. They are wanting in all the uncial MSS. except Δ, such as A. B. D. E. F. G. H. K. L. M. S. U. V. and a great many cursive ones enumerated by Scholz. They are also wanting in a number of *evangelistaria.*

2. They are not in the old Syriac, at least in the MSS. of it, and in some editions also; and hence a note in the margin of the later Syriac states that they are not in the old Syriac nor in two [or three] Greek copies. Neither are they found in the Arabic of the Polyglott, the Persic of Wheloc, the Memphitic, Sahidic, Ethiopic, Slavonic. They are also wanting in many MSS. of the Vulgate, as well as the Sixtine edition; and in many MSS. of the old Latin, among which is the cod. Brixianus.

3. Chrysostom, Titus of Bostra, Euthymius, Theophylact, Origen, Hilary, Augustine, Juvencus omit them. On the strength of this ancient evidence, the passage is rightly expunged from the editions of Griesbach, Scholz, Lachmann, and Tischendorf. The testimony in favour of the passage is quite unimportant, consisting of Δ and a great number of cursive MSS., some MSS. of the old Latin and Vulgate, Philoxenian Syriac, the Jerusalem-Syriac, the Arabic of the Roman edition, the Persian of the Polyglott, and Armenian versions. Thus external evidence is decisive against the passage. It seems to have been at first a marginal annotation borrowed from John xix. 24, and afterwards taken into the text. Schulz however calls attention to the fact, that no other evangelist except Matthew uses the formula ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν, and that διὰ for ὑπὸ which the Latin version appears to have had in the original whence it was taken, is conformable to Matthew's usual manner.

Luke xxii. 43, 44.

Ὤφθη δὲ αὐτῷ ἄγγελος ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἐνισχύων αὐτόν. καὶ γενόμενος ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ ἐκτενέστερον προσηύχετο. ἐγένετο δὲ ὁ ἱδρὼς αὐτοῦ ὡσεὶ θρόμβοι αἵματος καταβαίνοντες ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν.

"And there appeared an angel unto him from heaven, strengthening him. And being in an agony, he prayed more earnestly; and his sweat was as it were great drops of blood falling down to the ground."

Authorities are divided as to the insertion or omission of these words. Let us look at the evidence on both sides.

They are omitted by the following:—

1. A. B. 13, 69, 124. It should be observed however, that the Alexandrine MS. A., though it wants the verses, has the Ammonian section in the margin. In 13 the first hand wrote only ὤφθη δέ. A later hand supplied the rest in the margin.

In 69 they are put after Matt. xxvi. 39. They are also omitted in *f* or cod. Brixianus of the old Latin, in the Sahidic version, and one MS. of the Memphitic. They are likewise omitted in evangelistaria in the lesson commencing with xxii. 39 and ending with xxiii. 1; though the same documents have them in the lesson Matt. xxvi. 2—xxvii. 2, where after the twentieth verse are introduced John xiii. 3-17; and after the thirty-ninth, Luke xxii. 43-45.

In L. the verses want the Ammonian number and Eusebian canon. The verses are written, but marked with asterisks, in E. S. V. Δ. 24, 36, 161, 166, 274; and with obeli in 123, 344.

Hilary states: "Et in Graecis et in Latinis codicibus complurimis, vel de adveniente angelo vel de sudore sanguinis nil scriptum reperiri."* "In very many Greek and Latin copies nothing was written either about the appearance of an angel or the bloody sweat." Jerome testifies much the same thing. "In quibusdam exemplaribus tam Graecis quam Latinis invenitur, Scribente Luca: *Apparuit illi Angelus*," &c.† In like manner a scholium on cod. 34 says: "It should be known that some copies have not the words relating to the drops [of blood]." Epiphanius writes: Ἀλλὰ καὶ "ἔκλαυσε" κεῖται ἐν τῷ κατὰ Λουκ. εὐαγγελίῳ ἐν τοῖς ἀδιορθώτοις ἀντιγράφοις . . . . . ὀρθόδοξοι δὲ ἀφείλοντο τὸ ῥητόν, κ. τ. λ.‡ "But he even 'wept' is found in the gospel according to Luke in the uncorrected copies, but the orthodox have taken away that which was said," &c.

The Syrians are censured by Photius, the Armenians by Nicon, Isaac the Catholic, and others, for expunging the passage.

* De Trinitate, Lib. x. p. 1062, ed. Benedict.

† Opp. vol. iv. p. 521, ed. Benedict.

‡ Epiphanii Ancorat. ed. Petavii, vol. ii. p. 36.

2. The passage is retained by

D. F. G. H. K. L. M. Q. U. X. and by all other MSS. except those already mentioned. It is also in all versions with the exception of the few specified before, as the old Latin, (except the Brescian codex), the Vulgate, two MSS. of the Memphitic, &c. It is referred to by Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Chrysostom, Titus of Bostra, Caesarius, &c. The Eusebian canon in M. recognises it.

According to Granville Penn, there is internal evidence which speaks decidedly for the spuriousness of these verses. He says, that it was not in the power of an angel to supply strength to Christ's spiritual nature, though his human nature received food from the hands of angels after his temptation.* But this takes for granted that the angel who appeared gave strength to his divine nature. We are disposed to think that his *human* nature received help from angels at this time.

The words are retained by Griesbach, Scholz, and Tischendorf. Lachmann puts them in brackets.

In considering the evidence for and against them, we observe, that though omitted by A. and B., both Justin and Irenaeus were acquainted with their existence. Nor can any probable cause be assigned for their insertion, supposing them spurious; whereas it is likely that they may have been omitted from doctrinal scruples finding the ideas contained in them unworthy of the divinity of Jesus. This is intimated by Epiphanius, who speaks of the orthodox expunging the words through fear of infringing the doctrine of Christ's proper deity. Hence we are inclined to retain the passage as a constituent part of the genuine gospel according to Luke.

Acts viii. 37.

Εἶπε δὲ ὁ Φίλιππος εἰ πιστεύεις ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας ἔξεστιν· ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ εἶπε· Πιστεύω τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ εἶναι Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν.

* Annotations to the Book of the New Covenant, p. 248.

"And Philip said, If thou believest with all thine heart, thou mayest. And he answered and said, I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God."

It is now very generally agreed among critics that these words are spurious. The evidence against them is indeed sufficient to cause their rejection.

1. They are wanting in A. B. C. G. H. and upwards of sixty other MSS. which have been cited. They are also omitted in many Lectionaries.

2. Of versions, they are not in the Memphitic, Sahidic, Old Syriac, Ethiopic, Erpenian Arabic, Slavonic in two MSS.

3. Chrysostom passes over the passage twice. Œcumenius has it at least in one MS., Theophylact once, and Bede.

1. On the other hand, the words are in E. and a considerable number of cursive MSS., eleven of which are formally cited by Scholz.

2. It is in the Vulgate (not the codex Amiatinus) the Armenian, the Arabic of the Polyglott, the Slavonic but not in two MSS. The Philoxenian has it with an asterisk.

3. It is quoted by Irenaeus (Greek and Latin), Œcumenius, Theophylact twice, Cyprian, Praedestinatus, Pacian, Jerome, Augustine, Bede who says that it was not in the Greek.

It should be observed that the words are not contained in the same form in the authorities which have them. Many varieties exist, as may be seen from the editions of Griesbach, Scholz, and Tischendorf. This fact, together with the nature of the evidence, leaves little doubt on the mind that the passage is an interpolation, which, having been written at first as a marginal note, was taken into the text. It has been suggested by Meyer, that it was derived from some baptismal liturgy, and was added here lest it might appear that the eunuch was baptized without evidence of his faith.

Acts xx. 28.

Προσέχετε οὖν ἑαυτοῖς καὶ παντὶ τῷ ποιμνίῳ, ἐν ᾧ ὑμᾶς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἔθετο ἐπισκόπους, ποιμαίνειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἣν περιεποιήσατο διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἰδίου.

"Take heed therefore unto yourselves, and to all the flock, over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to feed the church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood."

In this passage there is a great variety of reading. Let us consider each form of it by itself.

1. τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ. *The church of God.*
2. τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ κυρίου. *The church of the Lord.*
3. ——————κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ. *The church of our Lord and God.*
4. ——————κυρίου θεοῦ. *The church of the Lord God.*
5. ——————θεοῦ καὶ κυρίου. *The church of our God and Lord.*
6. ——————Χριστοῦ. *The church of Christ.*

The evidence in favour of each is the following:—

1. θεοῦ.

(*a.*) This is supported by B. and about 20 cursive MSS.

Formerly it was doubted about the true reading of the cod. Vaticanus. But it certainly reads τοῦ θεοῦ, as Birch, who had seen the MS., gave the reading of it at first in his *Variae Lectiones* ad textum Act. app. (p. 49). Two years later, however, he unfortunately threw doubts upon his own statement, in the Prolegomena to his various readings on the Apocalypse (p. 39). We are assured by Tischendorf, who saw the MS. more than once, that it has the received reading in this place. But it has been said, that though it has θεοῦ *now*, it had κυρίου at first. It has suffered correction in the place. This affirmation of erasure and revisal in the present word rests on no foundation. All that Gabler and Kuinoel give for it is the circumstance that B. in reading here τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἰδίου agrees with the MSS. with which it generally coincides in

other places and which read κυρίου. Hence it is concluded, that as B. *commonly* coincides with the copies that exhibit κυρίου, and agrees with them moreover in a certain reading in this very place (τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἰδίου), it must have originally had κυρίου in the text, just as they have; for which θεοῦ was subsequently interpolated. We greatly prefer the testimony of eye-witnesses to this kind of reasoning, which is by no means conclusive.

(*b.*) It is also in the Vulgate, the Philoxenian Syriac in the text, and a Syriac Lectionary in the Vatican, of the eleventh century. It should be observed that it is in such MSS. of the Vulgate as the cod. *Amiatinus, demidovianus, toletanus, &c.*

(*c.*) Epiphanius, Antiochus, Caelestine, Œcumenius, Ambrose, Orosius, Fulgentius, Cassiodorus, Ferrandus, Primasius, Martin, Bede, Etherius have θεοῦ. Theophylact has it twice.

Ignatius in his epistle to the Ephesians uses the phrase αἷμα θεοῦ. But in the larger recension he has Χριστοῦ instead of θεοῦ. It would appear however from the context, that he does not adopt it as a quotation; nor is it likely that he had in his mind Acts xx. 28. Basil in his ἠθικά* has θεοῦ, but Wetstein doubts whether he has been rightly edited. Χριστοῦ is said by Griesbach to be in the *Breviarium*, by which he can only mean Basil's *Regulae brevius tractatae.* We have searched for it there in vain. Chrysostom has θεοῦ three times, but once he has κυρίου. Besides his commentary on the place is εἶγε ὁ δεσπότης ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, which appears to require κυρίου, as Mill remarked.† One MS. too omits the words from ὁ δεσπότης to ἐκκλησίας. Athanasius in his first epistle to Serapion has θεοῦ, but one MS. reads κυρίου. Another has Χριστοῦ. Thus though the first edition of Athanasius has θεοῦ, four MSS. have other readings.‡ With regard to Ibas,

* Reg. 80, cap. 16, vol. ii. p. 385, ed. Paris 1618.

† Chrysostomi Opp. vol. ix. p. 333, ed. Benedict.

‡ See Opp. vol. i. part ii. p. 653, ed. Benedict.

it should be also observed, that though he has θεοῦ in Greek, yet in the Latin version it is *Domini*, in his epistle to Marinus in the Acts of the council of Chalcedon as printed by Mansi.* Ambrose, though rightly cited as we believe for θεοῦ,† is said by Bengelius to have both θεοῦ and κυρίου. Is not this critic mistaken in the affirmation? Besides Ignatius, Tertullian uses the phrase, sanguis Dei.‡ John of Damascus, Theophylact, Leontius, and others also have it; though the expression was considered improper and unscriptural by some, as by Origen against Celsus,§ by Chrysostom,‖ by Theodoret,¶ by Isidore, and by Gregory Nyssene,** &c.

2. κυρίου.

(*a.*) This reading is supported by A. C. D. E. and fourteen cursive MSS.

(*b.*) It is in the Memphitic, Sahidic, Armenian, and the margin of the later Syriac. According to Griesbach, the Ethiopic probably had this reading, since it commonly agrees with the Memphitic and Armenian. The term employed he looks upon as ambiguous; for it is always employed whether θεὸς or κύριος be in the Greek. On the contrary, Wakefield, pronouncing the assertion of Griesbach most unjustifiable, says that the "Ethiopic translator never employs the word here introduced but to signify *the supreme God alone.*"†† But the Ethiopic New Testament published by the Bible Society has Χριστοῦ. It is likely that Ethiopic MSS. differ in their reading according as they are older or younger. It was also in the old Latin, and accordingly we find it in the *cod. Cantab.* and in E., that is, *cod. Laudianus.*

(*c.*) It is found in Eusebius, the Apostolic Constitutions (belonging to the third century), Didymus, Ammonius, Maxi-

* Vol. iv. p. 1578. † De Spiritu Sancto, Lib. ii. ‡ Ad Uxor. Lib. ii. cap. 3.
§ Lib. ii. ‖ Homil. i. on Acts. ¶ Dial. iii.
** See Wetstein, vol. ii. pp. 597, 598.
†† Translation of the New Testament, vol. iii. p. 147.

mus, Theodore Studites, the Latin interpreter of Irenaeus, Lucifer, Augustine, Jerome, Sedulius, Alcimus. One MS. of Athanasius has this reading. Chrysostom has it once, *i.e.* on Ephes. iv. 12; and probably here too. Theophylact has it three times. The Latin of Ibas (ad Marin.) has *Dominus.*

3. κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ.

This reading is supported by C. *a tertia manu*, G. H. and upwards of a hundred cursive MSS. It is also in six lectionaries. The Slavonic version also has it; and Theophylact once.

4. κυρίου θεοῦ.

This is found in 3, 95 *a secunda manu*, and the Arabic version in the Polyglott. The Georgian has κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ with the article between.

5. θεοῦ καὶ κυρίου.

This is in codex 47.

6. Χριστοῦ.

This reading is supported by the Peshito, the Erpenian Arabic, Origen once. In another place Origen reads τὴν ἐκκλησίαν without the genitive. It is also in three codices of Athanasius; and twice in Theodoret. The larger recension of Ignatius has ἐν αἵματι Χριστοῦ. Basil in his *Regulae brevius tractatae* is also said to have Χριστοῦ once. Fulgentius (pro fide catholica) has it once.

In weighing the external evidence in favour of these varieties, it is obvious that Nos. 4 and 5 must be at once discarded as ill supported. No. 3 is supported by two uncial MSS., and by a very large number of cursive ones, but these are insufficient to recommend it to our adoption. No. 6 wants MS. evidence, though it has one important version, *i.e.* the Peshito in its favour. Hence the choice lies between Nos. 1 and 2. As far as the testimony of MSS. goes, τοῦ κυρίου is undoubtedly best supported. It has in its favour four uncial ones, A. C. D. E.; while τοῦ θεοῦ has only B. The versions are on the same side; for the old Latin must be preferred to

the Vulgate. The testimony of the fathers and ecclesiastical writers is very uncertain and contradictory. A passage in Athanasius has been quoted as bearing on this point. Griesbach affirms that Athanasius (contra Apollinar.) denied the occurrence of αἷμα θεοῦ in all Scripture. Here however he follows Wetstein who gives the words of Athanasius thus: οὐδαμοῦ δὲ αἷμα θεοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς παραδεδώκασι αἱ γραφαί. Ἀρειάνων τὰ τοιαῦτα τολμήματα. But though it be true that the Paris edition of Athanasius's works published in the year 1627 (vol. i. p. 645), has the words thus, yet they are not correctly given. Instead of καθ' ἡμᾶς, we should read δίχα σαρκός, as indeed the Latin version (*citra carnem*) in the Paris edition itself shews. The Benedictine edition (1698 Paris, vol. i. p. 951) has δίχα σαρκὸς; and the only various reading noticed in it is διὰ σαρκός. According to the true language then of Athanasius, he asserts that the Scriptures never speak of Christ suffering as God, without mentioning or implying his human nature; and in the next sentence he proceeds to say that "the Holy Scriptures, speaking of God in the flesh, and of the flesh of God when he became man, *mention the blood*, and sufferings, and resurrection of the body of God." Dr. Burton is probably wrong in saying that "Wetstein inserted καθ' ἡμᾶς [καθ' ὑμᾶς] from his own head, and left out the words δίχα σαρκὸς, upon which the whole meaning of the passage turns;"* for he may have quoted from the specified edition.

With regard to θεοῦ, there are no certain traces of it to be found in the fathers before Epiphanius and Ambrose; nor was it urged by the orthodox during those fierce controversies with heretics which prevailed in the fourth and fifth centuries; though it would have been appropriate against the latter. But Ammonius, the Apostolic Constitutions, Eusebius, Lucifer, Augustine, and Jerome, clearly knew and read κυρίου; and in

* Testimonies of the Anti-Nicene fathers to the Divinity of Christ, in theological works, vol. ii. pp. 20, 21.

opposition to them, what is the weight of those who can be adduced as *certainly* in favour of θεοῦ? Hence we believe that κυρίου is better supported by ancient writers, both Greek and Latin, than θεοῦ. Thus external evidence in its threefold division favours κυρίου more than θεοῦ or any other reading; since the most ancient MSS. have it (except B.), and those too belonging to different classes; while, as Griesbach observes, they are internally the best, scarcely ever agreeing in any reading that is not approved by the most skilful critics. Then again, ancient versions belonging to different countries, and representing both oriental and occidental documents, have κυρίου; while many ancient fathers sanction it. It is therefore entitled to the preference on the ground of external evidence.

We shall now proceed to *internal* evidence.

In favour of ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ, it has been alleged that the same phrase occurs often in the New Testament; whereas, on the contrary, ἐκκλησία τοῦ κυρίου is nowhere found. And in an address made by Paul, that reading should be preferred which is conformable to the Pauline phraseology, viz., τοῦ θεοῦ for the ten instances (1 Corinth. i. 2; x. 32; xi. 16, 22; xv. 9. 2 Corinth. i. 1. Gal. i. 13. 1 Thes. ii. 14. 2 Thes. i. 4. 1 Timothy iii. 15), in which ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ occurs, are all in Paul's epistles.

To this it may be replied, that Luke is the *writer*, not Paul himself; and therefore we should attend to the evangelist's style, not Paul's own. But Luke is accustomed to put ἐκκλησία without any adjunct. Besides, in this very discourse, the Father is distinguished from the Son by being called θεὸς; the latter κύριος, as may be seen from verses 19, 21, 24, 25, 27, 32, 35. Hence the same distinction should be made in this twenty-eighth verse.

Again, it may be said that the more difficult, unusual, and harsh reading should be preferred to the easier one. This is true only when the harsher reading is supported at least by

some ancient and weighty testimonies. A reading unsupported by proper witnesses cannot be defended on the ground of its difficulty alone, as Griesbach has remarked.

It may also be objected, that κυρίου was borrowed from the Septuagint where the phrase ἐκκλησία τοῦ κυρίου often occurs; and that the term being thus familiar to transcribers easily dropped from their pen. But this is quite improbable.

Still farther; Latin transcribers wrote *Dei* or rather *Di* for *Domini;* and from such Latin copies those Greek ones which have κυρίου were corrupted. But it is only the more recent Latin documents which have *Dei,* whereas the older have *Domini.* It is incredible that all the Greek MSS. which have κυρίου were corrupted from the Latin.

Michaelis says, that θεοῦ is probably the true reading, and all the others corrections or scholia, because it might easily give occasion to any of these, whereas none could so easily give occasion to θεοῦ. If Luke wrote θεοῦ, he thinks that the origin of κυρίου and Χριστοῦ may be explained either as corrections of the text, or as marginal notes; because *the blood of God* is a very extraordinary expression.* But it is not difficult to point out the mode in which θεοῦ might have arisen from κυρίου. Transcribers were familiar with ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ, from its frequent occurrence in the New Testament. Hence they would prefer the more known expression to the unusual one.

And not only can we account for θεοῦ arising from κυρίου but also Χριστοῦ. The latter is obviously an interpretation or gloss intended to define the sense of the ambiguous term κυρίος. But if the authors of the gloss had found θεοῦ in their Greek copies, they would not have chosen Χριστοῦ to explain it, but some more suitable phrase, probably τοῦ υἱου τοῦ θεοῦ, as Griesbach suggests.

The various compound readings arose from the combination

* Introduction to the New Testament, vol. i. pp. 334, 335.

of the two simple ones κυρίου and θεοῦ; and therefore internal evidence is clearly against them.

It has been conjectured with some degree of probability by Griesbach, that θεοῦ was taken either from Paul's epistles or a parallel in 1 Peter v. 2, where we read ποιμάνατε τὸ ἐν ὑμῖν ποίμνιον τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐπισκοποῦντες, κ. τ. λ.

From a general survey of the evidence, we are inclined to adopt τοῦ κυρίου as the most probable reading. It is best supported by the authority of documents, as well as internal considerations. It has been received by Grotius, Wetstein, Griesbach, Marsh, Lachmann, Tischendorf, Olshausen, Kuinoel, Meyer, De Wette, &c.

On the other hand, the received reading is followed by Mill, Wolf, Bengel, Matthaei, Rinck, Michaelis, Scholz, &c. But Scholz should consistently have edited κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ as the Constantinopolitan form of the text. By retaining τοῦ θεοῦ he has departed from his own principles.

INDEX.

I. PASSAGES OF SCRIPTURE ILLUSTRATED OR EXPLAINED.

Genesis i. I. 410-414.
„ ii. I. 414-415.
„ ii. 24, I. 415-417.
„ iii. 15, I. 288.
„ iv. 8, I. 89, 419.
„ x. 21, I. 7, 8.
„ x. 25, I. 8.
„ xi. 5, I. 230.
„ xiv. 13, I. 6, 7.
„ xiv. 14, I. 90.
„ xv. 4, I. 230.

Exodus xii. 40, I. 86.
„ xx. 2-17, I. 432-442.
„ xxix. 35, I. 230.

Numbers xxiv. 24, I. 7, 8.

Leviticus ix. 21, I. 372.

Deuteronomy vi. 5-21, I. 432, 442.

Joshua xxi. 35, I. 421-427.

Judges xviii. 30, I. 408, 409.

1 Samuel vi. 19, I. 401-404.
„ xi. 14, I. 78.
„ xvii. 12-31, I. 397, 400.
„ xvii. 55 to xviii. 5, I. 401.
„ xxi. 5, I. 292.

2 Samuel xv. 7, I. 429, 430.
„ xxi. 1, I. 295.
„ xxii. 11, 12, I. 302.
„ xxiv. 13, I. 299.

1 Kings vi. 1, I. 380.
„ xxii. 43, I. 380.

2 Kings viii. 16, I. 379.
„ ix. 29, I. 379.
„ x. 1, I. 379.

1 Chronicles xxi. 11, I. 295.

2 Chronicles x. 16, I. 372.
„ xvii. 6, I. 380.
„ xx. 33, I. 380.
„ xxii. 2, I. 409, 410.

Nehemiah viii. 8, I. 225.
„ xiii. 2, 4, I. 225.

Psalms xvi. 1, I. 394-397.
„ xviii. 8, I. 443.
„ xxii. 17, I. 404-408.
„ xxv. I. 389-393.
„ xl. 7-9, I. 312.
„ xlviii. 15, I. 67.
„ lv. 16, I. 67.
„ c. 3, I. 373.
„ cxlv. I. 393-394.

Proverbs xviii. 22, I. 430.

Canticles viii. 6, I. 131.

Isaiah ix. 2, I. 372.
„ xix. 8, I. 444-446.
„ xix. 18, I. 8.
„ xxv. 1, I. 67.
„ liii. 8, I. 443-444.
„ lviii. 10, I. 431.

Jeremiah li. 19, I. 292-293.

Amos ix. 11, 12, I. 312.

Micah v. 2, I. 310, 311.

Zechariah ix. 9, I. 313.
„ xii. 10, I. 417.

Malachi iii. 1, I. 311.

Matthew ii. 6, I. 310-311.
„ v. 8, I. 30.
„ vi. 13, II. 427-432.
Matthew ix. 36, II. 377.
„ xix. 17, II. 432-437.
„ xxi. 5, II. 313.
„ xxi. 28-31, II. 434-436.
„ xxvii. 35, 36, II. 436, 437.

Luke xxii. 43, 44, II. 437-439.

Acts viii. 37, II. 439, 440.
„ xv. 16, 17, I. 312.
„ xv. 20, 29, II. 373.
„ xx. 28, II. 441-448.
„ xxii. 25-28, I. 311, 312.

Romans vii. 6, II. 375.
„ xi. 6, II. 378.

1 Corinthians v. 8, II. 165.
„ xv. 29, II. 373.

1 Timothy, iii. 16, II. 382-402.

1 John v. 7, II. 403-426.

Revelation xxii. 14, II. 378.

II. OF AUTHORS AND SUBJECTS.

Abbé de Camps, 753.
Abraham Ben Chayim's Hebrew Bible referred to, 140.
Abu Said's Arabic Version of the Pentateuch, 258.
Accents in the Greek Testament, their late origin, 462, 463.
Adler, N. T. Versiones Syriacae denuo examinatae, 611, 629, 635, 638, 639, 640, 645, 646; Biblisch-kritische Reise, 258, 362.
Ælian's Varia Historia cited, 165.
Agapetus, Deacon of Constantinople, his writings referred to, 800.
Age of the Hebrew language, 13-18; of Hebrew MSS. 341-342.
Alcala, the library of, 553, 554.
Alcimus, Archbishop of Vienne, his writings referred to, 800.
Alcuin's revision of Jerome's Latin version, 271.
Aldine edition, the, of the LXX. 212; of the Greek Testament, 557.

Alexander's, Professor, Commentary on Isaiah referred to, 75; on the Psalms, 395.
Alexandrine recension of the text of the Greek Testament, 518, 534.
Alexandrinus, Codex, described, 717-721.
Alford's Greek Testament referred to, 662.
Alter, Professor, his Greek Testament, 576; on the Slavonic version, 685.
Ambrosiaster, (Hilary the deacon), his writings referred to, 800.
Ambrosius, Bishop of Milan, his writings referred to, 800.
Amersfoordt quoted, 213.
Amiatinus, Codex, described, 700, 701.
Ammonian-Eusebian sections, the, 463.
Ammonius, an Alexandrine writer, 463.
Amphilochius of Iconium, 786, 787.
Anastasius Sinaita, 794.
Andreas, Bishop of Caesarea, his writings referred to, 794.
Andreas, Archbishop of Crete, his writings, 795.
Antiochus, Bishop of Ptolemais in Phenicia, his writings, 792.
Antony, an Egyptian Monk, his Opuscula, 787.
Antwerp Polyglott, the, 145, 146, 618.
Apollinaris, the younger, his Commentaries, 787.
Apostolic Canons, the, 785.
Apostolic Constitutions, the, 785.
Apostolical Fathers, their mode of quoting the New Testament, 490, 491.
Ἀπόστολος, ὁ, explained, 478.
Aquila, his Greek version of the Old Testament, 215-217.
Arabic versions of the Old Testament, 255-260.
Arabic versions and editions of the New Testament, 668-675.
Aramæan language, the, 12.
Archelaus, a Mesopotamian bishop, his writings referred to, 785.
Arethas, Bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, his works, 797.
Argenteus, Codex, described, 678-680.
Aristeas, his account of the origin of the Septuagint, 166, &c.
Aristobulus, his testimony respecting the Septuagint, 163-164.
Arius, his Letter to Eusebius referred to, 787.
Armenian version of the New Testament, the, 661, 666.
Arnobius, his writings referred to, 801.
Assemani, J. S., referred to, 243, 610, 634, 641.
Asterius of Cappadocia, 787.
Athanasius, his writings referred to, 786, quoted, 841, 887, 891.
Athenagoras, 784.
Athias, his edition of the Hebrew Bible, 147.
Aubert's edition of Cyril, 832.
Augiensis, Codex. 744.
Augustine, on the early Latin version, 262, 267, 687, 689; his works referred to, 801.
Auriville's Dissertationes ad Sacras litteras et philol. Orient. pertinentes cited, 396.

Autographs of the New Testament writers, 485, 488.
Aymon, John, referred to, 737.

Baba Bathra quoted, 104.
Babylonian Talmud quoted, 20, 21.
Bacon, Roger, referred to, 272, 273.
Bahrdt referred to, 207.
Baldwin the Jesuit referred to, 280.
Barberinian Triglott referred to, 258.
Barcochab, coins restruck by, 35.
Bardesanes referred to, 245, 246.
Bar Hebraeus, Gregory, quoted, 245, 251, 252, 633, 662.
Barnabas, 488; epistle of, 783; quoted, 835.
Barret, Dr., of Trin. Col. Dub., his Fac-simile of the Codex Rescriptus Dublinensis described, 757-759.
Basil, Bishop of Seleucia, his Orations referred to, 792.
Basil, the great, 787; quoted, 835, 888.
Bayer, de numis Hebraeo-Samaritanis, quoted, 35.
Bauer referred to, 260.
Bede, his writings referred to, 801.
Bellarmine's Preface to the Clementine edition of the Vulgate, 278, 279, 281.
Bengel, John Albert, his edition of the Greek Testament, 569, 570, Introductio ad Crisin, 816; Gnomon, 875, 876.
Bentley, 262; quoted, 703, 705.
Benzelius, Archb. of Upsal, referred to, 677, 679.
Bernstein referred to, 633; De Charklensi Nov. Test. translatione Syriaca Commentatio, 634.
Bertholdt's Einleitung referred to, 632.
Beza's editions of the Greek Testament, 561, 562; referred to, 752, &c.
Bible, Hebrew, the first printed edition of, 140; various succeeding editions of, 140-161.
Biblical Review, 554.
Bibliothecae Barberinae, Codex, 757.
Bibliotheca Sacra referred to, 408.
Bibliotheca Sussexiana, by Pettigrew, 347.
Birch, his edition of the Four Gospels, 576, 722; referred to, 887.
Blanchini and Hwid's Specimen ineditae versionis Arabico-Samaritanae Pentateuchi, 259.
Blanchini, Evangeliarium Quadruplex latinae versionis antiquae seu veteris Italicae, 688, 698, 699, 722, 742.
Bobbiensis, Codex, 692, 693.
Bochart, quoted, 402.
Bode, referred to, 651.
Boecler's edition of the Greek Testament, 565.
Boernerianus, Codex, 693.
Bomberg's Rabbinical Bibles, 121, 129, 131, 142, 143-145.

Boothroyd's Hebrew Bible, 158, 159, 412, 413.
Boreel, John Andrew, referred to, 743.
Boreeli, Codex, 742.
Borgianus, Codex, 755.
Bornemann's Acta Apostolorum Luca conscripta ad fidem Codicis Cantabrigiensis, &c. 734.
Bosworth, the Rev. F., 53.
Bowring, Dr., quoted, 553, 554.
Bowyer's Greek Testament, 573, 818.
Breithaupt referred to, 403.
Brixianus, Codex, 691.
Bruns referred to, 318, 618.
Buchanan, Dr. C., referred to, 369.
Bukentop the monk, 282.
Bull, the Papal, respecting the Latin Vulgate, 277.
Bunsen, quoted, 14, 24, 78, 87.
Burgess, Bishop, referred to, 853, 871.
Burton's Testimonies of the Ante-Nicene Fathers to the Divinity of Christ, 891.
Buxtorf, the younger, on the Hebrew characters, 22; De Punctorum &c. in libris V. T. origine, 53.
Buxtorf, the elder, his Tiberias, 104, 116; his Hebrew and Rabbinical Bibles, 146, 147.

Caesareus Vindobonensis, Codex, 753.
Caesarius of Arles, his writings referred to, 801.
Caesarius, brother of G. Nazianzenus, his dialogues referred to, 787; quoted, 875.
Calecas, Manuel, quoted, 869.
Calligraphical and tachygraphical writing, 28, 29.
Calvin, quoted, 873, 874.
Canon of the Old Testament, 103-108.
Canon of the New Testament, 476-484.
Canons or rules of Criticism, 386-387, 820-827.
Cantabrigiensis or Bezae, Codex, 692, 731, 733.
Cappellus, his Arcanum Punctationis revelatum, 53; Critica Sacra, 116, 117, 125, 297, 299.
Carlyle, Prof., referred to, 674.
Carpzov quoted, 420.
Cassian, his writings referred to, 801.
Cassiodorus, his writings referred to, 802; quoted, 863.
Castell, referred to, 669, 672.
Cedrenus, George, his Chronicle referred to, 797.
Chapters, in the Hebrew Bible, the origin of, 60.
Chapters and Verses in the Greek Testament, their origin, 467.
Charlemagne referred to, 270.
Chayim, Rabbi Ben, referred to, 142, 144, 427.

Chifflet's Vigilii Tapsensis Vindiciae, referred to, 864.
China, account of the Hebrew MSS. found in, 367-369.
Chromatius, Bishop of Aquileia, 802.
Chrysocephalus, his writings referred to, 799.
Chrysostom quoted, 6, 7, 648, 661, 834, 888; his works generally, 791.
Cilicisms, the supposed, of Paul's writings, 457.
Clarke, Dr. Adam, referred to, 854.
Claromontanus, Codex, 691, 734-738.
Classification of Hebrew MSS. 344, 345; of the MSS. of the Greek Testament, 534-551.
Claudius, Bishop of Turin, his writings referred to, 802.
Clementine and Sixtine editions of the Vulgate, the, 278-283.
Clement of Alexandria referred to, 465, 492; his writings, 784; quoted, 823.
Clement of Rome, referred to, 488, 781.
Codices, Latin, 690-694, 701, 702; Greek, 717-773.
Coin-writing, Jewish, 23, 25.
Coislinianus, Codex, 743, 748.
Colbertinus, Codex, 692.
Coleman, the Rev. Mr., of Ventnor, referred to, 369.
Colinæus, his edition of the Greek Testament, 558.
Columbanus, his writings referred to, 802.
Complutensian Polyglott, referred to or described, 141, 142, 211; the Greek Testament in the, 552, 553, 866.
Constantinopolitan Recension of the Text of the Greek Testament, 519, 535.
Corbejensis, Codex, 691, 693.
Correctoria or Epanorthotae, what, 272, 273.
Cosmas Indicopleustes, referred to, 641; his writings, 795.
Cramer's Beiträge referred to, 654.
Credner, De Prophetarum Minorum Versionis Syriacae quam Peschito Vocant indole, 249.
Critical application of ancient versions, 285-293.
Critical conjecture, its use, 374-381, 817-829.
Critical rules for determining various readings, 820-829.
C'thibs and k'ris, what, 122-124.
C'thib v'lo k'ri, what, 125.
Curcellaeus, his edition of the Greek Text, 565.
Cureton's edition of the Syriac Gospels, 877.
Cursive MSS., 708; described, 764-770.
Custodes linearum, 67, 68.
Cyprian, quoted, 505, 506, 858, 859; his writings, 802.
Cyprius, Codex, 750.
Cyril of Alexandria, 792; quoted, 831, 832.
Cyril of Jerusalem, his writings referred to, 787.
Cyril and Methodius, translators of the Slavonic version of the New Testament, 684.

D'Allemand, Judah, revised Van der Hooght's Hebrew Bible, 159.
Dathe referred to, 247.
Davidson's Sacred Hermeneutics, 399, 419.
De Dieu referred to, 620.
Demetrius Phalereus, 164-166.
Demidovianus, Codex, 702.
Derrer, his transcript of the Gothic version from the Codex Argenteus, 676.
De Rossi, his Annales Hebraeo-typographici, and de Hebraicae typographiae origine, &c., 138, 139, 140, 141; de ignotis nonnullis antiquissimis Hebr. text. editionibus, 139; his Scholia Critica on the Hebrew Bible, 155-157, 397, 428.
De Sacy's Memoire sur l'état actuel des Samaritains, 242.
De Wette's Einleitungen, 119, 465, 605, 608, 681.
Diadochus of Photice, his writings referred to, 793.
Dialect, the New Testament, 448-465.
Dialects of the Hebrew language, 18, 19.
Didymus of Alexandria, his writings, 787, 788; quoted, 835, 840.
Diodorus of Tarsus, quoted, 6; his writings referred to, 788.
Diognetus, the Epistle to, quoted, 835.
Dionysius Bar Salibi, referred to, 641.
Dionysius of Alexandria, his writings, 785; quoted, 839.
Dionysius of Corinth quoted, 492.
Dobrovsky's Slavanca, 685, 686.
Documents of the Greek Testament, classification of, 534-551.
Doederlein and Meisner's Hebrew Bible, 158.
Dorotheus of Tyre, his works referred to, 788.
Dublinensis, Codex, 757-759.

Eber referred to, 8.
Ecclesiastical element in the Greek of the New Testament, 457, 458.
Eckhel's Doctrina Numorum Veterum, 35.
Egyptian Versions of the New Testament, 652-660.
Eichhorn's Einleitungen, 130, 132, 211, &c., 500, 501, 607, 651, 653, 663, 664.
Elias of Crete, his writings referred to, 796.
Elzevir editions of the Greek Testament, 563.
Emmerami, Codex, 702.
Engelbreth referred to, 659.
Enneapla, the, of Origen, 204.
Ephraem, the Syrian, referred to, 244, 248, 251, 599; his writings, 788.
Ephraemi, Codex, described, 727-731.
Epiphanius on the origin of the Septuagint, 168; referred to or quoted, 217, 495, 496, 884; his writings referred to, 342.
Epiphanius Scholasticus, his writings, 788.
Erasmus, his Greek Testament, various editions of, 554-556; referred to, 865, 866.

Erpenius, his edition of the Arabic Pentateuch, 257 ; of the Arabic version of the Gospels, 669, 671.
Estienne, Robert (Stephens), his editions of the Vulgate, 274.
Estrangelo, meaning of the term, 243.
Æthiopic version of the New Testament, 648-652.
Εὐαγγέλιον, what, 478.
Eucherius, Bishop of Lyons, his writings referred to, 802 ; quoted, 860, 861.
Eugenius, Confession drawn up by, 862.
Eulogius, Bishop of Alexandria, his writings, 795.
Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea, his works, 788, 789.
Eusebius, Bishop of Emesa, his writings referred to, 789.
Eustathius, Patriarch of Antioch, 789.
Euthalius referred to, 465 ; his writings, 792, 840.
Eutherius of Tyanea, his writings referred to, 792.
Euthymius Zygabenus, his writings referred to, 798, 875.
Evagrius, the Nitrian Monk, referred to, 789.
Evangeliarium, what, 466.
Ewald's Ausführliches Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Sprache, 15, 31, 43, 44 ; on the Assyrian-Hebrew Vocalisation, 45, 46.
Eznak, author of the Armenian version of the New Testament, 661.

Fabricius, Guido, his edition of the Peshito Syriac New Testament, 618.
Fac-similes of the Hebrew MSS. obtained at the Synagogue of K'ae-fung-foo, referred to, 368.
Facundus, an African Bishop, his writings referred to, 803, 859, 860.
Fagi, referred to, 231.
Fastidius, a British Bishop, 802.
Fathers, and other early Christian writers who have quoted the New Testament, Greek, 781-799 ; Latin, 800-808.
Faustinus, Presbyter of Rome, his writings, 803.
Faustus, the Manichaean, his works, 803.
Fell, Bishop, his edition of the Greek Text, 565, 566.
Flaminius Nobilius referred to, 263.
Fleck, 730.
Ford's Appendix ad editionem Novi Testamenti Græci e Codice MS. Alexandrino a Car. God. Woide descripti, &c., 725.
Forojuliensis, Codex, 702.
Fossatensis, Codex, 702.
Frankel's Vorstudien zu der Septuaginta referred to, 111, 177, 179, 187, 198, 199, *et al.*
Frommanni Opuscula 314.
Frumentius referred to, 649.
Fuldensis, Codex, 701.
Fulgentius, Bishop of Ruspe, his writings, 803 ; quoted, 860, 861, 862.

Gabelentz, H. C. de, editor of the Gothic version of the New Testament, 678, 682.

Gabler referred to, 887.
Gabriel Sionita, 253; his editition of the Arabic version of the Gospels, 669.
Gallandii Bibliotheca referred to, 789, 790, 791, *et al.*
Gardie, Count de la, referred to, 679.
Gatiani, Codex, 702.
Gaudentius, Bishop of Brescia, his writings, 803.
Geddes referred to, 413, 414, 415.
Gelasius of Cyzicus, his writings, 792.
Gelasius, Pope, the Council held under him, quoted, 523.
Gemaras, the two, 115, 315.
Genealogies, antediluvian and postdiluvian, according to the Hebrew, Samaritan, and Septuagint Pentateuch, 85.
Gennadius referred to, 792.
Georgi, 653, 654, 659, 755.
Georgian version of the New Testament, 667.
Gerhard of Maestricht, his edition of the Greek Testament, 568.
Gerson's Hebrew Bible, 141.
Gesenius, his Hebrew Grammar, 8, 12; Geschichte der Heb. Sprache und Schrift, 9, 13, 14, 225; on the change of Hebrew characters, 22, 23, 30; De Pentateuchi Samaritani origine, indole, et auctoritate, 79, 94, 95, 186, *et al;* Lehrgebäude, 119; Commentar ueber den Jesaia, 233.
Gieseler's Ecclesiastical History, 789.
Gildas referred to, 803.
Gill, Dr. John, 315.
Glycas, a Byzantine Historian, his writings, 798.
Golden and Silver Ages of the Hebrew language, 16-18.
Gothic Version of the New Testament, the, 676, 683.
Gottschalk, 747.
Grabe, his edition of the LXX., 212.
Grammatical peculiarites of the New Testament dialect, 455.
Greenfield's edition of the Peshito Syriac New Testament, 627, 629.
Gregorius Palamas, his writings, 799.
Gregory Bar Hebraeus cited, 245, 251, 252.
Gregory the Great, Pope, referred to, 269; his writings, 803.
Gregory of Nazianzum, his writings, 788.
Gregory of Nyssa, his writings, 788; quoted, 835, 842, 874.
Gregory Thaumaturgus, his writings, 786; quoted, 842.
Griesbach, his Opuscula Academica referred to, 486, 487; system o recensions, 518-521; editions of his Greek Testament, 573, 574, 577, 578, 579, 580; Symbolæ Criticæ, 574, 741, 745, 751, Dissert. crit. de cod. quat. evang. orig. 814, 815; Commentarius Criticus, 880.
Grinfield's Apology for the LXX., 194, 195.
Grotius quoted, 6.
Guelpherbytanus, Codex of the Latin version, 693.
Guelpherbytani, Codices, Greek, 754.

Gutbier's edition of the Peshito Syr. New Testament, 621.

Hagiographa, Targums on the, 237, 238.
Hahn's edition of the Hebrew Bible, 159; Das Evangelium Marcion's u. s. w., 782.
Hai, Rabbi, referred to, 426.
Haitho, King of Armenia, referred to, 662, 663.
Hamilton's Introduction to the Study of the Hebrew Scriptures, 191.
Haphtaroth, the, 59.
Harclea, or Harkel, Thomas of, his revision of the Philoxenian version of the New Testament, 632-636.
Harwood's Greek Testament, 574, 819.
Harlejanus, Codex, 702.
Hassencamp's commentatio philologica-critica, de Pentateucho LXX. interpretum graeco, non ex Hebraeo sed. Samaritano textu converso, referred to, 184.
Havemann's Wegeleuchte wieder die Jüdische Finsternissen, 228.
Hävernick, his Einleitung referred to, 7, 13, 104.
Hebraisms in the Greek Testament, 455-457.
Hebrew, meaning of the term, 6-9; when first used, 9.
Hebrew characters, 20-36.
Hebrew language, 6-19.
Hebrew MSS.; Synagogue Rolls, 321-324; private, 324-336; country, age, goodness, &c., 336-344; classification of, 344; in Rabbinical characters, 345; description of several, 346-365; in China, 366-370; application to criticism, 370-373.
Hebrew vowels, 37-55.
Henderson, Dr., quoted, 830, 836, 838.
Hengstenberg's Commentary on the Psalms quoted, 74, 302, 391; Dissertations on the Pentateuch, 100, 104, 225; Christologie, 397.
Hentenius, John, his edition of the Vulgate, 274.
Heracleon the Valentinian, referred to, 782.
Herbst's Historisch-kritische Einleitung, &c. 31, 77, 98, 103, 249, *et al.*
Heringa, Professor, referred to, 743.
Hesychius, referred to, 208; his recension of the Greek Testament, 522-524; his writings referred to, 789.
Hexapla, the, of Origen described, 202-203.
Hieronymus, see Jerome.
Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers, his writings, 804, 884.
Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, his writings, 804.
Hippolytus of Antioch, his writings, 786; quoted 841.
Hirt's Oriental. und Exegetisch. Bibliothek, 615.
Hirzel, De Pentateuchi Versionis Syricae quam Peschito vocant indole, 247, 249.
History of the Text of the Old Testament, 56-161.
History of the Text of the New Testament, 459-595.
Hody, De Bibliorum textibus, &c. 164, 174, 177, 178.

Hoffmann's Grammatica Syriaca, 244.
Holmes's edition of the Septuagint, 201, 213.
Höpfner's Exegetisches Handbuch, 402.
Horne, T. H., referred to, 270.
Horsley's Biblical Criticism, 399.
Houbigant (C. F.), his Hebrew Bible, 149-150; referred to, 304, 305.
Hug, his Einleitung, 246, 511, 559, 599, 601, 610, 646, 650, 663, 680; on the Clementine and Sixtine editions of the Vulgate, 279; De Antiquitate Codicis Vaticani, 722.
Hugo, A. St. Caro, 272.
Hunerich, King of the Vandals, referred to, 862.
Hupfeld, Studien und Kritiken, 24; Hebräische Grammatik, 27, 42.
Hurwitz, revised Van der Hooght's Hebrew Bible, 159.
Hutter, Elias, his edition of the Hebrew Bible, 146; of the New Testament in twelve languages, 619.

Ibas, quoted, 889, 890.
Ibrahim of Haleb, referred to, 255.
Ignatius, referred to or quoted, 486, 488, 781, 841.
Ignatius, Patriarch of the Maronites, 613.
Ihre, John, referred to, 677, 679.
Ingoldstadiensis, Codex, 702.
Irenaeus on the Hebrew letters, 33; respecting Aquila, 217; his works referred to, 781, 782, quoted, 492.
Isaac, the Armenian Patriarch, referred to, 661.
Isidore Clarius, his edition of the Latin Bible, 275.
Isidore of Pelusium, his writings, 792.
Isidore of Seville, quoted, 270.
Itala Vetus, the, 261-264, 689.

Jablonski's Hebrew Bible, 148.
Jacob Ben Chayim, 121, 129, 132.
Jacob of Edessa referred to, 245.
Jacob, Rabbi, son of Tawus, his Persian version of the Pentateuch, 260.
Jacobus of Nisibis, his writings, 804.
Jahn's Hebrew Bible, referred to, 84; described, 158; Hebrew Commonwealth, 106; Einleitung, 57.
James's Bellum Papale, 278, 280.
Jarchi, referred to, 317.
Jerome, on the changes of the Hebrew letters, 21; on Hebrew vocalization in his day, 50-52; on the alleged falsification of the Hebrew Scriptures by the Jews, 70; on the Septuagint, 181, 202; on Aquila's version, 216, 219; on the Latin versions of his time, 262, 264, 265, 266, 267; his own version, 264, 270; on the New Testament mode of quotation from the Old Testament, 310; on the supposed Cilicisms in Paul's writings, 457; charge against Marcion, 495; revision of the old Latin, 695; his writings generally, 803, 804; quoted or referred to, 523, 543, 687, 695-697, 884.

Jerusalem Targum, the, 236.
Jesudad, B. Von Hadath, referred to, 245.
Jesus, the Son of Sirach, 106; his supposed testimony to the LXX., 166.
Jewish element in the diction of the Greek Testament, 455-457.
Jews at K'ae-fung-foo, the, 368.
Johannes Damascenus, his works, 796.
John, Bishop of Seville, referred to, 670.
Jonathan, the Targum of, 232; the Pseudo-Jonathan, 234.
Josephus referred to, 104, 105, 167.
Jost's Geschichte der Israeliten referred to, 256.
Julius Firmicus Maternus, his writings, 803.
Junius, Francis, his edition of the Gothic version of the Gospels, 676.
Justin Martyr on the origin of the Septuagint, 168, 195; his mode of quoting the New Testament, 490; his writings, 781.
Justinian quoted, 196.
Justiniani, on Psalm xxii. 17, quoted, 407.
Juvencus of Spain, his writings, 804.
Juynboll's Commentarii in historiam gentis Samaritani referred to, 96; Letterkündige Bijdragen, 670.

Kalkar referred to, 96.
Karkaphensian recension of the Peshito, 252.
Karshuni New Testament, the, 670, 672.
Kaye, Bishop, his history of the 2d and 3d centuries, 857.
Kennicott referred to, 107, 133, 139; his Hebrew Bible, 152-155; Dissertations on the state of the printed Hebrew text, 107, 133, 139, 398, 399, 410, 412, 430; dissertatio generalis, 136, 140; his ten annual accounts, 140.
Κεφάλαια, 463.
Kidd's Tracts, &c. of Porson, 848.
Kimchi referred to, 317, 427.
Kipling referred to, 732-734.
Kirsch's reprint of the Syriac Pentateuch, 254.
Kitto's Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature referred to, 468; Journal of Sacred Literature, 588, 590, 765, 769.
Knittel, F. A., referred to, 308, 677.
Knobel's Der Prophet Jesaia, 443.
Kopitar on the Slavic language, 684.
Kopp on the change of the Hebrew letters, 23, 24.
K'ris and c'thibs, 122-124.
K'ri, v'lo c'thib, 125.
Kuinoel referred to, 887.
Küster, Ludolph, his edition of Mill's Greek Testament, 568, 747.

Lachmann referred to, 549, 550; his editions of the Greek Testament, 585, 589, 689.
La Croze's Thesaurus, 664.

Lactantius, his writings referred to, 804.
Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, referred to, 272.
Language, Hebrew, nature of the, 6-19.
Language of the New Testament, 447-458.
Latin, see versions and MSS.
Laudianus, Codex, 692, 739.
Laurence referred to, 521, 549; on 1 John v. 7, 830, 831, 837.
Lectionarium, what, 466.
Lee, Prof., his Prolegomena in Biblia Polyglotta, 187; quoted, 253, 254, 611, 622, 624, 625, 672; his edition of the Syriac Old Testament, 253, 254; his Syriac Testament, 624-627.
Lee, Archbishop of York, 865.
Le Fevre, his edition of the Peshito New Testament, 619.
Le Long's Bibliotheca, quoted, 150, 159; referred to, 559.
Leo the Great, Pope, his writings, 804.
Leontius of Byzantium, his writings, 795.
Lexical peculiarities of the New Testament dialect, 453-455.
Liberatus, Archdeacon of Carthage, his writings, 805.
Lindanus referred to, 272.
Loebe, Dr. J., his edition of the Gothic version of the New Testament, 678, 682.
Loescher, De Causis linguae Hebraeae, 22; referred to, 13.
Loehlein, his Syrus Epistolae ad Ephesios interpres referred to, 605, 612, 613.
Lorsbach referred to, 260.
Lowth, Bishop, referred to, 304, 305.
Lucian, Presb. of Antioch, referred to, 207; recension of the Greek Testament, 522, 524, 525.
Lucifer, Bishop of Cagliari, his writings, 805.
Ludolph's Historia Æthiopica, and Commentarius in histor. Æthiop., 649, 651.
Luther omits 1 John v. 7 in his version, 852.
Luxoviensis, Codex, 702.
Luzzatto, S. D., referred to, 46; his Philoxenus, sive de Onkelosi Chaldaica Pentateuchi versione dissertatio hermeneutico-critica, 231.

Macarius, an Egyptian Monk, his writings, 789.
Mace, his edition of the Greek Testament, 569.
Macedonius, Bishop of Constantinople, his writings, 795; referred to, 835, 841.
Madden's (Sir F.), Alcuin's Bible in the British Museum, referred to, 272.
Mai, Cardinal Angelo, referred to, 677, 691, 726.
Maimonides quoted, 226; referred to, 317, 318.
Marchand, Prosper, referred to, 280.
Marcion referred to, 477, 478; charged with corrupting the sacred text of the New Testament, 493-499; his works, 782.

Marcus Diadochus, his writings, 792.
Marsh, Bishop, his Lectures on the Criticism, &c. of the New Testament, referred to, 271, 864, 865; his edition of Michaelis, 465, 527, 596, 616, 621, 672, 732.
Marshall, Thomas, referred to, 676.
Martin the First, Bishop of Rome, his works, 805.
Masch's Le Long referred to, 150, 159.
Masorah, what, 119-128; value of, 128.
Masoretes, who, 120, 126.
Matthaei, Ueber die sogenannten Recensionen welche der Herr Abt. Bengel, &c., 531; his Greek Testament, 575, 576.
Maurer's Commentarius Criticus quoted, 402.
Maximus of Chrysopolis, his writings, 795.
Maximus, Bishop of Turin, his Homilies referred to, 805.
Meletius of Antioch, his writings, 790.
Melito referred to, 246.
Memphitic version of the New Testament, 655-660.
Menachem de Lonzano, Rabbi, his critical labours on the Pentateuch, 152.
Menologium, what, 466.
Mercator, Marius, his works, 805.
Metaphrastes, Simeon, referred to, 680.
Methodius, Bishop of Tyre, referred to, 786.
Meyer Hallevi of Toledo, referred to, 136.
Michaelis, C. B. De Variis N. T. lectionibus, 650, 816.
Michaelis, J. H., his Hebrew Bible, 150.
Michaelis, Sir J. D., his Introduction, 246, 526, 527, 893; Curae in versionem Syriacam Actuum Apostolorum, 607, 609, 613.
Michael Psellus, Senator of Constantinople, his writings, 797.
Middleton on the Greek Article, referred to, 871.
Miesrob, 661.
Mill, 556; his Greek Testament, 567, 568, 698.
Mingarelli referred to, 654.
Mishna, the, 115.
Moldenhauer referred to, 554, 576.
Monacensis, Codex, 756.
Montfaucon, his edition of the Hexapla, 205, 207, 218; Palæographia Graeca, 710, 712, 713; Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum, 722.
Monthly Repository referred to, 553.
Morin, S. De Lingua Primeva, quoted, 13, 22; John, his opinion of the Vulgate, 283; Exercitationes in Utrumque Samarit. Pentateuch, 362.
Moses Ben Simeon's Rabbinical Bible, 147.
Moses of Chorene, or Chorenensis, referred to, 246; Historia Armeniaca, 661.
Moses of Mardin referred to, 613, 616.
Mosquenses, Codd. 753, 755.

MSS. of the Hebrew Bible; Synagogue copies, 321-324; private, 324; character of the letters of, 326; country of, 337-340; the age of, 341-343; goodness, 343; classification of, 344-345; in Rabbinical characters, 345; description of several, 346-362; found in China, 366-370; observations on, 370-373.
MSS. Samaritan, 362-365.
MSS. of the Greek Testament, division and materials of, 708-716; Uncial, 717-763; Cursive, 764-770; Evangelistaria and lectionaria, 771-773; observations on, 774-780; classification of, 88-105.
MSS. of the Latin version, 534-538.
Munster, Sebastian, his Hebrew Bible, 147.
Münter referred to, 654, 656, 657; Fragmenta versionis antiquae latinae ante-Hieronym, Prophetarum, &c., 264.
Muralt's Greek Testament, 591, 686; Catalog. Codd. Bibliothecae Imperialis publicae Graec. et Lat. 742.
Mutinensis, Codex, 748.

Nanianus, Codex, 755.
Neapolitanus, Codex, 754.
Nesjulamam referred to, 671.
Nestorius of Constantinople, his writings, 793; quoted, 835.
New Testament, the language of, 447-458.
Newton, Sir Isaac, on 1 John v. 7, 872.
Nicolaus, Cardinal, referred to, 272.
Nicholson, Dr., quoted, 10, 14.
Nilus of Constantinople, his writings, 793.
Nissel's Hebrew Bible, 146.
Nonnus of Egypt, his works, 793.
Norton, Andrews, on the pure transmission of the text of the New Testament, 594-595.
Norzi, Salomon, his critical commentary on the Hebrew Bible, 151, 409.
Novatian, a Presbyter of Rome, his writings, 805.

Observations on the use of ancient versions, 704-707; on quotations from the New Testament in early Christian writers, 808-816.
Occidental recension of the Greek Text, 518.
Odessa MSS., the, 357.
Ὁ Ἑβραῖος, what, 221.
Œcumenius, his writings, 797.
Old Testament Books, their age, 15; history of the text of, external form, 56-63; of the text itself till the close of the canon, 64-108; till the destruction of Jerusalem, 109-111; till the establishment of the Masoretic text, 112-134; till part of the Bible first appeared in print, 135, 136; of the printed text, 137-161; division and number of books, 56; divisions in the text, 63.
Onkelos, the Targum of, 229-231.
Opitius, his Hebrew Bible, 148.

Optatus, Bishop of Milevi, his writings, 806.
Oriental Christian Spectator referred to, 255.
Origen on the change of the Hebrew letters, 21 ; Epist. ad Africanum, 200 ; Tetrapla, 201 ; Hexapla, Octapla, and Enneapla, 202 ; blames Marcion, 497 ; on the corruption of the New Testament text, 507 ; various readings of the N. T. in his writings, 508-510 ; his recension of the Greek Testament, 522, 524, 525 ; quotations from the N. Test. in his writings, 784, 785 ; quoted, 833.
Orosius, a Spanish presbyter, his writings, 806.
Osiander, Luke, his edition of the Latin Bible, 275.
Owen, Dr. Henry, his enquiry into the present state of the Septuagint, 198, 218 ; modes of quotation used by the evangelical writers, &c., 311, 417.

Pacian, Bishop of Barcelona, his writings, 806.
Pagninus referred to, 63.
Palatinus Vindobonensis, Codex, 691.
Pamphilus of Cæsarea, his writings referred to, 790.
Parallels or repeated passages of Scripture, 294-307.
Paris Polyglott, the Peshito in, 620.
Parshioth, 59.
Parsons' and Holmes' edition of the Septuagint, 213.
Paschal Chronicle, the, referred to, 796.
Paulinus, Bishop of Aquileia, his works, 806.
Paulus, his edition of Saadias' Arabic translation of Isaiah, 256.
Peculiarities of the Greek diction of the New Testament, 453-455.
Pelagius, his works referred to, 806.
Penn, his Annotations to the Book of the New Covenant, quoted, 531, 725.
Pentateuch, the Hebrew, first printed, 138.
Pentateuch, the Samaritan, 78-103.
Persian versions of the Old Testament, 260 ; of the New, 667.
Peshito, meaning of the term, 244.
Peshito Syriac version of the Old Testament, 243, &c. ; its age, 244-246 ; its author, 247 ; made from the Hebrew, 248 ; influence of the LXX. on it, 248, 249 ; influence of the Targums upon it, 250 ; did not contain the Apocrypha, 251 ; its dialect, 251 ; recensions of, 252 ; printed editions of, 252-254.
Peshito Syriac version of the New Testament, 504-506, 596-630.
Pesukim, 61.
Petermann, De duabus Pentateuchi Paraphrasibus Chaldaicis, 235 ; referred to, 667.
Petrus of Alexandria, his writings, 786.
Pettigrew's Bibliotheca Sussexiana, 347.
Philastrius, Bishop of Brescia, his writings, 806.
Philentolos, Daniel, referred to, 675.
Philo, on the origin of the Septuagint, 167-168.

Philo of Carpathus, his writings, 793.
Philoxenian-Syriac version of the New Testament, 631-640.
Philoxenus, 631.
Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople, his writings, 797.
Phoebadius of Agen, his writings, 809; quoted, 860.
Pierson and Wheloc's edition of the Persian version of the gospels, 667, 668.
Pinner's Prospectus der der Odessaer Gesellschaft fur geschichte und Alterthümer gehörenden ältesten hebräischen und rabbinischen Manuscripte, referred to, 46, 358; MSS. described by, 357-362.
Pirke Aboth referred to, 104.
Pius IV. and V., Popes, their labours on the Vulgate, 276, 277.
Plantin editions of the Greek Testament, 557; edition of the Peshito, 618, 619.
Platt, T. P., his edition of the Æthiopic New Testament, 652.
Plüschke's Lectiones Alexandrinae et Hebraicae referred to, 411.
Plutarch's Regum et imperator. Apophthem, 165.
Pococke's Epistolae Quatuor, Petri secunda, &c. 641.
Polycarp referred to, 489; epistle respecting the Martyrdom of, 783.
Polyglott, the Antwerp, 618; the Paris, 620; the London, 620.
Porphyry referred to, 786.
Porson's Letters to Archd. Travis referred to, 271, 821; quoted, 853, 854, 872.
Πραξαποστολος, 466.
Primasius, an African Bishop, his writings, 806.
Primitive language, the, 13-15.
Proclus, Bishop of Constantinople, his writings, 793.
Procopius of Gaza, his Commentaries, 795.
Prosper of Aquitain referred to, 807.
Prudentius of Spain, his writings referred to, 808.
Psalter, the Hebrew, first printed, 137.
Ptolemy Philadelphus and Ptolemy Lagi, their connection with the LXX. 164, 165, 170-174.
Ptolemy, the Gnostic, 783, 784.
Punctuation, the, of the Greek Testament, 462.

Quatremere's Recherches sur la langue et la litterature de l'Egypte, 659.
Quotations from the Old Testament in the New, 308-313.
Quotations from Rabbinical writers, 314-320.
Quotations from the New Testament in ancient writers—Greek, 781, 799; Latin, 800-808; Observations on, 808-816.

Rabbi Asche referred to, 115.
Rabbi Judah, the Holy, 115.
Rabbinical Writers, quotations from the Old Test. in them, 314-320.
Ragusio, Cardinal Johannes de, referred to, 739.
Raymundus, Baptista, referred to, 669.

Readings, various, causes of, 65-71, 288-293, 469-475.
Recensions of the Greek Testament, 514-533; Griesbach's system of, 518, &c.; Hug's, 521-525; Eichhorn's, 525, 526; Michaelis's, 526, 527; Nolan's, 527; Scholz's, 528; Rinck's, 529; Tischendorf's, 530; remarks on, 534, &c.
Reiche, his Collation of Paris MSS., 590.
Reinke's Beitraege zur Erklärung des alten Testaments referred to, 75, 76, 403.
Renaudot's Liturg. Orient. collectio, 653.
Rettig, his fac-simile of the Codex Sangallensis referred to, 590, 761, 762.
Reviser, the, of Hebrew MSS., 334.
Rhedigerianus, Codex, 692.
Ridley, De Syriacarum Novi Foederis Versionum indole etc., 631, 639, 640.
Rinck's Classification of MSS. &c. &c., in his Lucubratio Critica, 529, 590, 646.
Ritschl referred to, 165.
Rocca, Angelus, referred to, 277.
Roediger's Gesenius's Hebrew Grammar, 12, 18; De Origine et indole Arabicae librorum V. T. historicorum interpret, 257.
Roediger (Mauritius) Synopsis Evangeliorum, 878.
Roman edition of the LXX. 212; of the Peshito, 622.
Rosenmüller, De Versione Pentateuchi Persica Commentatio, 260; Handbuch fur die Literatur, u. s. w. 618.
Rossi, see De Rossi.
Routh's Reliquae Sacrae, 782, 785, 786.
Rueckert's Der Brief Pauli an die Ephesier erläutert und vertheidigt, 605.
Rufinus of Aquileia, his writings, 807.
Rules for the right use of ancient versions, 706, 707, for determining the true reading, 820-827; for the right use of the Fathers in the criticism of the sacred text, 812-816.
Ruricius of Limoges, his writings, 807.

Saadias, Gaon, his Arabic version of the Scriptures, 255.
Saadias Ben Levi Asnekoth, Rabbi, his Arabic version of Genesis, Psalms, and Daniel, 257-8.
Sabatier's Bibliorum Sacrorum Latinae versiones antiquae seu vetus Italica, &c., 263, 264; 689.
Sahidic Version of the New Testament, 654, 655.
Sainthill, Richard, on numismatics, quoted, 35.
Salvian, Presbyter of Marseilles, his writings, 707.
Salomon Ben Melek, Rabbi, referred to, 409.
Σαμαρειτικὸν, 242.
Samaritan Pentateuch, its value and characteristic readings, 78-94, 102, 103; its antiquity, 94-101; its agreement with the Septuagint, 101-102; comparative value of its readings and those of the Hebrew Pentateuch, 89-94; when first printed, 101.

Samaritan version of the Pentateuch, 240-242.
Samaritan Writing, 20-22.
Samaritans, their origin and early history, 95-99.
Sangallensis, Codex, 759-762.
Sangermanenses, Codd. of the Latin version, 691, 693.
Sangermanensis Codex (E), 741, 742.
Santa Croce MS. the, quoted, 856.
Schaaf, his Syriac Testament, 610, 622, 623.
Schelhorn's Amoenitates Litterariae, 280.
Schiede's Observ. Sacr. biga referred to, 327, 335.
Schlichting referred to, 819.
Schnurrer's Dissertationes Philologico-Criticae referred to, 3[illegible]
Scholiast or critic in relation to Hebrew MSS., 335.
Scholz's Einleitung, 211, 248; classification of MSS. of [illegible] Testament, 528; Greek Testament described, 580-[illegible] Criticae, 750; Biblisch-Kritische Reise, 675; referred [illegible]
Schwarze, his edition of the Memphitic version of the New [illegible] 656.
Scrivener, quoted, 588, 616, 638.
Sedulius, his writings, 807.
Scidel, Erasmus, referred to, 746.
Seidelii, Codices, 745-748.
Sembler, quoted, 517; Hermeneutische Vorbereitung, 741.
Septuagint, The, origin and history of, 163-174; charac[illegible] 181-183, 192; by different translators, 180; hypothe[illegible] source and origin, 184-191; its value, 194; was read in [illegible] gogues, 195, 196; esteemed by the Jews, 197; Origen's [illegible] 200-207; other labourers on its text, 207-208; its dep[illegible] the Hebrew, 209, 210; apocryphal additions to it, 210, 21[illegible] MSS. of it, 211; printed editions of it, 211-214.
Serapion, Bishop of Thmuis, his writing, 790.
Severus, Bishop of Antioch, his works, 795.
Shemitic languages, their grammatical character and div[illegible] alphabet of, 24, 25, &c.
Shickhard's Jus Regium Hebraeorum, 323.
Silvestrius, 686.
Simon's Histoire Critique du vieux Testament, referred to, 70, [illegible]
Simonis's edition of the Hebrew Bible, 150.
Sinaiticus, Codex, 763.
Sionita, Gabriel, 620, 669.
Sirach, Jesus the Son of, 177.
Siricius, his writings, 807.
Sixtine and Clementine editions of the Vulgate, 278-283.
Sixtus V. Pope, his revision of the Latin Vulgate, 277, 278.
Slavonic version of the New Testament, 684-686.
Smith, Dr. W., his dictionary of Greek and Roman biography [illegible] thology, referred to, 698.

Smith, Dr. J. Pye, his Scripture Testimony, quoted, 843.
Smith, Dr. G., Bishop of Victoria, on the Jews at K'ae-fung-foo, 368, 369.
Socrates of Constantinople, his writings, 794.
Sopher, or Scribe of Hebrew MSS., 332.
Sources of criticism in the N. T., 447 ; their application, 820-827.
Sources of criticism in the O. T., 4 ; their application, 382-387.
Sozomen of Constantinople, his writings referred to, 794.
Speculum of Augustine, the so called, 855, 856.
Spohn's edition of Woide's prolegomena to the cod. Alex. 720.
Steinschneider referred to, 45, 46, 47, 115.
Stephens, Robert, author of chapters and verses in the Greek Testament, 467 ; editions of his Greek Testament, 557, 559-561.
Stephens, Henry, his editions of his Greek Testament, 565.
Steudel referred to, 100.
Stichometry and *στίχοι*, 460-463.
Stirnhielm, G. referred to, 676.
Storr's observationes super N. T. Versionibus Syriacis, 639 ; Dissertat. Inaug. Crit. de Evangeliis Arabicis, 670.
Stosel, 737.
Stroth's Repertorium, 218.
Stuart, Professor, referred to, 100 ; his critical history and defence of the Old Testament, 105 ; on the origin of the Pentateuch, 186 ; on Psalm xxii. 17, 408 ; on 1 Tim. 3, 16, 849.
Stunica referred to, 865, 866.
Subscriptions to the Books of the New Testament, 467.
Suidas, the Lexicographer, referred to, 797.
Συναξάριον, what, 466.
Syncellus, George, his Chronicon, 796.
Syncellus, his Chronographia, 208.
Synopsis of Sacred Scripture, the, attributed to Athanasius, 794.
Syriac, the Peshito version of the Old Testament, 243-254 ; of the New Testament, 504-506, 596-630 ; the Philoxenian, 630-640 ; other Syriac versions, 641-647.

Talmud, the Babylonian, what, 115 ; quoted, 20, 21, 30, 49, 50, 229, 315 ; the Jerusalem, 115, 116, 195, 196.
Tam and Velshe Hebrew characters, the, 336.
Tanchum, Rabbi, referred to, 409.
Targum, meaning of the word, 227.
Targums, their origin, 224-229 ; Targum of Onkelos, 229-232 ; of Jonathan, 232-234 ; of Pseudo-Jonathan, 234-236 ; of Jerusalem, 236 ; Targums on the Hagiographa, 237-239.
Tarasius, Patriarch of Constantinople, his works, 696.
Tatian referred to, 783.
Tertullian, quoted or referred to, 195, 196, 486, 492, 494, 495, 496, 505, 857, 858 ; his writings, 807.

Testament, the Greek, editions of, 552-595.
Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs referred to, 783.
Tetrapla of Origen, 201.
Text, of the Old Testament, external form, 56-63; unprinted text, 64-136; printed, 137-161.
Text, of the New Testament, external form, 459-468; the canon, 476-484, unprinted text, 485-533; printed, 552-595.
Thalassius, a Lybian Monk, his writings, 796.
Theunis, his Die Bücher der Koenige erklärt, &c., 380.
Theodore the Egyptian, his writings, 790.
Theodore, Bishop of Heraclea, his works, 790.
Theodore of Mopsuestia, his writings, 790; quoted, 387, 833.
Theodore-Studites, his writings, 796.
Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus, his writings, 793; quoted, 839.
Theodotus, Bishop of Ancyra, his writings, 794; quoted, 835.
Theodotus (of the 2d century) referred to, 783.
Theodotion's Greek version of the Old Testament, 217-219.
Theodulus, (Thomas Magister), referred to, 799.
Theophanes, a Sicilian Bishop, his writings, 798.
Theophilus of Alexandria, his writings, 790.
Theophilus of Antioch referred to, 782.
Theophylact, Bishop of Bulgaria, his writings, 798.
Thiersch De Pentateuchi Versione Alexand. 175, 176.
Tholuck's Auslegung der Bergpredigt, referred to, 876.
Thompson, Dr. James, referred to, 554.
Thornedyke, Herbert, referred to, 253.
Tichonius, the African, his writings, 807.
Timotheus of Alexandria, his works, 791.
Tischendorf, his edition of the LXX. 213, 214; classification of Greek MSS. of the New Testament, 550, 549, 550; editions of his Greek Testament, 589, 590; Monumenta Sacra inedita, 590, 727, 743, 749; Evangelium Palatinum ineditum, 589; Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus, 731; Prolegomena in Cod. Claromont, 736, 737, 738, 742, 887; referred to, 726, &c.
Tischendorfianus, Codex, 762.
Titles of the New Testament Books, 466.
Tittmann, 463.
Titus of Bostra, his writings, 791.
Todrosius, his critical labours on the Pentateuch, 151.
Toepler, De Pentateuchi interpretat. Alexand. indole critica et hermen. referred to, 112.
Toletanus, Codex, 702.
Tregelles, Dr. S. P., referred to, 550, 583, 590; his critical edition of the Apocalypse quoted, 563; his forthcoming critical edition of the Greek Testament, 592.
Tremellius, his edition of the Peshito Syriac New Testament, 616-618.
Trent, the Council of, pronounces the Latin Vulgate authentic, 275-276.

Trost, Martin, his edition of the Peshito Syriac New Testament, 620.
Turton, Bishop, referred to, 871.
Twells, Dr. Leonard, referred to, 569.
Tychsen, referred to, 138; his Tentamen de Variis Codicum Hebraicorum Vet. Test. MSS. generibus, 190, 191, 333, 403.

Ulphilas, his Gothic version of the New Testament, 276, &c.
Uncial MSS. of the Greek Testament, 708; description of, 717-763.
Uscan, his edition of the Armenian version of the New Testament, 664.
Ussher on the origin of the Pentateuch, 100-101.

Valckenaer's Diatribe de Aristobulo cited, 173.
Valentinus referred to, 782.
Valerian, Bishop in the Maritime Alps, his writings, 808.
Valla Laurentius, his Variae lectiones referred to, 868.
Vallarsi, his edition of Jerome's Works, 701.
Van der Hooght's Hebrew Bible, 149.
Van Ess, Leander, his Pragmatisch-kritische Geschichte der Vulgata, referred to, 262, 276, 279.
Various readings in the Old Testament, their sources, 65-71; specimens of, derived from versions, 288-293; in the New Testament, their sources, 469-475.
Vaticanus, Codex, 721-727.
Vaticanus, Codex, S., 755, 759.
Vaticanus, Codex (T) 759.
Venetian-Greek Version, 222-223.
Vercellensis, Codex, 690.
Voronensis, Codex, 691.
Verses and chapters, division of the New Testament into, 467.
Verschuir's Dissertationes Philolog. 89.
Versions of the Old Testament, Greek, 162-223; Targums, 224-239; Samaritan version of the Pentateuch, 240-242; Peshito Syriac, 243-254; Arabic, 255-260; Persian, 260; Latin, 261-284; remarks on, and critical application of, 285-293.
Versions of the New Testament, the Peshito, 596-629; versions made from it, 629; the Philoxenian, 631-640; other Syrian versions, 641-647; Ethiopic, 648; Egyptian, 652-660; Armenian, 661-666; Georgian, 667; Persian, 667; Arabic, 668-675; Gothic, 676-683; Sclavonic, 684-686; Latin, 686-704; Observations on, 696, &c.; rules for their use, 706.
Victor of Antioch, his Commentary on Mark, referred to, 794.
Victor of Tunis, his works, 808.
Victor Vitensis, his writings, 808.
Victorinus Philosophus, his writings, 808.
Vigilius of Tapsus in Africa, his writings, 808; quoted, 861, 863.
Vindobonensis, Codex, 691.
Vitre, Anthony, Editor of the Paris Polyglott, 673.

Vloten's, Van, specimen Philologicum continens descriptionem Codicis MS. Bibliothecae Lugduno-Batavae, 259.
Vowel points, Hebrew, 37-55.
Vulgate, the Latin, text of, till the invention of printing, 270-273; printed editions, 273-284; pronounced authentic by the Council of Trent, 275, 276.

Wakefield's Translation of the New Testament, 889.
Walton, quoted, 6, 101, 253, 565, 620, 672.
Warka, the first translator of the Bible into Arabic, 255.
Wetstein, John James, his Greek Testament, 570-573, 682; Libelli ad crisin atque interp. Nov. Test., 816.
White, Professor, his edition of the Philoxenian Syriac New Testament, 634, 635, 639.
Wheloc and Pierson's edition of the Persian Gospels, 668.
Wichelhaus, De Novi Test. Versione Syriaca antiqua, &c. referred to, 601, 605, 609, 610, 619.
Widmanstadt's Peshito Syriac Testament, 613-616.
Wilkins' edition of the Memphitic version of the New Testament, 655, 656.
Winer, De versionis Pentateuchi Samaritanae indole, 240, 241; Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms, 455, 457; De Versionibus N. T. Syriacae usu critico caute instituendo, 605.
Wiseman's Horae Syriacae referred to, 245, 246, 251, 252; 634; Two letters on 1 John v. 7, 689, 855.
Woide referred to, 654, 719, 720.
Wolfii Bibliotheca Hebraea, 128, 325; Anecdota Graeca, 748; Curae Philologicae, 870.
Wright, Dr., quoted, 468.
Writing materials employed by the New Testament writers, 459.

Ximenes, Cardinal, references to, 141, 142, 274; 552.

Yeates, Thomas, his collation of an Indian copy of the Hebrew Pentateuch, 368.

Zahn, J. Ch. referred to, 677, 682.
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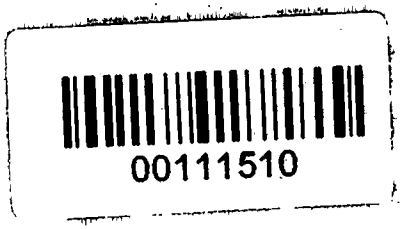
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